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THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY;

OR, A

COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE, CURIOUS, AND ENTERTAINING

PAMPHLETS AND TRACTS,

AS WELL IN MANUSCRIPT AS IN PRINT,

FOUND IN THE LATE

EARL OF OXFORD'S LIBRARY,

INTERSPERSED WITH

HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND CRITICAL

NOTES.

VOL. VIII.

LONDON:

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1810.

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The Character of a Coffee-House, with the Symptoms of a Town-Wit. With Allowance. April 11th, 1673. London, printed for Jonathan Edwin, at the Three Roses, in Ludgate-street, 1673. Folio, containing eight pages. 7

The grand Concern of England explained, in several Proposals offered to the Consideration of the Parliament. 1. For payment of special debts. 2. For advancement and encouragement of trade. 3. For raising the rents of lands. In order whereunto, it is proved necessary. I. That a stop be put to further buildings in and about London. II. That the gentry be obliged to live, some part of the year, in the country. III. That registers be settled in every county. IV. That an act for naturalising all foreign Protestants, and indulging them, and his majesty's subjects at home, in matters of conscience, may be passed. V. That the act, prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle, may be repealed. VI. That brandy, coffee, mum, tea, and chocolate, may be prohibited. VII. That the multitude of stage-coaches and caravans may be suppressed. VIII. That no leather may be exported unmanufactured. IX. That a court of conscience be settled for Westminster and all the suburbs of London, and in every city and corporation of England. X. That the extravagant habits and expence of all persons may be curbed, the excessive wages of servants and handicrafts-men may be reduced, and all foreign manufactures may be prohibited. XI. That it may be made lawful to assign bills, bonds, and other securities; and that a course be taken to prevent the knavery of bankrupts. XII. That the Newcastle trade for coals may be managed by commissioners, to the ease of the subjects, and great advantage of the publick. XIII. That the fishing-trade may be vigorously prosecuted, all poor people set at work to make fishing-tackle, and be paid out of the money collected every year for the poor, in the several parishes in England. By a lover of his country, and well-wisher to the prosperity both of the king and kingdoms. London, printed in the year 1673. Quarto, containing sixty-four pages. 13

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The Art of good Husbandry, or the Improvement of time: being a sure way to get and keep money. In a letter to Mr. R. A. by R. T. with permission, August, 7, 1675. Roger L'Estrange, 1675. Quarto, containing eight pages. 62

A Letter to a Member of Parliament; with two discourses inclosed in it: 1. The one, shewing the reason why a law should pass to punish adultery with death. 2. The other, shewing the reasons why the writ, *de hæretico comburendo*, should be abolished.

Non partis studiis agimur, sed sumsimus arma
Consiliis inimica tuis, ignavia fallax.

Printed anno 1675, Quarto, containing eight pages. 65

A farther brief and true Narration of the late wars risen in New England, occasioned by the quarrelsome disposition and perfidious carriage of the barbarous and savage Indian natives there; with an account of the fight, the 19th of December last, 1675. London, February 17th, 1675—6. Licensed, Henry Oldenburgh, London, printed by J. D. for M. K. and are to be sold by the booksellers, 1676. Quarto, containing eight pages. 71

Coffee-Houses vindicated. In answer to the late published character of a Coffee-House. Asserting from reason, experience, and good authors, the excellent use and physical vertues of that liquor. With the grand conveniency of such civil places of resort and ingenious conversation. London, printed by J. Lock, for J. Clarke, 1675. Folio, containing eight pages. 75

The Character of a Fanatick. By a Person of Quality. London, printed in the year 1675, Quarto, containing eight pages. 79

A modest Account of the wicked Life of that grand impostor, Lodowick Muggleton; wherein are related all the remarkable actions he did, and all the strange accidents that have befallen him ever since his first coming to London, to this 25th of January, 1676. Also, a particular of those reasons which first drew him to these damnable principles. With several pleasant stories concerning him, proving his commission to be but counterfeit, and himself a cheat, from divers expressions which have fallen from his own mouth. Licensed according to order, 1676. Quarto, containing six pages. 83

A true and perfect Account of the Examination, Confession, Trial, Condemnation, and Execution of Joan Perry, and her two sons, John and Richard Perry, for the supposed murder of William Harrison, gent. being one of the most remarkable occurrences which hath happened in the memory of man, sent in a letter (by Sir T. O. of Burton, in the county of Gloucester, knight, and one of his majesty's justices of the peace) to T. S. doctor of physick in London. Likewise Mr. Harrison's own account, how he was conveyed into Turkey, and there made a slave for above two years; and then, his master, which brought him there, dying, how he made his escape, and what hardship he endured; who, at last, through the providence of God, returned to England, while he was supposed to be murdered; here having been his man-servant arraigned, who falsly impeached his own mother and brother, as guilty of the murder of his master; they were all three arraigned, convicted, and executed on Broadway-hills, in Gloucestershire. London, printed for Rowland Reynolds, next Arundel-gate, over against

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St. Clement's Church in the Strand, 1676. Quarto, containing twenty-three pages. 86

A true Relation from Germany, of a Protestant Shepherd's killing a counterfeit Devil, that would have perverted him to Popery, July the twenty-ninth, N. S. 1676. Being a contrivance of two monks, that dressed themselves, one in the likeness of an angel, the other of a devil; and so, in the night, came to this poor shepherd, to affright and seduce him. With an account of what passed between them; how the shepherd killed him that acted the devil, and buried him; and the trouble he has been like to come into since for the same.

They compass sea and land to make one proselyte, &c.

Licensed, August the Seventh, 1676. Roger L'Estrange. London, printed for D. M. 1676. Quarto, containing eight pages. 96

A true Narrative of the great Solemnity of the Circumcision of Mustapha, Prince of Turkey, eldest son of Mahomet, present Emperor of the Turks. Together with an account of the marriage of his daughter to his great favourite Mussaip, at Adrianople, as it was sent in a letter to a person of honour. By Mr. Coke, secretary of the Turkey company; being in company with his excellency the lord ambassador, Sir John Finch. Licensed, January 10, 1675—6. Roger L'Estrange. London, printed by J. C. for William Crook, at the Green Dragon without Temple-bar, 1676. Folio, containing eight pages. . . . 99

A perfect Narrative of the apprehension, trial, and confession of the five several persons that were confederates in stealing the mace and the two privy-purses from the Lord High-Chancellor of England. As it was attested at the Sessions held at Justice-Hall in the Old Bailey, the 7th and 8th of March, anno 1676—7. With permission. Quarto, containing eight pages. 102

The present State of Christendom, and the Interest of England, with a regard to France. In a letter to a friend, 1677. Quarto, containing sixteen pages. 105

Strange and true News from Staffordshire, or a true Narrative concerning a young Man lying under Almighty God's just vengeance, for imprecating God's judgment upon himself, and pleading his innocency, though he knew himself guilty. Written by W. Vincent, minister of God's word at Bednall, in the county of Stafford, aforesaid, who saw and discoursed the said person, upon the 26th day of April, 1677. The saddest spectacle that ever eyes beheld. Licensed, May 11, 1677. Roger L'Estrange. London, printed in the year 1677. Quarto, containing six pages. 118

Proposals for building, in every county, a working Alms-house or Hospital, as the best expedient to perfect the trade and manufactory of linnen cloth; whereby, 1. All poor people and their children, from five or six years old, may be employed and maintained; as also all beggars, vagrants, &c. restrained and for ever prevented, and so all parishes eased of that intolerable burden. 2. Many hundred thousand pounds kept at home, which now every year goes out of the kingdom for linnen, whereby our wealth becomes a prey to other nations. 3. Much land improved in every county to great advantage of landlord and tenant. Humbly offered to the consideration of the great wisdom of the whole nation, now assembled in parliament. Printed at Lon-

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don, by W. G. for R. Harford, at the sign of the Angel, in Cornhill, 1677. Quarto, containing fourteen pages. 120

Wonderful News from Wales; or a true Narrative of an old Woman living near Lanselin in Denbighshire, whose memory serves her truly and perfectly to relate what she hath seen and done one hundred and thirty years ago; having now the full number of her teeth; the most of them were lost, when she was threescore years and ten. She is also remembered by some of ninety years old, to be taller than she is by seventeen or eighteen inches; with several other circumstances of her life, which shew her to be the wonder of her age. Licensed, August 9, 1677. London, printed for C. L. Anno. Dom. 1677. Quarto, containing eight pages 127

Mr. Howell's Vindication of himself from the Charge of being no friend to Parliaments, and a malignant. London, printed, 1677. Quarto, containing ten pages 130

The Quack's Academy: or, the Dunce's Directory. A new art to cross the old proverb, and make a man a fool and a physician both at a time. Discovering the several methods whereby so many ignorant pretenders obtain repute and practice.

——— Cur ludere nobis
Non liceat, licuit cum jugulare tibi. MART.

With allowance. Quarto, containing six pages. Printed at London, for A. B. in 1678 135

The Pacquet-Boat Advice: or, a Discourse concerning the War with France, between some English gentlemen and a Frenchman, betwixt Calais and Dover.

Omnis fabula fundatur in veritate.

London, printed in 1678. Quarto, containing twenty-one pages. . 139

The History of the Gunpowder Treason: collected from approved Authors, as well Popish as Protestant.

Sæpe divinitatis operu hæc sunt, et furias in ipso jam successu securas subita ultio excipiat, ne vel unquam improbis timor, vel spes absit calamitosæ virtuti.
Jo. Barclaii Conspiratio Anglicana.

Printed at London, in 1678. Quarto, containing thirty-two pages . 149

The French king conquered by the English; the King of France and his son brought prisoners into England (besides divers earls, lords, and above two thousand knights and esquires) by the victorious Edward the Black Prince, son to Edward the Third. Wherein is given an Account of several great battles fought, and wonderful victories obtained over the French, when they had six to one against the English, to the honour and renown of England's unparalleled valour, conduct, and resolution. Written by a Person of Quality. London, printed for William Birch, at the sign of the Peacock, at the lower end of Cheapside, 1678. Octavo, containing thirty-one pages. 163

Four for a Penny: or, poor Robin's Character of an unconscionable Pawn-broker, and Ear-mark of an oppressing Tally-man; with a friendly description of a Bum-bailey, and his merciless Setting-cur, or follower. With allowance. London, printed for L. C. 1678. Quarto, containing eight pages. 179

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The grand Designs of the Papists, in the reign of our late sovereign Charles the First, and now carried on against his present majesty, his government, and the protestant religion. Imprimatur Guil. Jane, Nov. 2. 1678. London. printed by Henry Hills, Anno 1678. Quarto, containing forty pages. 183

The Act of Parliament of the twenty-seventh of Queen Elisabeth, to preserve the queen's person, the protestant religion, and government, from the attempts of the papists, then big with hopes of a popish successor; with the association the protestants then entered into, to the ends aforesaid, till the parliament could meet, and provide for their necessary preservations; Together with some sober and seasonable queries upon the same. By a sincere Protestant, and true friend to his country, 1679. Folio, containing six pages. 207

The Antiquity and Dignity of Parliaments. Written by Sir Robert Cotton. Printed Anno Dom. 1679. Folio, containing thirteen pages. 216

A brief Relation of a wonderful Accident, a Dissolution of the Earth in the Forest of Charnwood, about two miles from Loughborough, in Leicestershire; lately done, and discovered, and resorted to, by many people, both old, and young. Published by two lovers of art, I. C. and I. W. Quarto, containing six pages, M,DC,LXXIX. . . 228

A Narrative of the wicked Plots carried on by Seignior Gondamore, for advancing the Popish Religion and Spanish Faction. Heartily recommended to all protestants, by Richard Dugdale, gent.

"Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them; for it is a shame even to speak of those things, which are done of them in secret. Ephes. v. 11, 12."

London, printed 1679. Folio, containing sixteen pages. 231

Belvoir: Being a Pindarick Ode upon Belvoir Castle, the seat of the Earls of Rutland, made in the year 1679. MS. 249

A just Vindication of Learning: or, an humble Address to the High Court of Parliament, in behalf of the Liberty of the Press. By Philopatris.

Sub bono principe sentire licet quæ velis, & quæ sentias dicere.

London, 1679. Quarto, containing twenty-four pages. 290

Day Fatality: or, some Observation of Days lucky and unlucky; concluding with some Remarks upon the fourteenth of October, the auspicious birth-day of his Royal Highness James Duke of York.

Atavis qui regibus editus,
Augustissimo Carolo *proximus.*

Num. xxvii. 8, 9.
"In hoc Die tuo. In this thy Day." Luc. xix. 42.

Printed in 1679. Folio, containing eight pages. 300

A Disputation: Proving, that it is not convenient to grant unto Ministers secular jurisdiction; and to make them Lords and Statesmen in Parliament. London, printed in the year 1679. Quarto, containing thirty-six pages. 310

Discourses upon the modern Affairs of Europe, tending to prove that the illustrious French Monarchy may be reduced to terms of greater moderation. 1680, Quarto, containing twenty-four pages . . 336

Advice to a Soldier, in two Letters, written to an Officer in the English Army, proper to be exposed at the present time, while the peace of Christendom (if not the liberty of it) seems to be very short lived, 1680. Quarto, containing fourteen pages. 353

A Letter from a Minister to his Friend, concerning the Game of Chess, 1680. From a broadside. 361

The Character of an Ill-Court Favourite: Representing the mischiefs that flow from Ministers of State, when they are more great than good; the arts they use to seduce their masters; and the unhappiness of princes that are cursed with such destructive servants. Translated out of French. Quarto, containing twenty-two pages. London, printed in the reign of King Charles the Second. 364

The last Speech and dying Words of Thomas (Lord *alias* Colonel) Pride; being touched in conscience for his inhuman murder of the Bears in the Bear-Garden, when he was high sheriff of Surrey. Taken in short-hand, by T. S. late clerk to his lordship's brewhouse. London, printed for C. W. 1680. Quarto, containing twelve pages. . . . 380

Articles of High Treason, and other high Crimes and Misdemeanors against the Duchess of Portsmouth 387

A Discourse touching Tangier. In a Letter to a Person of Quality. To which is added, The Interest of Tangier, by another hand. London, printed in the year 1680. Quarto, containing forty-eight pages. . . 391

A Letter to the Earl of Shaftsbury, this 9th of July, 1680. From Tom Tell-Troth, a downright Englishman. Folio, containing four pages. 410

A Narrative of unheard of Popish Cruelties towards Protestants beyond Seas: or, a New Account of the Bloody Spanish Inquisition, published as a caveat to protestants, by Mr. Dugdale. London, printed for John Hancock, at the Three Bibles, in Pope's Head Alley, over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, 1680. Folio, containing thirty-two pages. 414

A Copy of a Letter sent by E. B. an eminent Quaker in London, to the Pope at Rome, transmitted thence by Cardinal Bromio, to a person of quality in England. With a copy of the faculties granted to John Locet, Englishman and Priest at Rome, 1678, for England, Scotland, and all the king's dominions, Ireland excepted. Printed in 1680. Folio, containing two pages. 436

The Papists Bloody Oath of Secrecy, and Litany of Intercession, for the carrying on of this present plot, with the manner of taking the oath upon the entering into any grand conspiracy against the protestants. As it was taken in the chapel belonging to Barmbow-Hall, the residence of Sir Thomas Gascoigne, from William Rushton, a popish priest, by me Robert Bolron, together with some further informations relating to the plot, and murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. Jovis 16mo. Die Decembris, 1680.

Ordered, that Mr. Robert Bolron have liberty from this house to print and publish the said Oath of Secrecy and Litany.

William Goldsbrough, Cler. Dom. Com.

London, printed for Randal Taylor, near Stationers-Hall, 1680. Folio, containing twenty-four pages. 441

Magnalia Naturæ: or, the Philosopher's Stone, lately exposed to publick sight and sale. Being a true and exact account of the manner how Wenceslaus Seilerus, the late famous Projection-maker, at the Emperor's court at Vienna, came by and made away with a very great quantity of powder of projection, by projecting with it before the emperor, and a great many witnesses selling it, &c. for some years past. Published at the request, and for the satisfaction of several curious, especially of Mr. Boyle, &c. By John Joachim Becher, one of the council of the emperor, and a commissioner for the examen of this affair.

Quid igitur ingrati sumus? Cur invidemus etsi veritas divinitatis (quæ per ea quæ sat intelligi potest, Rom. i. 20.) *nostri temporis ætate maturuit. Minut. Felix.*

London, printed by Thomas Dawks, his majesty's British printer, living in Black-Friars, sold also by La Curtiss, in Goat-court on Ludgate-hill, 1680. Quarto, containing thirty-eight pages. 452

The Inconveniences of a Long Continuance of the same Parliament. Printed in 1680. Folio, containing four pages. 472

Absalom's Conspiracy: or, the Tragedy of Treason. London, printed in the year 1680. Folio, containing two pages. 478

The Earl of Strafford's Letter to the King, to pass the Bill occasioned by the tumult of the Apprentices, taken from the original copy. London, printed for Thomas Burrel, 1680. Folio, containing two pages 480

Memoirs of Queen Mary's Days; wherein the Church of England and all the inhabitants may plainly see, (if God hath not suffered them to be infatuated) as in a glass, the sad effects which follow a popish successor, enjoying the crown of England. Humbly tendered to the consideration of, &c. Folio, containing four pages. 482

A Dialogue between Sam the Ferryman of Dochet, Will a Waterman of London, and Tom a Bargeman of Oxford, upon the king's calling a parliament to meet at Oxford. London, printed in 1681. Quarto, containing twenty-nine pages. 488

The Character of a disbanded Courtier, 1681. Folio, containing two pages. 509

The Emperor's Concessions to his Protestant Subjects of Hungary, as they were sent from Vienna in Latin, and are now translated out of the original copy. London, printed in 1681. Folio, containing two pages. 511

A Letter to a Person of Honour, concerning the King's disavowing the having been married to the Duke of Monmouth's mother. Quarto, containing twenty-four pages. 512

The Tears of the Press, with Reflexions on the present State of England. London, printed and are to be sold by Richard Janeway, in Queen's Head Alley, in Paternoster Row, 1681. Quarto, containing nine pages. 527

The last Memorial of the Spanish Ambassador, faithfully translated into English. London, printed for Francis Smith, at the Elephant and

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Castle, near the Royal Exchange, in Cornhill, 1681. Folio, containing two pages. 530

Historical Collections of the Church of Ireland, during the reigns of King Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Queen Mary: wherein are several material passages, omitted by other historians, concerning the manner how that kingdom was first converted to the Protestant Religion; and how, by the providence of God, Dr. Cole, a bloody agent of Queen Mary, was prevented in his designs against the Protestants there: Set forth in the life and death of George Browne, sometime Archbishop of Dublin, who was the first of the Romish clergy in Ireland that threw off the Pope's supremacy, and forsook the idolatrous worship of Rome; with a Sermon of his on that subject. Printed at London, and sold by Randal Taylor, 1681. Quarto, containing twenty pages. 534

The last Speech of Mr. Oliver Plunket, titular Primate of Ireland, who was executed at Tyburn, on Friday the first of this instant July, 1681. Written by his own hand. London, printed by N. Thompson, 1681. Folio, containing four pages. 548

The Pope's Dreadful Curse; being the form of Excommunication of the Church of Rome. Taken out of the Leger-book of the Church of Rochester, now in the custody of the Dean and Chapter there. Writ by Ernulfus the bishop. London, printed and are to be sold by L. C. on Ludgate Hill, 1681. Folio, containing two pages. 553

A Letter from Paris, from Sir George Wakeman to his friend Sir W. S. in London. Printed for T. B. in the year 1681. Folio, containing two pages. 555

A Voice from the Dead: or, the Speech of an old noble Peer; being the excellent orations of the learned and famous Boetius, to the Emperor Theodoricus. London, printed and sold by Richard Janeway, 1681. Quarto, containing eight pages. 557

The Honour and Courage of our English Parliaments, in the reign of Queen Elisabeth, of ever blessed memory, in defending of her, and the Protestant Religion, expressed in some of the preambles of the Acts for Subsidies, granted to that famous Princess.

Post tot———
Tendimus in Latium?

"That man, who doth not defend his religion and country, having the law on his side, will, either through slavish fear, or for base interest, when times change, most certainly give up, and sacrifice both."

London, printed for John Wickins, at the White-Hart, against St. Dunstan's Church, in Fleet-Street, 1681. Quarto, containing twenty-four pages. 560

THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

A PHILOSOPHICAL ESSAY,

TREATING OF

The most probable Cause of that grand Mystery of Nature,

THE FLUX AND REFLUX,

OR, FLOWING AND EBBING OF THE SEA.

London: Printed by T. M. for T. Passinger, at the Three Bibles, on the middle of London Bridge, 1673. Quarto, containing eighteen pages.

To the learned and judicious Sir John Marsham, of Whoornes-Place in Kent, Knight and Baronet, one of the six clerks of his Majesty's High Court of Chancery.

SIR,

When the sun opens the curtains of the east, and gilds and enamels the fringes of the firmament with his early beams, the lesser lights resign themselves up to his, and muffle themselves up in their own obscurity, as being vanquished with an excess of splendor; so the meaner and pettier censures shall look faint and dim, if you, that are the great luminary in the orb of learning, shall shed a propitious beam and influence upon this crude essay, which will not only rescue it from the virulency of detraction, but so foment and improve it, that it will bourge on and flourish under your protection: so that, though it owe its birth to my pen, it will intitle its verdure and perfection to your candid acceptance of it; now it is offered up to yours, from the hands of him, who is,

Sir,

Your most affectionate Servant,

THOMAS PHILIPOT.

THERE is a huge variety of opinions, that intitle themselves to have unwound the cause of this grand mystery of nature, the flux and reflux of the sea; but they are erected upon untenable principles, and so intwined and complicated, that I may say of them, as Florus did of the mountainous inhabitants of the Alps, *Pluris erat invenire quam vincere;* it is a greater difficulty to trace out and unravel them, than to subvert or dismantle them.

The First Opinion is,

Of Leonardus Lessius, who affirms, that the motion of reciprocation or replication, commonly stiled, the flux and reflux of the sea, intitles its primitive and original causality, to the supernatural guidance and managery of an angel; but if the strength of man be seen in his reason, and the strength of reason evidenced in his judgment, and the strength of judgment manifested in his knowledge, all these three, by this frail opinion, must be destroyed; for, who will ever attempt by a noble winnowing and industrious pursuit and inquest after the more eminent but cloudy and abstruse causes of nature, to unlock the mysteries of them, which are laid up in her gloomy cabinet, when he can affirm, that their operation owes its original emanation, or efflux, to the supernatural conduct of an angel, and this at last will become the common sanctuary to shelter a universal ignorance? Indeed, I do not deny, but the hand of God's special providence is sometimes stretched out and extended to support nature, when she is feeble and faint in her operations, or else to knit and twist extraordinary causes with extraordinary effects, when she is not able to perfect and perform this union, and then only when she is defective either in her strength or in her light; but to do it always, and assert that these extraordinary efforts of God's special providence are visibly manifested at all times, and in all seasons, is to ravel and discompose the chain of second causes, whose operations are still interwoven with the concourse and concomitance of the first. But the irregularity of this opinion will further appear by this question, Why have not the Baltick, Euxine, and Caspian seas this flux and reflux of waters, by this angelical motion; since they are as capable of it, as other parts of the ocean abroad, that daily receive it? Besides, it is absurd to imagine that seas, divided by such vast intervals, should at one and the same instant swell into tides, and fall into ebbings, by the transport and managery of one single angel, and yet these waters, being equally moved, should produce such different fluxes and refluxes. And now, I hope, by this time, wise men will laugh at this opinion, not in applause, but contempt of the vanity of it.

The Second Opinion is,

That of our countryman Lydiat, who avers, that the flux and reflux of the sea owes its primitive efficiency to subterraneous fires, fed and fomented by a stock either of sulphurous or else of bituminous matter; but this position of his meets with so many ruinous and destructive difficulties, that it is almost impossible to reconcile it to truth; for it is by all agreed, that the flux and reflux of the sea is periodical in its revolution, and so determined, fixed, and certain; but, if this opinion of his should be assented to, where there is not this collection of sulphurous and bituminous matter (as on the coast of Norway, and other places) there would be no tides at all. Besides, where this stock of combustible matter is wholly wasted and impaired, the flux and reflux of the sea must wholly cease. But then, secondly, why should not the Dead Sea in Palestine, or the lake Asphaltites, that has such an eminent congestion of bitumen transfused through the bowels of it, be capable of prodigious

tides? But this, we know, is contradicted by all experience. Thirdly, why should not the Baltick Sea, that is replenished with many bituminous particles, as appears from the generation of amber, which most do conclude to be a coagulum or concretion of salt, sulphur, and bitumen, and which is frequently found upon the coast of Liesland, Courland, and Prussia, have these tides and ebbings, which every one knows to be contrary to all observation? Fourthly, why do not the tides upon the coasts of Sicily and Naples swell to a very important height, since both their circumambient shores abound with such a copious quantity of sulphur? But this we know is evidently false, the sea not swelling upon those coasts to a diameter of above three or four feet, when it is at the highest. But, last of all, if you ask Lydiat, what superior cause produces these subterraneous fires, he will tell you, that it is the reflexion of the beams of the sun upon the convex superficies of the sea. To this I answer, that, by the consent of many eminent philosophers, the rays of the sun never operate by penetration upon that watery body above fifteen cubits, and so impossible, where the sea is of any considerable depth, to produce these subterraneous fires. And thus, I think, I have sufficiently disarmed his opinion.

The Third Opinion is,

That the flux and reflux of the sea is caused by some prodigious eddies and whirlpools, that suck and transport the sea from the north to the south; and from the south to the north; that there is such a vast whirlpool upon the coast of Norway, is most certain, which is by mariners stiled, the Navel of the Sea: but, that there is such an one in the southern hemisphere to refund back the sea by a motion of replication, no observations either of Ramusius, Linschoten, or the more curious De Leat have ever discovered to us, whose searches and inquisitions into the mysteries of the East Indian and West Indian seas were never yet cavilled or quarrelled at: Besides, if there were any such in those parts, upon the reciprocal return of the southern waters toward the north, that multitude of angry circles, which discompose, by reason of that voluminous whirlpool, the face of the Norwegian sea, would every twenty-four hours disband, and be smooth, as the aspect of peace, and even as the margin of a pool, when it is not disordered into wrinkles by the rough breath of a ruder tempest. But this is contradictory to the daily observation of the inhabitants that confine upon the fringes of this stupendous whirlpool.

Thus, I think likewise, this opinion, that is supported by such feeble crutches, is at last overturned.

The Fourth Opinion.

But, as some have found out a navel, so Kepler hath found out the lungs of the sea; for he asseveres the terrestial globe to be but one great animal, and that the flux and reflux of the sea does proceed from the systole and diastole, or the contraction and expansion of its spacious lungs. But then I ask, first, whether does this motion result, either from air, or some spirit? Or, secondly, does it issue either from a sensi-

tive or rational soul? And, thirdly, I enquire upon what coast these prodigious lungs are situated? And, until the abettors of this wild opinion, if there be any such, do give some satisfactory answers to these queries, this opinion is demolished by a bare negation of it.

The Fifth Opinion is,

Of Picus Mirandula, that this increase and decrease of water is caused *per mutuas et benevolas aquarum allicientias;* that is, by a motion of aggregation or sympathetical connexion, by which water does vigorously endeavour to unite and combine with water. But, if this were granted, streams would seek to intwine with streams, and lakes twist with lakes, till, at last, long before this, the world must have suffered under the angry baptism of a public deluge. Secondly, where there is this motion of aggregation or connexion, the tides would swell to an important height, as in the Caspian, Euxine, and Baltick seas, where all geographers, that have displayed to us the topography of those places, have discovered to us, that a multitude of huge rivers do daily disembogue themselves: And, on the other side, those seas that do not swell with the additional supplies of very few or no rivers, as the Norwegian ocean, and others, would have very little or no tides at all; both which are evidently false, and repugnant to daily observation: therefore, this opinion of his, established upon such frail principles, does easily shrink and languish into its own ruin.

The Sixth Opinion

Does aver, that the sea does intitle the causality of its flux and reflux to some currents that either set from east to west, or from north to south: but, if this were assented to, the Red sea, the Euxine sea, and the Baltick sea, would improve themselves to a huge increase of tides, considering all three are fed by a communication of perpetual currents: but this is manifestly false, for the Red sea and Euxine have little or no tides, and the Baltick sea none at all. Therefore I wave this opinion as altogether erroneous.

The Seventh Opinion,

Intitles the motion of the earth to be the cause of the motion of the sea: those, who abet this opinion, affirm three things:

First, that the earth and sea have but one centre, to render the whole globe more regularly and uniformly orbicular, and so more apt for that motion they are designed to receive.

Secondly, they assert, that every part and particle of this spherical body is so tied and threaded together by a magnetical union, that it is impossible that the least atom should start out of its natural situation, being fastened and fettered to its station by so inexpugnable a magnetism.

Thirdly, that its motion is circular; now the flux and reflux of the sea is *motus transversus*, or a motion of reciprocation and rejection, like water that is justled, and thrown from side to side, in a pail or bowl. Now, if it should move circularly, every part would move so evenly and magnetically, that there would be no flux or reflux of the sea at all.

Secondly, since the Euxine, Baltick, and Caspian seas are such considerable parts of this globous body, they must move equally with it, if it move at all; and then why have they not the same flux and reflux as other seas have, since they have the same aptitude, or natural intrinsick capacity, to receive this motion, as other seas have? But that they have not flux or reflux at all is demonstratively true. But whether this opinion be so or no, I refer to the scrutiny of the judicious reader: indeed, I could wish that those, who defend the motion of the earth, would produce more vigorous arguments to fortify and secure their thesis, merely to subvert the Pope's infallibility; one of whom, not many years since, by a signal determination and definition, *ex cathedra*, blasted it for impious and heretical, and condemned the obstinate assertors of it, to his truest purgatory, the inquisition.

The Eighth Opinion is,

That the sun is the sole, primary, and efficient cause of this flux and reflux. That the sun is a partial, concurrent, or concomitant cause, I affirm; but that it is the sole and principal, I deny, and that upon these foundations: for, if it should be, the tides, in the vast wilderness of the northern seas, would upon the *apogæum*, or recess of the sun, shrink and contract themselves, for want of his vigorous excitation to a considerable decrease; and again, upon his *perigæum*, or nearest approach, swell to an important magnitude, both which are evidently false; for it is generally observed, that about the autumnal equinox, and sometimes after, the tides, in those seas abovesaid, are improved and increased to an extraordinary height; and on the contrary, about the summer solstice, they suffer a sensible and visible diminution and decrease, rather than any augmentation; both which were absurd to imagine, if the sun was the sole efficient cause.

Secondly, why should not the Caspian, Euxine, and Baltick seas be capable of this motion, since they are also exposed to the impressions of the sun, either perpendicular, or by vibration, when he is in, or near his *perigæum*; but this they have not, is evident; and therefore, the sun is not the prime, sole, and efficient cause of the flux and reflux of the sea.

The Ninth Opinion is,

That the moon is the principal cause of this marine motion. That it is a subservient, concurrent, and concomitant cause, I shall grant, but that it is the sole efficient, I shall never affirm; for if it were, it would universally and equally move all seas, especially when they are under its *perigæum*, and then the Baltick, Euxine, and Caspian seas would be capable of this flux and reflux likewise, but that they are not is apparently evident. I know, it is objected, that the moon hath a principal efficiency in the flowings of the sea, because it is observed, that when she is in her sextile, and in her full, shell-fish do swell and increase to an unusual bulk and corpulency: but to this I answer, that this is produced not by any direct causality of the moon, but only by accident; for those great tides, which intervene at those times, transport with them a large quantity of mud and sullage, which treasure up a fat slimy unctuous juice,

which shell fish greedily sucking in, by the supply of so luscious an aliment, enlarge themselves to that dimension they arrive at, at those seasons.

The Tenth Opinion,

Which I adhere to is, that there is a vitriolated, volatile, or armoniack salt or spirit, that is wrapped up in the bowels of the sea, and lies there clasped up and imprisoned in the embraces of the fixed and nitrous salt, which, upon its excitation, by the agitation of the superficies of the sea, and the opening of it, by the combined and complicated impressions of the sun and moon, dislodges from its inclosure, and shoots itself up to the watery margin, and drags along with it that heap of waters we stile the flux (though I do not deny, but that it is something aided and assisted in this operation by an elater or spring of air, that being rescued from its compression and confinement, ascends up with it), and upon closing and contracting its face upon the recess of those two great luminaries, shrinks back again, and with it pulls along that mass of waters, it before had elevated, and this produces the reflux. And this opinion is supported by three experiments: the first is, that of Zuingerus, a modern chymist, cited by Fromondus, in his book of meteors, who observed that some sort of chymical oil of vitriol did ascend and descend in times proportionate and adequate to the flux and reflux of the sea. The second is, that of Athanasius Kircherus, in his Mundus Subterraneus, who there discovers to us, that an infusion of sal armoniack, lodged in an open vessel, and placed obliquely to receive the influence of the moon, when she was in her sextile, did increase and decrease, as if it held an equal correspondence, by an uninterrupted chain of atoms, with the flowings and ebbings of the marine waters. The third is that of Greatrick's glasses, upon whose sides if you beat with important onsets, they resist their impression, but break it at the top, and it flies in pieces with much violence and tumult; and the reason is, because the armoniack or volatile salt, that lay imprisoned, and cloistered up, in the claspings and circumscription of the nitrous or fixed salt, finding itself infranchised and redeemed from the strict inclosures of those two rigid adversaries, sallies out, with an impetuous eagerness, and that eruption occasions that disorder and concussion.

But I know it will be objected, why have not the Euxine, Baltick, and Caspian seas their flux and reflux likewise, since it is probable their waters imprisoned as great a stock of vitriolated, volatile, or armoniack salt, as other seas are intrusted with, that have the vicissitudes? To this I answer, that it is as probable they have not; but suppose they had, yet its volatile spirit is checked and depressed by that multitude of vast and deep rivers, that perpetually disgorge themselves into those seas abovesaid; and it is likewise possible, that there is a considerable quantity of sulphur, bitumen, fixed and nitrous salt, conducted along with their currents, whose fixing quality may improve the depression of the vitriolated and armoniack particles, and so benumb their volatility, that it is almost impossible for the united influences of the sun and moon, to excite their so stupified vigour. But if it be enquired how it happens, since so many capacious streams disembogue themselves into those seas,

that the neighbouring territories do not suffer under a constant inundation? I answer, that the water that is treasured up in the cells and caverns of the earth, which, it is probable, here are more than ordinary copious, intice and allure back the marine waters, *per motum nexus*, by a motion of adherence, aggregation, union, and connexion, and so by a continual circulation, reimburse and new-stock the rivers, with additional streams which are daily paid, in so profuse a tribute, to the vast exchequer of their watery sovereign.

And thus have I, as compendiously as might be, wound up this essay; yet I am not so confident to believe, but that posterity may by new discoveries and scrutinies, for arts are not yet in their solstice, nor knowledge in its zenith, improve it to greater advantage of the publick, than could be expected from this faint result of my pen; in the interim I shall desire the reader, to acquiesce in that amicable and ingenuous determination of the poet,——*Si quid novisti rectius istis, candidus imperti: Si non, his utere mecum.*

THE CHARACTER OF A COFFEE-HOUSE,

WITH THE SYMPTOMS OF A TOWN WIT.

With allowance, April 11th, 1673.

London: Printed for Jonathan Edwin, at the Three Roses in Ludgate-Street, 1675.
Folio, containing eight pages,

A COFFEE-HOUSE is a lay-conventicle, good-fellowship turned puritan, ill-husbandry in masquerade, whither people come, after toping all day, to purchase, at the expence of their last penny, the repute of sober companions; a Rota room, that, like Noah's ark, receives animals of every sort, from the precise diminutive band, to the hectoring cravat and cuffs in folio; a nursery for training up the smaller fry of virtuosi in confident tattling, or a cabal of kittling criticks that have only learned to spit and mew; a mint of intelligence, that, to make each man his pennyworth, draws out into petty parcels, what the merchant receives in bullion: he, that comes often, saves two-pence a week in Gazettes, and has his news and his coffee for the same charge, as at a threepenny ordinary they give in broth to your chop of mutton; it is an exchange, where haberdashers of political small-wares meet, and mutually abuse each other, and the publick, with bottomless stories, and headless notions; the rendezvous of idle pamphlets, and persons more idly employed to read them; a high court of justice, where every little fellow in a camlet cloke takes upon him to transpose affairs both in church and state, to shew reasons against acts of parliament, and condemn the decrees of general councils: it is impossible to describe it bet-

ter than the most ingenious of the Latin poets has done it to our hand, and that so excellently, we cannot but transcribe it:

Unde quod est usquam quamvis regionibus absit
Inspicitur, penetratque cavas vox omnis ad aures;
Nocte dieque patet, tota est ex ære sonanti,
Tota fremit, vocesque refert, iteratque quod audit.
Nulla quies intus, nullâque silentia parte,
Nec tamen est clamor, sed parvæ murmura vocis:
Qualia de pelagi (si quis procul audiat) undâ
Esse solent, qualemve sonum cum Jupiter atras
Increpuit nubes, extrema tonitrua reddunt;
Atria turba tenet, veniunt leve vulgus, euntque,
Mistaque cum veris passim commenta vagantur,
Millia rumorum, confusaque verba volutant;
E quibus hi vacuas implent sermonibus aures,
Hi narrata ferunt aliò, mensuraque ficti
Crescit, et auditis aliquid novus adjicit author.
Illic credulitas, illic temerarius error
Vanaque lætitia est, consternatique timores
Seditioque recens, dubioque authore susurri.
Ipsa quid in cœlo rerum, pelagoque geratur
Et tellure videt, totumque inquirit in orbem.

Thus strictly Englished:

Here all that's done, though far remote, appears,
And in close whispers penetrates our ears;
As built of brass, the house throughout resounds,
Reports things heard, and every word rebounds.
No rest within, nor silence, yet the noise
Not loud, but like a hollow murmuring voice;
Such as from far by rolling waves is sent,
Or like Jove's fainting thunder almost spent:
Hither the idle vulgar come and go,
Carrying a thousand rumours to and fro;
With stale reports some list'ning ears do fill,
Some coin fresh tales in words that vary still;
Lyes mixt with truth, all in the telling grows,
And each relator adds to what he knows:
Here dwells rash error, light credulity,
Sad panick fears, joys built on vanity;
New rais'd sedition, secret whisperings
Of unknown authors, and of doubtful things:
All acts of heav'n and earth it boldly views,
And, through the spacious world, enquires for news.

The room stinks of tobacco worse than hell of brimstone, and is as full of smoke as their heads that frequent it, whose humours are as various as those of Bedlam, and their discourse oftentimes as heathenish and

dull as their liquor; that liquor, which, by its looks and taste, you may reasonably guess to be Pluto's diet drink, that witches tipple out of dead men's skulls, when they ratify to Belzebub their sacramental vows.

This Stygian puddle-seller was formerly notorious for his ill-favoured cap, that aped a turbant, and, in conjunction with his anti-christian face, made him appear perfect Turk: but of late, his wife being grown acquainted with gallants, and the provocative vertue of chocolate, he finds a broad-brimmed hat more necessary: when he comes to fill you a dish, you may take him for Guy Faux with a dark lanthorn in his hand, for no sooner can you taste it, but it scalds your throat, as if you had swallowed the gunpowder treason; though he seem never so demure, you cannot properly call him Pharisee, for he never washes either out or inside of his pots or dishes, till they be as black as an usurer's conscience; and, then only scraping off the contracted soot, makes use of it, in the way of his trade, instead of coffee-powder; their taste and vertue being so near of kin, he dares defy the veriest coffee-critick to distinguish them: though he be no great traveller, yet he is in continual motion, but it is only from the fire-side to the table, and his tongue goes infinitely faster than his feet, his grand study being readily to eccho an answer to that threadbare question, What news have you, master? then with a grave whisper, yet such as all the room may hear it, he discovers some mysterious intrigue of state, told him last night by one that is barber to the taylor of a mighty great courtier's man; relating this with no less formality than a young preacher delivers his first sermon, a sudden hickup surprises him, and he is forced twenty times to break the thread of his tale, with such necessary parenthesises, Wife, sweep up those loose corns of tobacco, and see the liquor boil not over. He holds it as part of his creed, that the great Turk is a very good Christian, and of the reformed church, because he drinks coffee, and swears that Pointings, for celebrating its virtues in doggerel, deserves to be poet-laureat; yet is it not only this hot hell-broth that he sells, for never was mountebank furnished with more variety of poisonous drugs, than he of liquors; tea and aromatick for the sweet-toothed gentleman, betony and rosade for the addle-headed customer, back-recruiting chocolate for the consumptive gallant, Herefordshire redstreak made of rotten apples at the Three Cranes, true Brunswick mum brewed at St. Catharine's, and ale in penny mugs, not so big as a taylor's thimble.

As you have a hodge-podge of drinks, such too is your company, for each man seems a leveller, and ranks and files himself as he lists, without regard to degrees or order; so that often you may see a silly fop and a worshipful justice, a griping rook and a grave citizen, a worthy lawyer and an errant pickpocket, a reverend nonconformist and a canting mountebank, all blended together to compose an oglio of impertinence.

If any pragmatick, to shew himself witty or eloquent, begin to talk high, presently the further tables are abandoned, and all the rest flock round (like smaller birds, to admire the gravity of madge-howlet.) They listen to him awhile with their mouths, and let their pipes go out, and coffee grow cold, for pure zeal of attention, but on the sudden fall all

a yelping at once with more noise, but not half so much harmony, as a pack of beagles on the full cry; to still this bawling, up starts

Capt. All-man-sir, the man of mouth, with a face as blustering as that of Æolus and his four sons, in painting, and a voice louder than the speaking trumpet, he begins you the story of a sea-fight; and though he never were further, by water, than the Bear-garden, or Cuckold's-haven, yet, having pirated the names of ships and captains, he persuades you himself was present, and performed miracles; that he waded knee-deep in blood on the upper-deck, and never thought to serenade his mistress so pleasant as the bullets whistling; how he stopped a vice-admiral of the enemy's under full sail, till she was boarded, with his single arm, instead of grappling-irons*, and puffed out with his breath a fire-ship that fell foul on them. All this he relates, sitting in a cloud of smoke, and belching so many common oaths to vouch it, you can scarce guess whether the real engagement, or his romancing account of it, be the more dreadful: however, he concludes with railing at the conduct of some eminent officers (that, perhaps, he never saw) and protests, had they taken his advice at the council of war, not a sail had escaped us.

He is no sooner out of breath, but another begins a lecture on the Gazette, where, finding several prizes taken, he gravely observes, if this trade hold, we shall quickly rout the Dutch, horse and foot, by sea: he nicknames the Polish gentlemen wherever he meets them, and enquires, whether Gayland and Taffaletta be Lutherans or Calvinists? *stilo novo* he interprets a vast new stile, or turnpike, erected by his electoral highness on the borders of Westphalia, to keep Monsieur Turenne's cavalry from falling on his retreating troops; he takes words by the sound, without examining their sense: Morea he believes to be the country of the Moors, and Hungary a place where famine always keeps her court, nor is there any thing more certain, than that he made a whole room full of fops, as wise as himself, spend above two hours in searching the map for Aristocracy and Democracy, not doubting but to have found them there, as well as Dalmatia and Croatia.

Next, Signior Poll takes up the cudgels, that speaks nothing but designs, projects, intrigues, and experiments; one of those in the old comedian, *Plautus, Sciunt id quod in aurem Rex Reginæ dixerit, quod* Juno *confabulata est cum* Jove, *sciunt quæ neque futura neque facta sunt, tamen illi sciunt, &c.* All the councils of the German dyet, the Romish conclave, and Turkish divan, are as well known to him as his laundress's smock. He kens all the cabals of the court to a hair's breadth, and (more than an hundred of us do) which lady is not painted; you would take his mouth for a lembeck, it distills his words so niggardly, as if he was loth to inrich you with lyes, of which he has yet more plenty than Fox, Stowe, and Hollingshead bound up together: he tells you of a plot to let the lions loose in the tower, and then blow it up with white powder; of five hundred and fifty Jesuits all mounted on dromedaries, seen by moon-shine on Hampstead-heath, and a terrible design hatched by the college of Doway, to drain the narrow seas, and bring Popery over

* Vide Justin. Lib. ii. de Cynægiro.

dry shod; besides, he has a thousand inventions dancing in his brain-pan; an advice-boat on the stocks, that shall go to the East Indies and come back again, in a fortnight; a trick to march under water, and bore holes through the Dutch ships keels with augres, and sink them, as they ride at anchor; and a most excellent pursuit to catch sun-beams, for making the ladies new-fashioned towers, that poets may no more be damned for telling lyes about their curls and tresses.

But these are puny pugs; the arch devil, wherewith this smoke-hole is haunted, is the town wit, one that plays *rex* wherever he comes, and makes as much hurry as Robin Goodfellow of old amongst our Granam's milk bowls; he is a kind of a squib on a rope; a meteor, composed of self-conceit and noise, that, by blazing and crackling, engages the wonder of the ignorant, till, on a sudden, he vanishes and leaves a stench, if not infection, behind him; he is too often the stain of a good family, and, by his debauched life, blots the noble coat of his ancestors: a wild unbacked colt, whose brains are not half coddled, indebted for his clothes to his taylor, and for his wit, such as it is, to his company: the school had no sooner endued him with a few superficial sprinklings, but his mother's indulgence posted him to town for genteeler breeding, where three or four wild companions, half a dozen bottles of Burgundy, two leaves of Leviathan, a brisk encounter with his landlord's glass-windows, the charms of a little miss, and the sight of a new play, dubbed him at once both a wit and a hero; ever since, he values himself mainly for understanding the town, and, indeed, knows most things in it that are not worth knowing: the two poles, whereon all his discourses turn, are atheism and bawdy: bar him from being profane or obscene, and you cramp his ingenuity, which forthwith flags and becomes useless, as a mere common lawyer when he has crossed the channel.

He is so refractory to divinity, that morality itself cannot hold him; he affirms human nature knows no such things, as principles of good and evil, and will swear all women are whores, though his mother and sister both stand by: whatever is sacred or serious he seeks to render ridiculous, and thinks government and religion fit objects for his idle and fantastick buffoonry; his humour is proud and assuming, as if he would palliate his ignorance by scoffing at what he understands not; and therefore with a pert and pragmatic scorn depreciates all things of nobler moment, but most passionately affects pretty a-la-mode words; and is as covetous of a new song or air, as an antiquary of Cato's statue with never an arm, and but half a nose; these keep him always employed, and fill up the grotesco's of his conversation, whilst with a stately gallantry, once in every half hour, he combs out his wig, careens his breeches, and new marshals his garniture, to the tune of—Methinks the poor town has been troubled too long.

His mind used to whistle up and down, in the levities of fancy, and effeminated by the childish toyings of a rampant imagination, finds itself indisposed for all solid employment, especially the serious exercises of piety and virtue, which begets an aversion to those lovely beauties, and that prompts him, on all occasions, to expose them as ridiculous and vain: hence, by degrees, he comes to abuse sacred scripture, makes a mock of eternal flames, jokes on the venerable mysteries of religion, and, in fine, scoffs at that all-glorious and tremendous Majesty, before whom,

his brother wits below tremble: it is true, he will not confess himself atheist, yet in his heart the fool hath said it, and boasts aloud, that he holds his gospel from the apostle of Malmsbury, though it is more than probable, he never read, at least understood, ten leaves of that unlucky author; talk of witches, and you tickle him; speak of spirits, and he tells you, he knows none better than those of wine; name but immaterial essence, and he shall flout at you, as a dull fop incapable of sense, and unfit for conversation: nor is he ever better pleased, than when he can here hedge in some young raw divine to bulbait with scurrility, and all kind of profaneness.

By means of some small scraps of learning matched with a far greater stock of confidence, a voluble tongue, and bold delivery, he has the ill luck to be celebrated by the vulgar, for a man of parts; which opinion gains credit to his insolencies, and sets him on further extravagancies, to maintain his title of a wit, by continuing his practice of fooling; whereas all his mighty parts are summed up in this inventory: '*Imprimis*, a 'peddling way of fancy, a lucky hit at quibbling, now and then an odd 'metaphor, a conceited irony, a ridiculous simile, a wild fetch, an un-'expected inference, a mimick gesture, a pleasing knack in humouring a 'tale, and lastly an irresistible resolution to speak last, and never be 'dashed out of countenance.'

By these arts, dexterously managed, he engrosses a vast repute; the grave citizen calls him a shrewd man, and notable headpiece; the ladies (we mean the things so called of his acquaintance) vote him a most accomplished gentleman; and the blades swear, he is a walking comedy, the only merry Andrew of the age, that scatters wit, wherever he comes, as beggars do lice, or musk-cats perfumes, and that nothing, in nature and all, can compare with him.

You would think he had got the Lullian art, for he speaks extempore on all subjects, and ventures his words, without the relief of sense to second them; his thoughts start from his imagination, and he never troubles himself to examine their decency, or solidity, by judgment. To discourse him seriously, is to read ethicks to a monkey, or make an oration to Caligula's horse, whence you can only expect a weehee or jadish spurn; after the most convincing arguments, if he can but muster up one plausible joke, you are routed: for he, that understood not your logick, apprehends his droll; and, though syllogisms may be answered, yet jests and loud laughter can never be confuted, but have more sway to degrade things with the unthinking croud, than demonstrations; there being a root of envy, in too many men, that invites them to applaud that, which exposes and vilifies what they cannot comprehend: he pretends great skill in curing the tetters and ring-worms of state, but blows in the sores, till they rankle with his poisonous breath; he shoots libels, with his forked tongue, at his superiors, and abuses his dearest friends, chusing to forfeit his neck to the gibbet, or his shoulders to the battoon, rather than lose the driest of his idle quibbles: in brief, he is the jack-pudding of society, a fleering buffoon, a better kind of ape in the judgment of all wise men, but an incomparable wit, in his own.

Thus have we led you from board to board, like the fellow in the tower, to shew you strange beasts, wherewith this place is sometimes frequented. To take now a farewel view of the house will be difficult, since it is al-

ways shifting scenes, and like O Brazile (the inchanted island) seldom appears twice in a posture; the wax candles burning, and low devout whispers sometimes strike a kind of religious awe; whilst the modish gallant swears so often by Jesu, an ignorant catholick would take it for a chapel, and think he were saying our lady's psalter; in some places, the organs speak it a musick-room; at others, a pair of tables and draught-board, a small gaming-house; on a sudden it turns exchange, or a warehouse for all sorts of commodities, where fools are drawn in by inch of candle, as we betray and catch larks with a glass: the bully-rook makes it his bubbling-pond, where he angles for fops, singles out his man, insinuates an acquaintance, offers the wine, and, at next tavern, sets upon him with high fullums, and plucks him: the *ingeniosi* use it for an after rehearsal, where they bring plays to repetition, sift each scene, examine every uncorrected line, and damn beyond the fury of the *rota*; whilst the *incognito* poet out of an overweening affection to his infant wit steals in, muffled up in his cloke, and slily evesdrops like a mendicant mother to praise the prettiness of the babe, she has newly palmed on the parish.

But it is time to be gone, who knows what magick may be a working? For behold! the coffee-powder settles at the bottom of our dish, in form of a most terrible Saracen's head. For a parting blow then give us leave to unbend a little, and say,

A coffee-house is a phanatick theatre, a hot-house to flux in for a clapped understanding, a sympathetical cure for the gonorrhœa of the tongue, or a refined baudy-house, where illegitimate reports are got in close adultery, between lying lips and itching ears.

Si quid novisti rectius, candidus imperti.

THE GRAND CONCERN OF ENGLAND EXPLAINED*,

IN SEVERAL

PROPOSALS OFFERED TO THE CONSIDERATION OF THE PARLIAMENT.

1. For Payment of publick Debts.
2. For Advancement and Encouragement of Trade.
3. For raising the Rents of Lands.

In order whereunto, it is proved necessary,

I. That a stop be put to further buildings in and about London.
II. That the gentry be obliged to live, some part of the year, in the country.

* *Vide* the 300th article in the catalogue of pamphlets.

III. That registers be settled in every county.
IV. That an act for naturalising all foreign Protestants, and indulging them, and his majesty's subjects at home, in matters of conscience, may be passed.
V. That the act, prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle, may be repealed.
VI. That brandy, coffee, mum, tea, and chocolate may be prohibited.
VII. That the multitude of stage-coaches and caravans may be suppressed.
VIII. That no leather may be exported unmanufactured.
IX. That a court of conscience be settled for Westminster, and all the suburbs of London, and in every city and corporation of England.
X. That the extravagant habits and expence of all persons may be curbed, the excessive wages of servants and handicrafts-men may be reduced, and all foreign manufactures may be prohibited.
XI. That it may be made lawful to assign bills, bonds, and other securities; and that a course be taken, to prevent the knavery of bankrupts.
XII. That the Newcastle trade for coals may be managed by commissioners, to the ease of the subjects, and great advantage of the publick.
XIII. That the fishing-trade may be vigorously prosecuted, all poor people set at work to make fishing-tackle, and be paid out of the money collected every year, for the poor, in the several parishes in England.

By a Lover of his Country, and Well-wisher to the Prosperity both of the King and Kingdoms. London, printed in the year 1673. Quarto, containing sixty-four pages.

Proposals humbly offered to the consideration of the Parliament, &c.

1. *For discharging the publick debts of the kingdom.*
2. *For encouraging and advancement of trade.*
3. *The increase of the rents of lands.*

THE honour, interest, and safety of a kingdom lies in maintaining the grandeur and dignity of their king, and the prerogative of his crown; the which can no way be better secured, than by providing him a plentiful revenue wherewith to defray the publick expences of the kingdom, encourage and help all his friends and allies, maintain forces for his own, his subjects, and the kingdom's safeguard at home, and a sufficient fleet at sea for the security of trade abroad, and defence of his kingdom against all foreign princes and potentates; and wherewith also, to discharge such publick debts as are justly owing to any person upon valuable consideration.

If the payment of publick debts were provided for, the rest would be easily secured, without any great charge to the people, and the king be freed from the necessity of calling for fresh supply every year from his subjects, which now comes very hard, and makes parliaments uneasy to themselves, as well as to those whose representatives they are.

The vast debt contracted by his majesty, when beyond the seas; the great sums he hath, since his happy restoration, given to relieve some of the many poor, yet loyal subjects, that served him and his royal father faithfully, and lost their limbs and estates in their service; the great debts he found the kingdom in to the army and navy, when he came first home, which are all paid off, excepting about one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, that hath been under consideration of the parliament, which, if not paid, will be the ruin of many thousands of poor families, who advanced the same for his majesty's service, and it was all employed for bringing him home.

The great charge of the last and this present Dutch war, both which his majesty hath been necessitated unto, for the preservation of the dignity of his person, which they so basely scorned and contemned, the honour of his kingdom, and the interest and security of trade; these, together with the monies expended in the reparations of his ruined houses, repurchasing his own goods, and others for furnishing his royal palaces, and many other publick affairs, have called for frequent and great supplies.

Which, howbeit, the parliament have thought fit freely to grant, when the king hath desired the same, and passed several acts for poll-money, benevolence-money, subsidies, hearth-money, additional excise, taxes upon the law, poundage upon rents, and land-taxes, yet the publick debts are very great, and the reason of it is plainly, because whatever hath been given, except land-taxes, was so over-valued in the granting thereof, the grants so uncertain, the collecting so troublesome and chargeable, and the payment so vexatious to the people, that the end of the parliament hath not been answered, the king hath not had the supply intended, nor the subjects the benefit or ease designed; but the quite contrary events have happened.

So that it is humbly conceived, there is nothing can be more for the interest and advantage of the king and kingdom, than for the parliament to examine what the publick debts really are, how contracted, and when; and to see where the king has been well or ill used, where persons have made usurious or advantageous contracts, and taken advantage of the king's necessities, to impose ill commodities, and at unreasonable rates, upon him, and there to reduce the debt to such a proportion, as the commodity sold was, at the time of such sale, really worth; and to see where the king has been justly dealed with; which done, and the accounts being brought to balance, and the debt stated and known, then at once to raise so much money as may discharge the whole, and appoint persons to see the money, so to be raised, disposed to that and no other use, allowing them indifferent salaries for their pains, that so they may mind the work, and receive no manner of fees or advantage from the creditor, whereby the publick debts may be lessened; for whoever hath trusted the king, had a respect, in setting his price on the commodities sold, to the time, he thought, he should stay for his money, the uncertainty of ever receiving it, the vast charge he must be at in exchequer-fees, gratuities, &c. whenever he should have obtained the same, insomuch that publick debts were and are frequently sold at sixty or seventy pounds per cent. And so, what hinders but that, if this business be prudently managed,

by persons to be intrusted for that purpose, the publick debts may be lessened, and the more easily paid? Which done, the subjects may reasonably expect, and hope, for the future, to be at quiet, and freed from the fears they are now under of a parliament's meeting, lest still there should be fresh supplies for the purposes aforesaid demanded, and given, and no end be known of such gifts; and yet, to his majesty's and the kingdom's great dishonour, both at home and abroad, the publick debts still remain undischarged. And, if money for this purpose shall be, by the parliament, thought fit to be given, it is humbly offered and submitted to their considerations, whether there can be any way in the world found more certain, equal, and easy to raise the same, than by a land-tax? For then they will know what it is they give, when, and how certainly it will come in, and the time when the same will end, and may proportion their contracts and payments accordingly. Besides, a land-tax will be a certain fund for to advance money upon in a short time, at easy interest, wherewith speedily to discharge and pay off those debts, for which now great interest is to be paid.

I know it will be objected, that land is a drug, bears little or no price to be let, or be sold; what rent it is let for tenants are not able to pay; for to lay taxes upon that would utterly undo the gentry, who have nothing to live upon but their rents.

To this I answer, that it is very true, lands let poorly, rents are ill paid, and yield very little, if sold. But let us examine the reasons hereof, and see if some things may not be proposed to remedy those mischiefs, and bring land to its former value; which, if we do, then every man will certainly be of opinion, that a land-tax is the best way to raise money, and be glad, on that condition, to have it imposed.

I am of opinion, that gentlemen's being wanting to themselves is the greatest occasion of the decay of their estates, and lowering of their rents. Now, in order to their bringing them to the same rate and value, if not to a better, than they formerly bore, I humbly propose, that these several particulars following, which can only be done by act of parliament, may be enacted as laws. And I shall endeavour to demonstrate the mischiefs we suffer for want of them, and the great advantages we may rationally expect to receive by their being enacted.

1. I propose, that a stop be put to any farther buildings in or about the cities of London and Westminster, borough of Southwark, or in any place within the weekly bills of mortality, the head being already too big for the body: and that a year's value of all houses built upon new foundations may, by the owners of such houses, be paid to the king towards payment of publick debts, which would advance above three hundred thousand pounds.

2. That all the nobility and gentry of England, who have estates in the country, and are not obliged to attend on his majesty by reason of their offices, be enjoined, with their families, to live where their estates do lie, so many months in each year, as to the wisdom of parliament shall seem meet.

3. That a bill be passed for setting up of registers in every county for registering sales, mortgages, leases for term of years or lives, and all other real securities, and, if possible, all bonds, &c. which work

may be done with little charge to the subject, and yet a profit of above fifty thousand pounds per annum arise to the publick.

4. That an act for a general naturalising of all foreign Protestants be passed, and an assurance of liberty of conscience given to all that shall come over into England, and place themselves and families amongst us: and that the same privilege be given to his majesty's subjects at home.

5. That the act for prohibition of the importation of Irish cattle be repealed, and a trade between the two kingdoms established, whereby his majesty's revenue of customs would be advanced above eighty thousand pounds per annum.

6. That brandy and mum, coffee and tea, be prohibited, and coffee-houses suppressed, which may be done without any diminution of his majesty's revenue of excise.

7. That the multitude of stage-coaches and caravans now travelling upon the roads be all or most of them suppressed, especially those within forty or fifty miles of London, where they are no way necessary, and yet most numerous and mischievous; and that a due regulation be made of such as shall be thought fit to be continued. Which done, his majesty's excise would be worth above thirty thousand pounds per annum more than it now is, and the post-office by six thousand pounds per annum.

8. That the act for transportation of leather unmanufactured be repealed, or so far discountenanced at least, that it be not renewed when the seven years are expired.

9. That a court, in the nature of the court of request in London, be established for Westminster, Southwark, and all parts within the weekly bills of mortality, if possible, and in every city and town corporate in England, to determine differences between poor people, for small debts, words, or trespasses, that so they may not be undone by law-suits.

10. That a bound be put to the extravagant habits and expences of all sorts of persons, that servants and handicraft-tradesmen's excessive wages may be reduced, and that no foreign manufactures, except from Ireland, be suffered to be worn in England, but that the importation and exposing of them knowingly to sale be both made felony.

11. That it be made lawful to assign bills, bonds, and other securities, and the frauds of men breaking, with design to inrich themselves out of their creditors' estates, may be prevented.

12. That the Newcastle trade for coals may be managed by commissioners for his majesty, which would be a great advantage to the subjects, and raise his majesty above three hundred thousand pounds per annum.

13. That the fishing-trade be encouraged, all poor set at work to provide tackle for that use, and be paid out of the money collected yearly in every parish throughout England for relief of the poor, which would be of vast advantage to the publick.

In order to the evincing of the necessity of prohibiting any further buildings, in and about London and Westminster, and of the gentry's being confined to live, some part of the year, upon their estates in the

country; I desire every serious considerate person, that knew London and Westminster, and the suburbs thereof, forty or fifty years ago, when England was far richer, and more populous, than now it is, to tell me, whether, by additional buildings upon new foundations, the said cities, and suburbs, since that time, are not become at least a third part bigger than they were; and whether, in those days, they were not thought, and found large enough, to give a due reception to all persons that were fit, or had occasion to resort thither, whereupon all further buildings, on new foundations, even in those days, were prohibited? Nevertheless, above thirty thousand houses, great and small, have been since built, the consequences whereof may be worthy of our consideration. These houses are all inhabited; considering then what multitudes of whole families, formerly dwelling in and about the said cities, were cut off by the two last dreadful plagues, as also by the war abroad and at home, by land and by sea, and how many have transported themselves, or been transported, into our foreign plantations; and it must naturally follow, that those who inhabit these new houses, and many of the old ones, must be persons coming out of the country; which makes so many inhabitants the less there, where they are most needful and wanting. For the occasion of the rents of lands falling, every year, arises not so much from lands growing worse, as because of the want of tenants, with good stocks, to manage the farms they take. And this mischief hath been, and is in great measure, occasioned by these additional buildings; for, had they not been erected, those, who inhabit them, would have been in the country, living an industrious and laborious life, improving their stocks, and thereby advantaging gentlemen's lands, and the trade of the nation. But now, if a man get two or three hundred pounds in his pocket, up he comes to London, takes a house, pays a fine, lays out the rest of his money in furnishing it for lodgers, thereby promising himself a lazy life, free from care; or else he sets up an ale-house or brandy-house, both tending to the debauching and destroying of youth; when, had there not been these buildings to draw them hither, and give shelter, then those men, with three or four hundred pounds a-piece stocks, employed in the country, might have made each of them a good tenant, for a farm of one or two hundred pounds per annum; which farms, by their removing to London, are thrown into the landlords' hands, so that, by a moderate calculation, it is judged, that there are sixty thousand families, at least, now in, and about London, more than would, or could conveniently have been, if these houses had not been built; which families, if they had continued in the country, would have kept up the value of lands, which fall only for want of tenants: if therefore, more buildings should be hereafter erected, more mischiefs, in all probability, will be done of this kind to the country; and really, gentlemen may thank themselves for the prejudice they receive by these means, they having given the example, and been the occasion thereof. For they, never thinking their estates would have an end, weary of an honest and commendable country life, come up to London to see fashions, fall into ill company, learn how to run out of all their estates in a short time, by extravagant habits, gaming, drinking, and other debaucheries,

destructive to their healths, as much as estates; as if to have lived in the country, upon their own estates, and to have taken care of, and managed them, and kept a handsome retinue of servants, and a good house of hospitality, and to have taken off their tenants' provisions, for their family expences, in part of their rents, relieving and setting the poor at work, and encouragement of art, industry, and labour, were not so commendable in them, or so much for their advantage, and honour, as to live idly in London, pursuing their lustful pleasures, paying, whilst their own houses stand empty, and go to ruin for want of being inhabited, more for their lodgings, than would maintain their families handsomely in the country, and increase the consumption of the provisions, and manufactures of the kingdom, than which nothing can conduce more to the improvement of land. I would desire to know of any sober person, how far the many gentlemen, who have thus foolishly and idly run themselves out of their estates, have done good with the same; who is the better for it? Is the country, where their estates lie, or their tenants that rent them? or the poor inhabitants about them? No, not at all, but all the worse, and undone thereby; for when these persons come first to London, they bring up all the money they can get in specie, and no sooner do their rents grow due in the country, but they, or their bailiffs or stewards, rack the poor tenants for the same, gather in all that they can get, and sue, or distrain, where money is not presently to be had, taking away tenants' cattle, selling them for half their worth, and thereby ruin, not only idle persons, or ill husbands, that have run out of their stocks, but also many industrious men, and great husbands, who have stock and goods enough, if sold, wherewith to answer the rent; and the want of a vent, for the product of their farms, is the only reason why they could not raise present money for their landlords. How many persons, by these means, have been undone, forced to leave their farms, which thereby have been thrown into their owners' hands; who have been forced both to abate rents, and keep their farms a year or two, without making any thing of them, before they could dispose of them again? And I know none the better for these things, but the gentry's and nobility's bailiffs and stewards, who being intrusted to let and set, receive rents, and manage their masters' estates, do by their neglecting to call them to account, or looking after, and disposing their own affairs, grow vastly rich, and frequently, in trustees' names, become purchasers of their masters' estates; whilst they, in the mean time, by means as aforesaid, become greatly impoverished. The rather, for that frequently, when they receive their masters' rents, they pretend the tenants have them in their hands, and put their masters, thereby, under necessity of borrowing money for their present supplies; which when they have done, they, being employed to procure the same, do frequently furnish them with their own money, making them pay brokerage, procuration, and continuation-money, and interest for the same, which helps forward their ruin.

In short, these new buildings are advantageous to none but to the owners of the ground on which they are built, who have raised their wonted rents, from a hundred pounds to five or six hundred pounds

per annum, besides the improvements in reversion; or to the builders, who by slight buildings on long leases, make ten or twelve pounds per cent. of their monies. But, the advantage of these persons being the country's great prejudice, therefore, in my poor opinion, it seems agreeable to reason, that they ought to help to pay the publick debts of the kingdom; and the country, who are hurt by them, should be eased; and for them to pay one year, or a year and half's improved rent to the king, would not be much, considering the greatness of the improvement they have, and are like to make. So that admitting that there are thirty thousand houses, built upon new foundations as aforesaid, and that each of those houses, one with another, should pay but ten pounds, per annum rent, and the king should have but one year's rent from each house, the same would amount unto above three hundred thousand pounds, which would go a great way in the discharging the publick debts; but one year's rent, from each of these houses, it is conceived, would come to above five hundred thousand pounds: and the forcing them, that have built contrary to the statute, to pay such a fine, would deter others from building for the future, of which there can be no need; considering that there are above three thousand brave houses, which, for the honour of the nation, are at great charge, to the ruin of the builders, rebuilt, stand empty within London walls, and are like so to do, by reason that the trade is drawn out of the city, to the new erected buildings in the suburbs, where the inhabitants have these advantages following:

1. They have houses at easier rates, because built at lesser charge, than those in the city, which were built when all materials were very scarce and dear, and workmen's wages extreme high.

2. They are certain, in most places, to raise their rents, by letting lodgings, especially, near the inns of court, Whitehall, and Westminster, the gentry coveting to lodge thereabouts; and they have not only lodgings, but the advantage of their customer also, for such commodities as they sell, and their lodgers want. Which hinders the trade of the city, where little or no benefit at all is made by lodgings.

3. They are not liable to a third penny of charges for taxes, and publick duties, that they are, who live within the city; whereby they can afford to sell at a lower rate, than in London they can do. All which inevitably tends to destruction of the trade, within the walls.

III.

The third thing proposed is a bill of registers; that in every county a register may be settled, to register all bills of sale, judgments, statutes, recognisances, bonds, mortgages, leases, and conveyances of land; than which nothing can be of greater advantage to gentlemen, security to purchasers, or benefit to the publick, without hurt to any, unless the professors of the law, or such who intend and design to defraud purchasers.

Those, therefore, that shall oppose so excellent and beneficial an act as this, must be either, first, such who live by the practice of the law; or, secondly, such as understand not their own interest; or, thirdly, such as design to live by defrauding others. The opposition, arising from the practisers of the law, is not so much from their conviction, that the thing in itself is not good and beneficial to the publick, as from self-interest, which too much governs all sorts of men in this age, men being apt to

prefer private advantage before a general good. I confess, a register may prove a great hinderance to those of that profession; for, in a short time, it would prevent the multitude of suits, that yearly arise between his Majesty's subjects, occasioned by the cheats that are committed for want of such a registry as is proposed, and, perhaps, would save the subjects, at least, two or three hundred thousand pounds per annum, which now are spent in those suits; which, if prevented, and the money saved to the people, would be employed in trade, or spent upon the manufactures and provisions of the kingdom; and so the number of attornies would not increase, as of late they have done, there being about six thousand of them, besides sollicitors, who live scattered about the country; most of whom could not subsist, but by making it their whole study and business to promote suits and controversies, and encourage quarrelsome persons to bring actions against their neighbours for small petty trespasses, or a frivolous, hasty, passionate word or two; those persons of that employment taking advantage thereby of inriching themselves by impoverishing the subjects; whereas, were it not for them, such differences might happily be composed in a friendly and amicable way.

The second sort, that I presume may oppose this act, are men not sensible of their own interest and advantage, nor of that of the publick; for, if a register were kept of all sales, leases for years or lives, mortgages, judgments, statutes, recognisances, and of all other real securities, that will or can lay hold on lands, so that in every county, where any gentleman's estate lieth, a man may know, by the register, what estate he hath in that county, and what incumbrances are upon it. Therefore, if it were declared by law, that no incumbrance shall be good, but such as, if made or entered into before the act for settling registers be passed, shall be registered within one year after the passing thereof; or, if made or entered into after the passing the said act, shall be registered within one month, or two, after such conveyances or securities are entered into or made, or otherwise be void, it would highly be for the advantage of all gentlemen, that either have or may have land to sell, or would borrow money upon mortgages: for then they shall not need to be beholden unto those men, that make it their trades to dispose of gentlemen's money, to help gentlemen to purchasers for their lands, or to take up money upon securities, whom now they are forced to make use of, and pay great sums for brokerage, procuration, and continuation-money. Whereupon I desire every gentleman to consider, when he comes to London, and wants money, how difficult a thing he finds it to supply himself therewith, though he offer good land-security. What begging, intreating, running from place to place! What expences is he put to! And, when all is done, let him consider, whether he can be accommodated without city-security, which runs him into further obligations and expences to procure; and, if he does get such, whether he be ever the less constrained to pay three, four, or five per cent. for procuring, and sometimes, *viis et modis*, ten per cent. for what he borrows: and then, it being lent but for a year, the procurers thereof, and their emissaries, being wont to contrive which way to make their further advantage of the borrowers, do commonly, at the nine months end, send them word, that the persons, whose money they borrowed, have great

occasions for the same, and are forced to call it in, and must have it when due: but, withal, they usually advise them not to be troubled, or take any care; for, if they cannot raise the money themselves, they will furnish them elsewhere, having the like consideration for their pains as before; the which these gentlemen are forced to agree unto, because, perhaps, they know not elsewhere to have it: and, when they have thus done, then they go to the persons, whose money they had lent to these gentlemen the year before, and tell them, that the gentlemen that borrowed the same desire to pay it in, when it shall be due; who, finding and believing their security good, are loth to receive it, never having given any direction to call it in, nor knowing how better to dispose thereof, when they receive the same; whereupon, to please them also, they inform them, that other good security is ready for them, so that the money shall not lie dead; and so they get the advantage of the gentleman that had the money, by procuring other sums for them in lieu thereof, and of the persons to whom they lend the money so called in: insomuch that, by frequent shifting the loan-money from one hand to another, they sometimes receive to themselves, from the persons borrowing, as much as the principal sum lent amounted to, for procuration, brokerage, and continuation; whereby the borrowers at last are brought to sell their estates, and, being reduced to such necessities by the subtleties of these persons, are forced to be beholden to them to procure purchasers; which when they perceive, they usually play their game as followeth:—The seller is by them persuaded that they can get no purchaser, but such as doth object against their title, or their persons, using many frivolous delays, till they drive them to such distress, that they must sell at any rate: and then their living remote in the country, or being under protections, as parliament-men or courtiers; or their estates lying far from London, or the uncertainty of what incumbrances may be thereupon, are objections which they raise, pretending, that all men they propose their estates unto (upon these, or such-like accounts) are afraid to deal with them, unless such as wait for good bargains, and will not purchase, except they can buy below the market-price. By which means they so contrive the matter with the venders, that they force them to sell that for thirteen, fourteen, or fifteen years purchase, which really is worth twenty; and, out of that contract, their manner is to bargain for a good gratuity for themselves, although they at the same time have agreed with the purchaser, that is to have the land, for one or two years purchase more than they are to pay to the sellers. And, the better to manage their designs, the buyers are concealed, and the land-brokers and jobbers of land find other persons to personate the purchaser, so that the vender is never suffered to know or see them, till the writings be drawn; wherein the considerations are frequently expressed to be a year or two's purchase more, than the vender is to receive for the same; which when they question the reason of, they are informed, that it is done only to enable the purchasers to demand better prices, when they sell the same, and to keep up the reputed value thereof.—Thus do they inrich themselves, by imposing upon gentlemen in extremity, through an artificial debasing the value of their estates, exacting great gratuities from the purchasers also. This is the common practice of your land-brokers and

jobbers, and their confederates: but, if registers were settled, and all incumbrances registered, so that men might be secure, no dormant securities, after they have lent their money upon mortgages, or purchased for valuable considerations, could be started up to defeat them of their interests; and then gentlemen, that have money lying dead by them, would be as glad to lend it, at easy rates, to honest gentlemen upon good security, as those that want it would be glad to be supplied therewith; and lands, undoubtedly, would come to be worth, as formerly, twenty years purchase, if men could but be secured in their titles. So that all persons, that either have, or suppose they ever may have, any estates to sell, or money to borrow, understand not their own interest, if they oppose the settling of the registers proposed.

The last sort of people, that I presume may be aggrieved at this registry, are such who have lived high, and spent their estates extravagantly, and, perhaps, entered into judgments, statutes, and recognisances to double the value thereof, and have mortgaged their lands over and over, and then get protections, whereby they keep off suits, or abscond themselves, so that they cannot be found by their creditors, and are wont thereby to keep their estates in possession, and can no way for the future live, but by doing further acts of dishonesty; which, whilst their estates remain in their possession, they have opportunity to do: such unrighteous actions will for the future be prevented, and the present designs of this nature be defeated, if registers be settled; so that such persons are concerned to oppose the same. But, I hope, such creatures as these are, and their designs, will be easily seen through, and have little respect given them by parliament.

In short, were the registry, as desired, settled, and the profit arising thereby brought into the exchequer, the work may be done, good allowances appointed for those that shall be employed therein, and but a small sum would be imposed upon the subjects for registering their claim, and yet, by computation, at least fifty thousand pounds per annum be brought into the treasury; which would be an additional help towards payment of the publick debts.

IV.

The fourth thing proposed is, that an act be passed for a general naturalisation of all foreign Protestants, and for granting liberty of conscience to such of them as shall come over and inhabit amongst us, and that the like liberty be given to his majesty's subjects at home. There is nothing so much wanting in England as people: and, of all sorts of people, the industrious and laborious sort, and handicraft men, are wanted to till and improve our land, and help to manufacture the staple commodities of the kingdom; which would add greatly to the riches thereof.

The two last great plagues, the civil wars at home, and the several wars with Holland, Spain, and France, have destroyed several hundred thousands of men, which lived amongst us; besides, vast numbers have transported themselves, or been transported into Ireland, and other our foreign plantations; who, when they were living amongst us, did eat our provisions, wore off our manufactures; employed themselves in some calling or other, beneficial to the nation; the want of which calls for a

supply of people from some place or other; and it is, in my judgment, worthy our observation, that the men, thus lost from amongst us, are of greater consideration, and the loss more mischievous to the kingdom, than merely the death or removal of so many persons, considering that they were men in the prime of their years, in perfect strength; such, who had they not died, or been killed, or removed, might every year have begotten children, and thereby increased the world; so that three times the number of children might have been better spared than they. For instance: say there be but one hundred thousand men, by these means, gone from amongst us; and, instead of them three hundred thousand children had been taken away, and the men left, it would have been much better; for they in two years and a half, or three years time, might have gotten so many children again: but the men dying, or being gone, and the children living, it may be ten or twenty years before they come to marry and beget children: and, notwithstanding the great mischief this nation hath sustained by the loss of these men, yet so inconsiderate are the inhabitants thereof, concerning their own interest (which, if possible, is to have the kingdom full of people) that they are taking up another way to prevent the peopling thereof for the future, there being, almost all over England, a spirit of madness running abroad, and possessing men against marrying, rather chusing to have mistresses, by whom very few ever have any children: and many married women, by their lewd conversations, prevent the bringing forth many children, which otherwise they might have had. These humours and practices, if continued, will prove so mischievous, that, unless foreigners come in amongst us, in few years there will not be people to manure our lands, eat our provisions, wear our manufactures, or manufacture the staple commodities that are of the growth of the kingdom; without which, it is no wonder if lands yield little rent, or sell not for above fourteen or fifteen years purchase.

And if foreigners must come over, or our estates here grow worse, there must then encouragement be given them so to do: else they will think themselves well seated where they are, following their trades, increasing their estates, enjoying all the liberties and privileges of free-born subjects, know how, and have liberty and encouragement, to improve their estates; and, when they have got them, can keep them; therefore will never come themselves, nor bring over their families or estates amongst us here, to be accounted of as aliens or strangers, such as may not purchase estates amongst us; and, if they do, shall not enjoy the same, nor their children after them. That sort of people which we most want are such, who, though they would come over, and dwell amongst us, yet cannot spare fifty or sixty pounds out of their stock to procure themselves naturalised by act of parliament; especially if they bring over wife and children with them, which would be more advantageous for us, than for them to come over alone: or, if they should spare money to naturalise themselves, yet, perhaps, they may not have so much as to pay for the naturalising of their wives and children; who, as our laws are, cannot be permitted to inherit what their fathers purchase, unless they be naturalised also. So that an act for a general naturalisation is absolutely necessary, if we will be supplied with people from foreign

parts: but the passing such an act alone will not be sufficient to encourage foreigners to come and dwell amongst us; there must be liberty of conscience also granted unto them; and they must be assured that they shall not be imprisoned, banished, or have their estates seized, and taken from them, and sold, only for differing from the church of England, in the way of their discipline, whilst they agree in the fundamentals of religion, live peaceably under the civil government, and disturb not the government of the church established: for they, having such liberty abroad where they are, will not, without assurance of the same here, be induced to come amongst us; how many thousands have left England, and gone to seek shelter in foreign parts, for the persecution they were under, for their consciences, who otherwise, with their families, would have continued amongst us? How many have been forced to leave their trades, by being kept in prison, and having their goods and estates taken from them? How many, for fear of being undone, not knowing, but that, as soon as their goods come into their shops, they may be seized, for their having been at conventicles, have left their trades, drawn off their stocks, and keep up their money, not knowing how soon they may have occasion to make use of it, in the time of their distresses, which, otherwise, would have been employed in trade, to the benefit of the kingdom? How many thousands of farmers have been necessitated to leave their farms, and come to dwell in London, or to live obscurely in the country, for fear, lest, when they should have employed their stocks, plowed and sowed their land, reaped their corn, and stocked their pasture-land, all should be taken from them, and they imprisoned, and forced from their families, for their religion? Are not these great mischiefs to the kingdom, and great reasons of the decay of trade, and of gentlemen their wanting tenants for their land? A thing so generally complained of, all over England, that men are not suffered to live as they would do quietly, and employ and improve their stocks, as they might do, to the advantage of trade, and the kingdom in general; which, if they were permitted, would occasion the consumption of more of the provisions and manufactures of the kingdom, employ more poor people at work, and thereby improve the rent of lands, and would send many of the gentry, and farmers, who left the country for the reasons aforesaid, and now live obscure in London, and some other places, back to their country-houses, or to their farms again; it would remove their fears, quiet their minds, and cause their purses again to be opened, and every one would be putting himself upon some way of improving his estate, and not live upon the main stock, as now they are forced to do. It were greatly to be wished, that there were more love and charity amongst us; and that all men would consider seriously what they do, when they take upon themselves thus to impose their own principles upon all others, as such that are only right, and condemn all others, as erroneous; this is to magnify themselves as infallible, and despise all others.

Upon all these reasons, I humbly submit to judgment, whether an act for a general naturalisation, and liberty of conscience, be not absolutely necessary at this time; and whether the passing thereof may not be of great advantage to the kingdom, since it would increase trade, promote a vast consumption of the manufactures and provisions of the kingdom;

make us more industrious, employ more of our poor, increase his majesty's revenue of customs, and bring our lands to let for greater rents, and to sell more years purchase than ever heretofore they would have done.

V.

The fifth thing proposed is, that the act for prohibition of the importation of foreign cattle, so far as it relates to Ireland, and Westphalia hams, may be repealed.

This act hath no way answered the end, designed by the passing thereof, but on the contrary proved,

First, very prejudicial to his majesty in his revenue of customs.

Secondly, to all, or most of the land-owners in England.

Thirdly, to the navigation and trade of the kingdoms.

First, to his majesty; for, before this act passed, there were so many great cattle, and sheep, imported from Ireland, as, computing the custom paid for them, and for the other commodities, exported out of England into Ireland, in lieu of them, amounted yearly to eighty thousand pounds, besides the customs of all Norway, Spanish, and Westphalia hams; which sum the king loseth every year, and the kingdom, to their vast prejudice, have lost that trade.

Secondly, to land-owners, this prohibition must necessarily be a great prejudice, if it be considered,

1. That the breeding-lands of England are not able to raise a sufficient stock for the feeding, six months feeding being as much as four years breeding.

2. That, by reason of the scarcity of such stock, the breeders impose a greater price on lean cattle, than they will yield, when fatted, whereby feeding-land becomes worth little or nothing.

3. That, for want of Irish cattle, the victualling, both for home-consumption, and foreign trade, and naval provisions, most of it is transferred from England into Ireland, which is a great prejudice to the consumption in England; so that lean cattle, though they be dearer, because of the scarcity of them, yet fatted cattle are cheaper, for want of the consumption we formerly had. The consequence whereof is, that the ends of the prohibition are not answered, rents of lands are not raised; but, on the contrary, feeding-lands must, and do fall, for want of a cheap stock; and our former consumption, and breeding-lands, through the decay of trade, which this prohibition hath occasioned.

Thirdly, this prohibition is prejudicial to trade and navigation.

1. Because those foreigners, who formerly victualled here, do victual themselves in Ireland.

2. And they have their provisions for the fourth part of what we pay for ours; whereby they have a great advantage in point of trade, and can sail cheaper than we; which forceth the English to victual there also.

3. All Irish cattle, which formerly came unto England, and for which they carried out no money, but took of our manufactures in return, are carried to other places beyond sea, and from thence fetch the commodities, wherewith we, before the prohibition, supplied them. So that the traders in Lancashire, Cheshire, and other northern parts, where the breeding-lands lie, their loss is greater for want of a consumption of the

manufactures of those countries, which formerly were sent into Ireland, than the advantage they receive by advancing the price of lean cattle, doth amount unto.

4. It hath forced the Irish for to lessen their herds of cattle, and increase their breed of sheep, having gotten of our largest and best breeders; so that now they have vast flocks, and prodigious quantities of wool, besides hides and tallow; which proves mischievous to England three ways:

1. By their sending wool beyond sea, unmanufactured; which, notwithstanding the prohibition, every day they do, which being manufactured by foreigners, they grow rich thereby; whilst our poor, in England, starve for want of the work they had, when they were employed in manufacturing for a foreign consumption.

2. By sending their hides, tallow, and wool, in great quantities into England; which, for want of a consumption here, bring down the price of our own growth.

3. By setting up the woollen manufactures in Ireland; where having the wool, land, and all provisions, cheaper than in England, they must necessarily have their workmen cheaper; and, if so, they will be able to make enough, not only for their own use, but to supply foreigners also, with that which England used to supply them with heretofore: which, in a short time, if not prevented, will undermine the staple, and most advantageous trade of this kingdom. It is the interest of England, being the seat of government, to maintain a pre-eminence in the trade, and to see that the manufactures thereof be preserved intire within itself; otherwise, by how much the more Ireland is improved, by so much the more England will be impaired therein. For they, working cheaper, lying nearer foreign markets, and their freight being less, do what we can, will undersel us, where-ever they come; whereby our manufactures will be destroyed, and manufacturers, with their families, be ruined.

It is observable, 1. That the trade with Ireland kept three or four hundred ships, in full employ; which were paid by the Irish freighters there, and occasioned the breeding many seamen yearly; but now all those ships are laid aside, the breed of seamen neglected, and that trade managed in foreign bottoms.

2. That the cattle and sheep formerly imported, by computation, amounted unto a million of money per annum.

3. That they carried no money out of England; but the effect of their cattle was all laid out in our manufactures, or other commodities, imported into England, and from thence sent to Ireland; and the King had a custom paid both upon the importation and exportation, and also for every head of cattle brought over.

The Irish, being now prohibited this trade, are necessitated to send all their victuals to foreign parts, where they sell them for more than we paid for them, and buy whatever they want cheaper than they had them from us; by which means they will be concerned to take no commodities from England.

Nor can they trade with us, if they would, because they have no way to pay for what they buy, unless they bring over money in specie, to the mischief of that kingdom, or by bills of exchange, which cannot be had under fifteen, or sixteen, per cent. which is double the profit gotten by

those that trade with them. That exchange of monies thence is very high, gentlemen, whose estates are returned over, do find, and by reason thereof are forced to retrench a sixth part of their expences here; which is a further lessening to the consumption of the manufactures and provisions of this kingdom, and of trade with them, which is further dangerous; for, if we send goods, they having a new trade to foreign parts, we must send our stocks thither; so that, if any loss happen, it is the English that undergo it.

Ireland's being peopled from England was at first a hurt to us, because it lessened the consumption of our provisions here. But to prohibit them trade with us is ten times worse; for that not only takes off the consumption they used to make of our manufactures, but destroys all those families in England, that used to be employed for their supply: so that they can neither spend of the provisions, nor manufactures of this kingdom, as formerly they did.

And, besides these handicraftsmen, there are many eminent trades in London, as mercers, milliners, haberdashers, &c. suffer greatly; for, when fashions were out here, they used to send them into Ireland, in return for their cattle, and they went off as new there: for want of which utterance, many of those tradesmen, by reason of the often changing of fashions amongst us, have been, and are daily undone.

There is one other high inconveniency like to fall upon England, by this prohibition, which hath put Ireland upon industry: for some part of Ireland, lying nearer to France, Italy, and Spain, than England doth; and so the Irish, having salt from France, and cask, and men's labour, and all tackle for fishing being cheaper there, than we have here, do set up the fishing trade there, from whence they need but one wind, to carry them to their markets; and they catch the fish six weeks before they come into England. If so, then what hinders but that they may cure them, and supply foreign markets, sooner and cheaper than we can? Which, in time, will destroy the fisheries of this kingdom.

Not, but that Ireland should have its proper advantages, and may, if they please; there being many additional manufactures that both they and we want, to which the nature of that soil, and the inclination of the people, gives encouragement; particularly, that of linnen, the greatest part of the country being turf-land, and naturally proper for hemp and flax; and being employed to that use, with due regulations, those commodities may be had cheaper there, and from thence, than from any other part of the world; which would be a great encouragement to the setting up of the manufactures thereof. It must necessarily be cheaper, because land is far cheaper there, than in those parts, from whence we have our hemp and flax; and what we fetch, comes charged with great freight and customs, which might be saved, if the commodity were fetched from Ireland. What then would there be wanting, but a method to manufacture this commodity cheaper? Which done, that place may supply, not only England, but all Europe, with linnen cloth, at easier rates, than now they pay for the same. And, if so, what hinders, but that they may ingross the whole linnen trade, and quickly grow rich? And, that they may manufacture cheaper there, consider, that, in this part of the world, there cannot be found a place, where people may live

cheaper, have lands at easier rates, than in Ireland; so then, consequently, no place in the world where people work for less than there. If, then, the commodity to be wrought, and the working of that commodity be cheaper in Ireland, than in any other part, the manufactures, when wrought, may be sold from thence cheaper than from any other part; and this would bring trade thither, take away no more of the stock of this nation, than is absolutely necessary for the supply of our necessities. And it would be a great advantage to the kingdom, to be furnished with that within ourselves, which we necessarily want, and are forced to depend upon foreigners for.

In short, the prohibition of Irish cattle puts them on a necessity (for something they must do with their cattle, and the product of their lands, or be utterly destroyed); that necessity forceth them to industry; which industry, if not determined with us, but continued or encouraged with foreigners, the more industrious they are, the more pernicious it will be to England, in all its concerns. For, if the Irish, by reason of their religion, and the sense of our conquering them, have (as some affirm, and I, and all Englishmen, have good reason to believe) a natural antipathy against us Englishmen, and as natural an affection and sympathy to and with foreigners, who are of their own persuasion and religion: and, if nations grow intimate, espouse interest, and mix by trade and commerce, it is humbly submitted, whether, for the security of England, both in its government and trade, it be not adviseable to annex Ireland, as a province to England, as our islands abroad are annexed, whereby his majesty's revenue of customs would be advanced, at least eighty thousand pounds per annum, which would help to pay the publick debts, and do a publick good to the nation?

Concerning the importation of Westphalia hams, I have only this to say, that, though prohibited, yet they are imported, the king loseth the custom of them which formerly he had, the merchants buy them far cheaper beyond sea than ever they did; in England, the subjects pay twice as much as they might have bought them for, before the prohibition, and not any good is done to the kingdom thereby.

VI.

The sixth thing proposed, is, the prohibition of brandy, mum, coffee, chocolate, and tea, and the suppressing coffee-houses.

These greatly hinder the consumption of barley, malt, and wheat, the product of our land, and, thereby, bring down the prices of these grains, consequently the rents of land; to the ruin of tenants, who cannot sell their corn, when they have it; and of landlords, whose rents tenants are not able to pay, because they have no vent for the product of their farms.

There is, (as I am, upon strict enquiry of the most knowing persons, informed) so vast a quantity of brandy, mum, coffee, tea, and Spanish chocolate, every year imported into England, and consumed here, that, reckoning the brandy to be sold at two-pence the quartern, and no more (whereas most of it, by retail, is sold for three-pence), the mum at six-pence a quart, and the coffee, tea, chocolate, at the rates they are usually sold for, yet, is there expended by the subjects yearly, in these drinks, above four hundred thousand pounds.

If these liquors were prohibited, then would there be made in England, with our wheat, or malt, such quantities of brandy, or a spirit equal to it, and of mum also, as would, in all probability, occasion the consumption of, at least, two or three hundred thousand quarters of wheat and malt every year more than now is consumed; and that would raise the price of the commodity, and thereby keep up the rent of lands, which every year falls for want of a consumption of the product thereof; and the prohibition of brandy would be otherwise advantageous to the kingdom, and prevent the destruction of his majesty's subjects, many of whom have been killed by drinking thereof, it not agreeing with their constitutions. How many instances have we had yearly of men's dying suddenly, after drinking of brandy? How many, after over-drinking themselves with this liquor, have lain languishing till they have died thereof? Before brandy (which is now become common, and sold in every little alehouse) came over into England in such quantities as it now doth, we drank good strong beer and ale; and all laborious people, which are the far greatest part of the kingdom, their bodies requiring, after hard labour, some strong drink to refresh them, did therefore, every morning and evening, use to drink a pot of ale, or a flagon of strong beer; which greatly promoted the consumption of our own grain, and did them no great prejudice; it hindered not their work, neither did it take away their senses, nor cost them much money. But now this sort of people, since brandy is become so common, and sold in every little house, a small quantity costing them three-pence, do sometimes spend their day's wages in this sort of liquor, before they get home in an evening, and thereby impoverish their families; and not only so, but frequently, by their drinking to excess, they are bereaved of their senses for two or three days together, so that they cannot work.

In short, brandy burns the hearts of his majesty's subjects out; in few years it hath been the destruction and death of some thousands, who, if they had kept to beer and ale, might have received better refreshment therefrom, and now been living to have served the king and their country, and might have helped to consume the manufactures and provisions of the kingdom. And, if so, then what reason can any man give for the importation thereof? For my own part I declare, I know of none, unless it be, because it pays a great custom or excise to the king. And, as to that, I answer and affirm, that, if brandy be prohibited, the excise of the beer and ale that would be then consumed, more than is now, will more than answer the duty of brandy that the king shall lose by such prohibition as is desired (admitting that all the brandy imported paid the duty imposed, whereas not one half thereof is paid for, the same being stolen; insomuch, that, when the duty to the king was four shillings per gallon, brandy was sold for three shillings, which was twelve-pence less than the king's duty.) But admitting, that, if brandy should be prohibited, the additional excise of ale and beer would not answer the king's loss he shall sustain thereby; and, taking it for granted, that our English constitutions are now so accustomed to brandy, that it is become absolutely necessary to them to use

the same, or some liquor like it: if it be so, then from our malt and wheat may be extracted a spirit equally as good, if not for our constitutions much better than brandy; and then laying a small duty, as a penny a gallon, upon low wines, will more than answer what the additional excise shall fall short of to the king, yea, and very much exceed what he shall lose by the prohibition desired. And inasmuch as nothing is so much wanting in England as people; therefore all means possible, in point of prudence and policy, ought to be used to preserve the lives and healths of those we have: but the importing of brandy hath destroyed many, is like to destroy more; ergo, it ought to be prohibited. And the rather, in regard that brandy comes from France, and, whatever we import from France, ready money is paid for the same, or for the greatest part thereof: for although we impose but between four and ten pounds per cent. upon any of the manufactures or commodities of the growth of France, except the duty upon wine and brandy, yet the French king either prohibits the importation of the manufactures of England into his dominions, or the selling them there, unless they be sealed, for which seal a great duty is paid, or else he burns them if they are imported, and sold without such seal, as he did the silk stockings, or imposeth upon the importation thereof a duty of thirty, forty, or fifty pounds per cent. which is double as much as was imposed, till within these few years last past, and is, in effect, a prohibition. For, when we do transport any thing thither of our growth or manufactures, the French, by reason of the high duty imposed upon them, undersel us; whereby we are necessitated to keep our goods till spoiled, or bring them back. And, if so, then plain it is, that, whatsoever we have from France, ready money goes for the same; so that, by a moderate computation, they have, at least, four hundred thousand pounds per annum in money from us; which is a vast prejudice to England, and a great inriching to France, who impose upon us not only vast proportions of their brandy and wines, but also of their silks, stuffs, ribbons, laces, points, and divers other things, whereby our manufacturers in England are ruined, and the treasure of the nation exhausted. I know it will be said, that we lay far greater impositions upon their wines and brandy, than they do upon any of our manufactures, and it is true that we do so: but consider, that whatever duty we lay upon wines is laid upon the king of England's own subjects, they pay it, and such a duty doth not hinder the importation thereof; for more comes in now than ever there did, when the duty was not half so high, and the French force the English to pay more for their wines than ever they paid before. But the impositions, laid by the king of France upon our manufactures, have stopped us from sending any thing considerable thither, whereas, before such duties imposed, we sent great quantities: so that in a few years, if not prevented, the very commerce with France is like to destroy England. As for Brunswick mum, I am sure we brew as strong in England as they do there, and yet afford to sell it for half the price they sell theirs for; therefore there is no necessity of the importation thereof, to supply any defect we have here, consequently it is not fit to be encouraged, because it hinders the consumption of the grain of this kingdom.

And, for coffee, tea, and chocolate, I know no good they do; only the places where they are sold are convenient for persons to meet in, sit half a day, and discourse with all companies, that come in, of state matters, talking of news, and broaching of lyes; arraigning the judgments and discretions of their governors, censuring all their actions, and insinuating into the people a prejudice against them; extolling and magnifying their own parts, knowledge, and wisdom, and decrying that of their rulers, which, if suffered too long, may prove pernicious and destructive. But say there was nothing of this in the case, yet have these coffee-houses done great mischiefs to the nation, undone many of the king's subjects; for they, being very great enemies to diligence and industry, have been the ruin of many serious and hopeful young gentlemen and tradesmen, who, before they frequented these places, were diligent students or shop-keepers, extraordinary husbands of their time, as well as money; but, since these houses have been set up, under pretence of good husbandry, to avoid spending above one penny or twopence at a time, have got to these coffee-houses; where, meeting friends, they have sat talking three or four hours, after which, a fresh acquaintance appearing, and so one after another all day long, hath begotten fresh discourse, so that frequently they have staid five or six hours together in one of them; all which time their studies or shops have been neglected, their business left undone, their servants been trusted, and an opportunity given them thereby to be idle and deceitful; the taking of money in many of these men's shops hath been hindered, and their customers gone away displeased: how many, by these means, have received great losses and disadvantages in their trade; and, by accustoming themselves to these houses, have made it so habitual to them, that they cannot forbear them, though, together with their families, they are ruined thereby. These houses being very many of them professed bawdy-houses, more expensive than other houses, are become scandalous for a man to be seen in them; which gentlemen not knowing, do frequently fall into them by chance, and so their reputation is drawn into question thereby.

VII.

The seventh proposal, that the multitude of stage-coaches and caravans, now travelling upon the roads, may all, or most of them, be suppressed; especially these within forty, fifty, or sixty miles off London, where they are no way necessary: and, that a due regulation be made of such as shall be thought fit to be continued.

These coaches and caravans are one of the greatest mischiefs that hath happened of late years to the kingdom, mischievous to the publick, destructive to trade, and prejudicial to lands:

First, By destroying the breed of good horses, the strength of the nation, and making men careless of attaining to good horsemanship, a thing so useful and commendable in a gentleman.

Secondly, By hindering the breed of watermen, who are the nursery for seamen, and they the bulwark of the kingdom.

Thirdly, By lessening of his majesty's revenues.

For the first of these: Stage-coaches prevent the breed of good horses, destroy those that are bred, and effeminate his majesty's subjects, who,

having used themselves to travel in them, have neither attained skill themselves, nor bred up their children to good horsemanship, whereby they are rendered incapable of serving their country on horseback, if occasion should require and call for the same; for, hereby, they become weary and listless when they ride a few miles, and unwilling to get on horseback; not able to endure frost, snow, or rain, or to lodge in the fields: and what reason, save only their using themselves so tenderly, and their riding in these stage-coaches, can be given for this their inability?

What encouragement hath any man to breed horses, whilst these coaches are continued? There is such a lazy habit of body upon men, that they, to indulge themselves, save their fine cloaths, and keep themselves clean and dry, will ride lolling in one of them, and endure all the inconveniences of that manner of travelling, rather than ride on horseback; so that, if any man should continue his breed, he must be one that is a great lover of them, and resolve to keep and please his own fancy with them; otherwise, most certainly, he (as most breeders already have done) will give over his breeding.

There is not the fourth part of saddle-horses, either bred, or kept, now in England, that was before these coaches were set up, and would be again, if they were suppressed; nor is there any occasion for breeding, or keeping such horses, whilst the coaches are continued.

For, will any man keep a horse for himself, and another for his man, all the year, for to ride one or two journies, that at pleasure, when he hath occasion, can slip to any place, where his business lies, for two, three, or four shillings, if within twenty miles of London, and so proportionably into any part of England? No, there is no man, unless some noble soul, that scorns and abhors being confined to so ignoble, base, and sordid a way of travelling, as these coaches oblige him unto, and who prefers a public good before his own ease and advantage, that will breed or keep such horses. Neither are there near so many coach-horses either bred or kept in England now, as there were saddle-horses formerly, there being no occasion for them, the kingdom being supplied with a far less number. For, formerly, every man that had occasion to travel many journies yearly, or to ride up and down, kept horses for himself and servants, and seldom rid without one or two men; but now, since every man can have a passage into every place he is to travel unto, or to some place within a few miles of that part he designs to go unto, they have left keeping of horses, and travel without servants; and York, Chester, and Exeter stage-coaches, each of them, with forty horses apiece, carry eighteen passengers a week from London to either of these places, and, in like manner, as many in return from these places to London; which come, in the whole, to eighteen hundred seventy-two in the year. Now take it for granted, that all, that are carried from London to those places, are the same that are brought back, yet are there nine hundred thirty-six passengers carried by forty horses; whereas, were it not for these coaches, at least five hundred horses would be required to perform this work. Take the short stages within twenty or thirty miles of London, each coach with four horses carries six passengers a day, which are thirty-six in a

week, eighteen hundred seventy-two in a year: if these coaches were suppressed, can any man imagine these eighteen hundred and seventy-two passengers, and their servants, could be carried by four horses? Then reckon your coaches within ten miles of London, that go backward and forward every day, and they carry double the number every year; and so, proportionably, your shorter stages within three, four, or five miles of London.

There are stage-coaches, that go to almost every town within twenty or twenty-five miles of London, wherein passengers are carried at so low rates, that most persons in and about London, and in Middlesex, Essex, Kent, and Surrey, gentlemen, merchants, and other traders, that have occasion to ride, do make use of; some to keep fairs and markets; others to visit friends, and to go to and from their country-houses, or about other business, who, before these coaches did set up, kept a horse or two of their own, but now have given over keeping the same; so that, by computation, there are not so many horses, by ten thousand, kept now in these parts, as there were, before stage-coaches set up: by which means breeding of good pad-nags is discouraged, and coach-horses, that are bred, by cruelty and ill-usage of stagers, are destroyed.

2dly. Those coaches hinder the breeding of watermen, and much discourage those that are bred; for, there being stage-coaches set up unto every little town upon the river of Thames, on both sides the water, from London, as high as Windsor and Maidenhead, &c. and so from London-bridge, to and below Gravesend, and also to every little town within a mile or two of the water-side, these are they who carry all the letters, little bundles, and passengers, which, before they set up, were carried by water, and kept watermen in a full employment, and occasioned their increase (whereof there never was more need than now) and yet, by these coaches, they of all others are most discouraged and dejected, especially our western and below-bridge watermen, they having little or nothing to do, sometimes not a fare in a week; so that they dare not take apprentices, the work they have not answering the charge they are at in keeping themselves and families. The consequence whereof is like to prove sad in a short time, unless speedily prevented; especially if these wars continue, and we happen to lose so many yearly of those that are bred, as of late years we have done: but, if these coaches were down, watermen, as formerly, would have work, and be encouraged to take apprentices, whereby their number would every year greatly increase.

3dly. It prejudiceth his majesty in his revenue of excise; for now four or five travel in a coach together, and twenty or thirty in a caravan, gentlemen and ladies, without any servants, consume little drink on the road, yet pay as much at every inn, as if their servants were with them; which is the tapster's gain, and his majesty's loss: but, if travellers would, as formerly they did, travel on horseback, then no persons of quality would ride without their servants; and it is they that occasion the consumption of beer and ale on the roads, and so would advance his majesty's revenue. I know it will be objected, there are as many people now, as will be, when coaches are down, and they

drink, whereever they are; therefore no matter, whether they drink at home, or on the road, since the consumption will be the same: how can the king's revenue, then, be advanced by servants travelling with their masters or mistresses, more than it is already? The answer is plain: at home they drink small or strong drink brewed by their masters, that pay no excise, but whatever they drink at inns pays the king's duties? and all inn-keepers do declare, that they sell not half the drink, nor pay the king half the excise, they did, before these coaches set up.

Secondly, These coaches and caravans are destructive to the trade and manufactures of the kingdom, and have impoverished and ruined many thousands of families, whose subsistence depended upon the manufacturing of wool and leather, two of the staple commodities of the kingdom: for, before these coaches were set up, travellers rode on horseback, and men had boots, spurs, saddles, bridles, saddle-cloths, and good riding-suits, coats and clokes, stockings and hats; whereby the wool and leather of the kingdom was consumed, and the poor people set at work by carding, combing, spinning, knitting, weaving, and fulling: And your cloth-workers, drapers, taylors, saddlers, tanners, curriers, shoemakers, spurriers, lorimers, and felt-makers had a good employ, were full of work, got money, lived handsomely, and helped, with their families, to consume the provisions and manufactures of the kingdoms; but, by means of these coaches, these trades, besides many others depending upon them, are become almost useless, and they, with their families, reduced to great necessity, insomuch that many thousands of them are cast upon the parishes, wherein they dwell, for a maintenance. Besides, it is a great hurt to the girdlers, sword-cutlers, gunsmiths, and trunk-makers, most gentlemen, before they travelled in their coaches, using to ride with swords, belts, pistols, holsters, portmanteaus, and hat-cases, which, in these coaches, they have little or no occasion for: for, when they rode on horseback, they rode in one suit, and carried another to wear, when they came to their journey's end, or lay by the way; but, in coaches, a silk-suit, and an Indian gown, with a sash, silk-stockings, and beaver-hats men ride in, and carry no other with them, because they escape the wet and dirt, which on horseback they cannot avoid; whereas, in two or three journies on horseback, these clothes and hats were wont to be spoiled; which done, they were forced to have new very often, and that increased the consumption of the manufactures, and the employment of the manufacturers, which travelling in coaches doth no way do. And, if they were women that travelled, they used to have safeguards and hoods, side-saddles, and pillions, with strappings, saddle or pillion-cloths, which, for the most part, were either laced, or embroidered, to the making of which there went many several trades, seeing there is not one side-saddle with the furniture made, but, before it is furnished, there are at least thirty several trades have a share in the making thereof; most of which are either destroyed, or greatly prejudiced, by the abatement of their trade: which being bred unto, and having served seven years apprenticeship to learn, they know not what other course to take for a livelihood. And, besides all these inferior handy-crafts-

men, there are the mercers, silkmen, lacemen, milliners, linnen and woollen-drapers, haberdashers, and divers other eminent trades, that receive great prejudice by this way of travelling: for the mercers sold silk and stuff in great quantities, for safeguards, hoods, and riding-clothes for women; by which means the silk-twisters, winders, throwsters, weavers, and dyers, had a fuller employment; the silkmen sold more lace and embroidery, which kept the silver wire-drawers, lace-makers, and embroiderers; and at least ten trades more were employed: the linnen-draper sold more linnen, not only to saddlers, to make up saddles, but to travellers for their own use, nothing wearing out linnen more than riding. Woollen-drapers sold more cloth than now; saddlers used, before these coaches were set up, to buy three or four hundred pounds worth of cloth apiece in a year; nay, some five hundred and a thousand pounds worth, which they cut out into saddles and pillion-cloths; though now there is no saddler can dispose of one hundred pounds worth of cloth in a year in his trade. The milliners and haberdashers, they also sold more ribbons, gloves, hoods, scarfs, and other things belonging to their trade: the dust, dirt, and rain, and riding on horseback, spoiling and wearing them out, much more than travelling in a coach; and, on horseback, these things were apter to be lost than in a coach.

Trade is a great mystery, and one trade depends upon another. Were it not too tedious, I could shew you how many several trades there are that go to the making of every one of the things aforementioned, and demonstrate, that there is scarcely a trade in England, but what is one way or other concerned and prejudiced by these stage-coaches, especially the country-trade all over England: for, passage to London being so easy, gentlemen come to London oftener than they need, and their ladies either with them, or, having the conveniencies of these coaches, quickly follow them. And, when they are there, they must be in the mode, have all the new fashions, buy all their cloaths there, and go to plays, balls, and treats, where they get such a habit of jollity, and a love to gayety and pleasure, that nothing afterwards in the country will serve them, if ever they should fix their minds to live there again; but they must have all from London, whatever it costs.

And there is one grand mischief happens to the country thereby; for gentlemen drain the country of all the money they can get, bring it to London, and spend it there: whereas, if they stayed at home, bought their cloaths and other commodities of their neighbours, money would be kept circulating amongst them; and chapmen that have served apprenticeships, and set up near them, would have a good trade, pay their rents, and live handsomely: the trade betwixt them and the city of London would be renewed, country ladies would be as well pleased, provided they be kept from London, as if they had all the rich clothes, modes, and fashions, vainly and extravagantly invented and worn in the city, assoon as they have them there; and gentlemen would not only save the money they spend in journies to buy clothes, but have as good as need to be worn in the country, at easier rates than they must pay at London, if they buy when the fashion comes first up.

3dly. These coaches and caravans hinder the consumption of all sorts of provisions for man and beast, thereby bringing down the rents

of lands. For instance, a coach with four horses carries six passengers, a caravan, with four or five horses, carries twenty or five and twenty: these, when they come to their inn, club together for a dish or two of meat, and, having no servants with them, spend not above twelve pence or sixteen pence a-piece at a place; yet, perhaps, foul four, five, or six pair of sheets. Horses they have none, but what draw them; and, for those, the coachmen agree with the inn-keeper before-hand, to have their hay and oats at so low a rate, that he loseth by them, and is forced to beat down the price of them in the market, yet must let the coachman have them for what he pleaseth, otherwise he carries his passengers to other inns; by which means the innholders get little or nothing, cannot pay their rent, nor hold their inns, without great abatements; two third parts of what they formerly paid is, in some places, abated. Upon such accounts as these, innholders, where these coaches do come, are undone: and, if so, since most travellers travel in coaches, what must become of all the rest of the inns on the roads where these coaches stay not? Believe it, they are a considerable number, take all the grand roads in England, as York, Exeter, Chester, &c. There are about five hundred inns on each road, and these coaches do not call at fifteen or sixteen of them; then what can follow, but that the rest be undone, and their landlords lose their rents.

But were these coaches and caravans down, and travelling on horse-back again come into fashion:

First, every passenger, that now travels in a coach, would have one horse at least; many of them, one, two, or three servants with them, who now ride sneaking without any attendants at all; whereby, in all probability, according to moderate computation, there would be, at least, forty or fifty horses upon the road, instead of nine or ten, that draw the coach and caravan.

Secondly, These travellers would disperse themselves into the several inns upon the road, each man where he could find the best entertainment; whereby trade would be diffused, innholders be enabled to pay their rents, and encouraged to provide accommodations fit for the reception of gentlemen.

Thirdly, Most horses go to grass in the summer-time, which would raise the rents of pasture-lands, about cities and corporations, and other towns upon the roads, above what formerly they were; which, of late years, by means of those coaches, have fallen half in half, even in Middlesex, and other places adjoining to London itself: and no other reason for it can be given, but this, that citizens and gentlemen, about the city, do not keep horses as formerly they did: neither doth there now come a sixth part of the horses to London, that used to do; but, if stage-coaches be suppressed, there will be a necessity for men to apply themselves to the breeding, keeping, and using horses, as formerly they did; and it will necessarily occasion the consumption of five times the quantity of hay, straw, and horse-corn, that now is consumed; whereby farmers will have a vent for their commodities, and be enabled to pay their rents; for not only will there then be four times the number of horses travelling upon the roads, as there are now; but in the city of London, and all the great towns in England, there would be

great numbers of good horses kept by gentlemen, merchants, and tradesmen, for their own uses; and by others also, to let out to hire, to such as shall have occasion to ride, and keep not horses of their own.

It is very observable, that, before these coaches were set up, what with the horses kept by merchants, and other tradesmen, and gentlemen, in, or near London, and the travellers horses that came to London, that city spent all the hay, straw, beans, pease, and oats, that could be spared within twenty or thirty miles thereof; and for a further supply, had vast quantities from Henly, and other western parts, and from below Gravesend by water; besides many ships lading of beans from Hull, and of oats from Lynn and Boston; and then oats, and hay, and other horse-meat, would bear a good price in that market, which was the standard for all the markets in England; but now, since these coaches set up, especially in such multitudes, and those so nigh London, London cannot consume what grows within twenty miles of it. But, if they were down, the consumption in London would quickly be as great as ever, and that would raise the price of the commodities, advance the price of lands, and cause rents to be well paid again; not only would every traveller, that now rides in a coach, travel on horseback, if coaches were down, and some of them with two or three servants, and so occasion a greater consumption of the provisions for cattle: but further, every of these several travellers, who before clubbed together for a dish or two of meat, would have one, two, or three dishes of meat for himself, and his servants; which would occasion the consumption of six times as much beef, veal, mutton, lamb, and all sorts of fish, fowl, poultry, and other provisions, as is now consumed on the roads: and such consumption would raise the price of lands, and cause better payment of rents; especially if it be considered, that not only will the consumption be increased by those that travel the road, but ten times more would be spent by those, who would be employed in the making those things that travellers must have when they ride; who, if they have work, and can earn money, will eat and drink of the best, as formerly they did, when several handicraft tradesmen in London kept twenty, thirty, or forty journeymen at work, spent a quarter of beef, and a carcass of mutton in a week, in their houses; who, since these coaches set up, have fallen to a couple of apprentices; and though as eminent of their trade, as any about London, yet can hardly earn bread to put into their heads. If it be so then, that running stage-coaches and caravans are so injurious to the publick, destructive to trade, and the occasion of the fall of rents, it would be worth time to consider, what is in them worthy of their being countenanced and desired; and whether the inconveniencies be not much greater than the conveniencies, men receive by them. If this way of travelling were the way, that of all ways appeared most beneficial, least expensive, conducing to health, advantageous to men in their business, absolutely necessary to some, useful to others, and imposed upon none; there were some reason for men's being in love with it; but, if the contrary be apparent, then what madness possesseth

men to court the inconveniencies and mischiefs? Let us examine these things.

Men receive not the greatest benefit by travelling in these coaches; for can that way be beneficial to any that hinders and destroys trade, prevents the consumption of the provisions and manufactures of the kingdom, and thereby lowers the rents of landlords?

For first, can a gentleman receive benefit or advantage, by saving five pounds, per annum, in a journey, when by his manner of travelling he lowers his own rents, three times as much in a year, as he saves by his journies, by countenancing that kind of conveyance that hinders the consumption of the products of his own estate, and thereby makes his tenants unable to pay their rents?

Secondly, is it to be believed, that a tradesman arrives at any profit by these coaches, though he should save a little money when he rides in them, that he must necessarily expend, if he travels on horseback? No, for this manner of travelling hinders the sale of those commodities they deal in; of which much more would be consumed than is, if such coaches were down, and by the sale whereof they would get much more than they save, by confining themselves to travelling as aforesaid; so that plainly it is their interest to promote that way of travelling, that tends to the greatest consumption of the manufactures or commodities, wherein they deal.

Thirdly, the husbandmen, who live by the sweat of their brows, in manuring the estates of the gentry, they are undone, by this easy carriage; for it hinders their selling their corn, hay, and straw, and other the products of their farms, and brings down the price of what they sell, thereby rendering them unable to pay their rents, or to hold their farms without considerable abatements; which if not given them, their lands are thrown up into the landlord's hands, and little or no benefit made by them.

Fourthly, the grasiers they complain for want of a vent for their cattle, which they had before these coaches were erected; not that I do imagine coaches to be the only reason of the want of that consumption, though it be evident, they go far in the promoting that mischief; for the want of people in England, the loss of many thousands from amongst us, of late years, and the leaving off eating of suppers by those that are left alive, go a great way therein. But these two may be easily remedied; the former by the general act of naturalisation, and liberty of conscience, proposed before, which would bring all foreigners in amongst us; the latter, by men's spending less in taverns, plays, and balls, and keeping up in lieu thereof the ancient laudable customs of England, of good house-keeping, and thereby relieving the poor. Half the money that gentlemen idly spend in taverns upon French wines, for which the coin of the kingdom is exhausted, or upon plays, balls, treating mistresses, fine clothes, toys from France, or other foreign parts, would defray the charges of having good suppers every night; whereby the product of our own lands would be consumed, and that would raise rents: nay, I am verily persuaded, if it were duly considered, and that all men, as formerly, would fall to eating of suppers, at least to dressing of them; and when dressed, if they eat

not themselves, would give them to the poor, the increase of the consumption would raise the rents of lands, as much above what now they do go at, at least in most places of England, as would defray the charges of those suppers; if so, would it not then be of great advantage to men in their estates, and to the kingdom in general?

But to proceed: if the gentlemen, the tradesmen, the husbandmen, the grasiers, be not benefited by this travelling, I am sure, the last sort of travellers, to wit,

The poor, they cannot be profited thereby; for waggons, or the long coaches first invented, and still in use, would be most for their interest to travel in, being far less expensive than the other; so that these running coaches are not most beneficial to every sort of travellers.

Secondly, men do not travel in these coaches with less expence of money, or time, than on horseback: for, on horseback, they may travel faster; and, if they please, all things duly considered, with as little, if not less charges.

For instance, from London to Exeter, Chester, or York, you pay forty shillings a-piece in summer-time, forty-five shillings in winter, for your passage; and as much from those places back to London: besides, in the journey they change coachmen four times; and there are few passengers but give twelve-pence to each coachman at the end of his stage, which comes to eight shillings in the journey backward and forward, and at least three shillings comes to each passenger's share to pay for the coachmen's drink on the road; so that in summer-time the passage backward and forward to any of these places costs four pounds eleven shillings, in the winter five pounds one shilling, and this only for eight days riding in the summer, and twelve in the winter. Then, when the passengers come to London, they must have lodgings, which, perhaps, may cost them five or six shillings a week, and that in fourteen days amounts unto ten or twelve shillings, which makes the four pounds eleven shillings, either five pounds one shilling, or five pounds three shillings; or the five pounds one shilling five pounds eleven shillings, or five pounds thirteen shillings, besides the inconveniency of having meat from the cooks, at double the price they might have it for in inns. But, if stage coaches were down, and men travelled again, as formerly, on horseback, then when they came into their inns they would pay nothing for lodgings; and, as there would excellent horses be bred and kept by gentlemen for their own use, so would there be by others that would keep them on purpose to let; which would, as formerly, be let at ten or twelve shillings per week, and in many places for six, eight, or nine shillings per week: but, admitting the lowest price to be twelve shillings, if a man comes from York, Exeter, or Chester, to London, be five days coming, five days going, and stay twelve days in London to dispatch his business (which is the most that country chapmen usually do stay) all this would be but three weeks; so that his horse-hire would come but to one pound sixteen shillings, his horse-meat at fourteen-pence a day, one with another, which is the highest that can be reckoned upon, and would come but to one pound five shillings, in all three pounds one shilling, so that there would be, at least, forty or fifty shillings saved of what coach-hire and lodgings

will cost him, which would go a great way in paying for riding-clothes, stockings, hats, boots, spurs, and other accoutrements for riding; and, in my poor opinion, would be far better spent in the buying of these things, by the making whereof the poor would be set at work, and kept from being burthensome to the parish, than to give it to those stage-coachmen, to indulge that lazy, idle habit of body, that men, by constant riding in these coaches, have brought upon themselves: besides, if thus their money were spent, they would save a great deal, which now, if men of any estates, they pay for relief of those poor, who, for want of the work they had before those coaches were set up, and might have again if they were put down, are fallen upon the several parishes wherein they live, for maintenance; which charge would be quickly taken of, if they were restored to their work. Thus in proportion may a man save from all longer or shorter stages. For instance: from Northampton men pay for passage in coach to London sixteen shillings, and so much back; from Bristol twenty-five shillings, from Bath twenty shillings, from Salisbury twenty shillings, or twenty-five shillings, from Reading seven shillings, the like sums back; and so in proportion for longer or shorter stages. Judge then, whether men may not hire horses cheaper than five shillings a day; I am sure they may for half the money, especially if coaches were down, that men might receive encouragement; for, then, there would be, as formerly, in all great cities and towns of England, good and sufficient numbers of able horses kept to let, and such a correspondency would be between all the places, that a man in any town shall have a horse to ride to what place he pleaseth, and liberty to leave him when he comes to his journey's end, without farther charge, till he have dispatched his business; which done, he may, at the same place, hire one to carry him back and be gone, without waiting a week or ten days after his affairs are ended, at vast charges, merely for a passage in a coach, as many of these gentlemen are forced to do, who pretend it a point of good husbandry to travel in them, which hazard nevertheless they run, and often find the smart of it; they never consider or account the charge thereof; if they did, they would easily perceive, that travelling in coaches is not the way of travelling with least expence.

Thirdly, travelling in these coaches can neither prove advantageous to men's health or business: for, what advantage is it to men's health, to be called out of their beds into these coaches, an hour before day in the morning, to be hurried in them from place to place, till one hour, two, or three within night; insomuch that, after sitting all day in the summer time stifled with heat, and choaked with dust; or, in the winter time, starving and freezing with cold, or choaked with filthy fogs, they are often brought into their inns by torchlight, when it is too late to sit up to get a supper; and next morning they are forced into the coach so early, that they can get no breakfast. What addition is this to men's health or business, to ride all day with strangers, oftentimes sick, ancient, diseased persons, or young children crying; to whose humours they are obliged to be subject, forced to bear with, and many times are poisoned with their nasty scents, and crippled by the crowd of the boxes and bundles.

Is it for a man's health to travel with tired jades, to be laid fast in the foul ways, and forced to wade up to the knees in mire; afterwards sit in the cold, till teams of horses can be sent to pull the coach out? Is it for their health to travel in rotten coaches, and to have their tackle, or pearch, or axletree broken, and then to wait three or four hours, sometimes half a day, to have them mended, and then to travel all night to make good their stage? Is it for a man's pleasure, or advantageous to his health and business, to travel with a mixed company that he knows not how to converse with; to be affronted by the rudeness of a surly, dogged, cursing, ill-natured coachman, necessitated to lodge or bait at the worst inns on the road, where there is no accommodation fit for gentlemen; and this merely because the owners of the inns and the coachmen are agreed together to cheat the guests?

Is it for the advantage of business, that a man, when he sets out on a journey, must come just at their hour, or be left behind; so that often he is forced, when one hour's staying would finish his business, to go out of town, leave it undone, and make a new journey about it? Is it for advantage of a man's business, that though he have a concern of great weight or moment to transact upon the road as he goes along, yet if it lie but a stone's cast out of the coach-way, the coachman will not drive thither, nor stay for him at any place, except the baiting or lodging-places where he calls, where they change horses; and there stay no longer than he pleases neither. To be forced, whatever accident of sickness or illness happens, to ride these coachmen's stages, though never so late in the night, or else to be left in the middle of a journey in a strange place? Is this for the conveniency or advantage of a man's health or business? Rather the quite contrary: yet this hath been many persons of good quality's case, though they have offered to pay the whole coach-hire, and all the passengers' charges, to have put into an inn (late at night on this side the set stage), yet have they been denied, forced to ride, though in peril of their lives, till midnight; and it is not hard to instance in many that have lost their lives by such usage.

All which inconveniences, if stage-coaches were suppressed, would be remedied, lazy humours be discountenanced; and a great conveniency indeed it would be, both to travellers and the country through which they ride, for men and women to travel on horseback again.

For then they may, when their business is done at one place, presently take horse and go to another, without loss of time, or staying for a passage in a coach; set out as early in the morning, and take up as soon in the evening, and bait as long, and as often by the way, and in what places they please; make choice of their company on the road, avoid such as suit not with their tempers, go out of the roads when, and travel as long or short journies as they please; keep out of cold, wet, or fogs, and take into inns when the weather is not fit to travel in, and so preserve their healths. And, by this means, great advantages would happen, for then all towns, and every inn, would have something to do, trade would be more diffused, many poor families in the country would be maintained, that are now in a starving condition; travellers would come into their inns before candle-light, stay in the morning till shops open, understand the trade of the place they are in,

lay out monies in buying things they find fit for their use, and which are of the manufactures of the town where they come; in some places, silk or worsted hose; in others, lace, gloves, stuffs, boots, or shoes, linnen cloth, and other things, which would be great relief and encouragement to the manufactures of those commodities, as well as to those that buy them, and bring money to those places where they are made.

Fourthly, these coaches are not absolutely necessary to any persons whatever; for sick or aged people, or young children, if they have occasion to travel, may ride in the long waggon-coaches, which were those that first were set up, and are not now opposed, because they do little or no hurt: for gentlemen, that are able to ride on horseback, keep coaches of their own, or, to hire a coach, will not appear so sordid as to travel in them. And, truly, if they be poor people that are to travel, it is not fit they should be encouraged in their pride or extravagancy, or suffered to ride amongst gentlemen, or, like persons of honour, in a coach with four or six horses; and, for sick and aged people, and young children, these long coaches are more convenient for them than running coaches, if they were to be continued up; for they travel not such long journies, go not out so early in the morning, neither come they in so late at night; but stay by the way, travel easily, without jolting men's bodies, or hurrying them along, as the running coaches do.

Fifthly, neither are these running coaches useful to any; for those that are fit to ride, or ought to be suffered to ride in them, are such, that, if they have business requiring a coach, may either keep one themselves, or hire one.

Sixthly, but though these coaches are neither absolutely necessary to some, nor useful to others, yet they are imposed upon many; for, since they set up in such multitudes, especially about London, men, careless of keeping horses, knowing the certainty of passage in them, have sold them, and must, therefore, when they travel, either ride in these coaches, or not at all, there being few or no horses kept now to let out to hire.

If, by what hath been said upon this point, it happen gentlemen may travel on horseback, more to the advantage and benefit of trade, and so to the publick good, with more advantage to their healths and business, and less expence of money and time than they can in stage-coaches:

If these stage-coaches be not absolutely necessary to some, useful to what other coaches may be made to others, and yet this imposed upon many, what reason can be given why they should not all, or most of them, be suppressed?

If they were not destructive to trade, why should petitions, from almost all sorts of tradesmen, come up from most cities and towns in England against them, as there have been lately presented to his majesty and the council? Why should the justices of peace at their general quarter sessions certify to his majesty and his honourable privy council, under their hands, as they have done, that the great mischiefs aforementioned, under which the kingdom now suffers, have been greatly occasioned by these coaches, and that many thousands of fami-

lies are ruined by them, as from London, Westminster, Salisbury, Middlesex, and divers other cities, counties, and towns, certificates have come? Why should the lord mayor and aldermen of London, at their court at Guildhall, upon serious consideration and debate of the petition of the several companies of London, against the said coaches, wherein most of these grievances are mentioned, allow of the same, and give leave that it should be presented, if they were not convinced, that they are destructive to trade? For surely they understand trade, and were not so weak as to be cheated into their consent and approbation, neither have they any time since repented of, or disowned the same, as the stage coachmen, in false and scandalous pamphlets, have presumed to print; notwithstanding which, they are ready to own the said petition, and make good the contents thereof: and the drapers, haberdashers, and milliners, who, they pretend, would be prejudiced by their being superseded, are ready, with the other tradesmen mentioned in that pamphlet, to evince to the world, they are injured by their being kept up; so that the very coach and harness makers themselves petition against them, as being mischievous to their trades, in regard they prevent the making of great numbers of coaches every year; which must have been made, if gentlemen had travelled in their own coaches, and thereby they hinder the consumption of great quantities of leather.

If all these things be true, what can be said against their being suppressed?

It is objected, the owners of these coaches set them up for the conveniency of the subjects; have betaken themselves to this painful way of living, and laid out their whole stocks, merely to accommodate gentlemen, and have now no other way to live, what shall become of them, if they be put down?

Answer. It is the case but of very few, that the suppressing of them would hurt: for, if all stage coaches were to be suppressed, I dare say five to one of those that keep them would receive advantage thereby, as clearly will be evinced, if it be considered, that, when this business was before his majesty in council, where it depends undetermined, none of the stagers opposed the being put down, except Exeter, Salisbury, Dorchester, Bristol, Southampton, Dover, Norwich, Lincoln, York, Westchester, Worcester, and Shrewsbury, who call themselves, stage coachmen upon the grand roads of England; and there is not one owner of any of these coaches, but hath other ways to live, if he were prohibited driving them; for they are all of them either innholders, or coach or harness makers, following those trades, or carriers, or licensed coachmen in London; and may live as well as the hackney coachmen in London. The other stage coaches are all, or most of them, kept either by innholders first, who (one in a town) did set up a coach, and so carried all the guests to his own house. Then a second sets up another, and so a third and fourth in a town: which done, they run one against another, purposely to get the guests from each others houses; whereby they not only destroy multitudes of horses, but are great losers themselves, so that themselves would be thankful to have them put down, and yet are forced to keep them up, till there shall be a general suppression, because otherwise they shall lose their whole trades. Or else

the said stage coaches are kept by such, as, before the late act for reducing the number of hackney coaches in London to four hundred, were owners of coaches, and drove hackney there: but when the number of four hundred was full, and they not licensed, then, to avoid the penalties of the act, they removed out of the city, dispersing themselves into every little town within twenty miles of London, where they set up for stagers, and drive every day to London, and in the night-time, they drive about the city, pay no five pounds per annum, yet take away both the town and country work from those that do pay it, and break and annoy the streets in the cities and suburbs thereof, hindering the four hundred from the jobs and small journies they depended upon, when they agreed to pay five pounds a-piece per annum for their licences; whereby they are many of them ruined. But take it for granted it were so, that these stage coachmen had laid out all their stocks for the use aforesaid, and must be undone, if put down, and there were at least two thousand of them, what is that? Of two evils the lesser is to be chosen. Have they not already destroyed very many thousands of families? Will not the continuing of them, in a very short time, be the undoing of many thousands more? Is the interest of these surly, rude, debauched coachmen, to be put into the balance with many thousands of curriers, shoemakers, saddlers, girdlers, spurriers, cutlers, lorimers, clothiers, clothworkers, cloth drawers, drapers, taylors, and an hundred trades more, to which men were bound seven years apprenticeship, to learn their trades, and are of great advantage to the publick? Surely, they ought to be encouraged, being the manufactures of the staple commodities of the kingdom; by the manufacturing whereof, great profit doth arise to the publick: yet of these, if occasion require, it will be made appear, above one hundred thousand, with their families, are in great measure ruined by them. And I pray you, who are advantaged thereby? What persons are employed, or set at work by them, save only a few servant coachmen, postilions, and hostlers; whom they pretend they breed up, and make fit for the service of the nobility and gentry of the land; a most incomparable school, to train men up in, and to fit them for the gallows, more likely than to live in sober families: but in the mean time, while these are breeding up, the price and rents of lands are so brought down by the hinderance these coaches do make of the consumption of provisions and manufactures, that in a short time few gentlemen will be in a capacity to keep coaches; so that, if all running stage coaches and caravans were suppressed, it would do well. But, if some few coaches were continued, to wit, one to every shire-town in England, to go once a week backwards and forwards, and to go through with the same horses they set forth with, and not travel above thirty miles a day in the summer, and twenty-five miles in the winter, and to shift inns every journey, that so trade might be diffused; these would be sufficient to carry the sick, and the lame, that they pretend cannot travel on horseback; and, being thus regulated, they would do little, or no harm; especially if all be suppressed, within forty or fifty miles of London, where they are no way necessary, and yet so highly destructive. But this, as well as the rest, I submit to judgment.

VIII.

The eighth thing proposed is, that the act for transportation of leather unmanufactured may be repealed, or, at least, not renewed after the expiration thereof.

There would never have been any necessity for this act, had it not been that vast quantities of hides are imported from Ireland, which brings down the price of our English hides. And for the stage coaches, their hindering the consumption of that leather in England, which, before they set up, was used for boots, saddles, portmanteaus, hat cases, holsters, belts, girts, reins, stirrup leathers, and many other things now become almost useless.

The making whereof, for home service, and foreign consumption, employed about one hundred thousand families, whose livelihood depended upon the manufacturing of leather, whereby they got money, with which they maintained their families, spent five or six good joints of meat in a week in their houses, and wore good clothes, thereby occasioning the consumption of great quantities of the provisions and manufactures of the kingdom, more than now are consumed. Till this act passed, it was felony to transport leather unmanufactured, and then France, Spain, Germany, and other parts, who could not be without our leather, had vast quantities of boots, shoes, and saddles, with their appurtenances, portmanteaus, hat cases, holsters, trunks, &c. from England; by the making whereof, many thousands of families got a handsome subsistence, and grew rich; but stage coaches hindering the consumption at home, as aforesaid; and Irish hides being imported into England, and also great quantities from Ireland, exported to foreign parts, our hides fell in their price in England. The question then arose, how to raise them to their ancient value; and it was by the parliament conceived, that giving a liberty to transport the same unmanufactured might answer the end proposed; therefore, an act for that purpose was passed.

But sad hath been, and yet is, the consequence thereof; for, ever since that liberty given, the best of our leather is constantly bought up, and transported beyond sea unmanufactured; foreigners, who formerly were supplied with leather wrought here, will not buy, or carry over a penny-worth, that is manufactured; so that all those poor people, who served apprenticeships to learn their trades, and whose trade depended upon manufacturing for foreign consumption, are undone; they, that kept twenty or thirty journeymen at work every day, cannot now, though eminent men of their trades, keep two; by means whereof, upon computation, at least fifty thousand men and their families livelihoods are wholly taken away, and they so impoverished, that they are ready to receive alms of the several parishes wherein they live; whilst in the mean time foreigners grow rich, by manufacturing one of the staple commodities of this kingdom; and whereas, till this act passed, all our old boots and shoes were bought up, mended here, and then sent beyond the seas, and there worn.

The case is now otherwise; for the best of our leather is not only bought up, and transported unmanufactured, and wrought beyond sea,

but, when it is wrought, it is then imported back, and vended here, to the great prejudice and discouragement of manufacturers in England, who have many of them been forced, as great a want of people as there is in England, to transport themselves beyond the seas, for want of work at home, and there have taught their art to foreigners. What then doth naturally follow all these things? What consequence can be drawn from hence, but this, that instead of five hundred pounds worth of leather formerly sent beyond sea manufactured, we send now as much leather, but it is not worth above one hundred pounds, because the same is carried over unwrought; by which means our manufacturers lose four hundred pounds, which they should have gotten, if the leather had been cut and wrought in England, and so thereby we grow poor; and foreigners grow rich, by gaining that four hundred pounds, which our manufacturers lose.

But this is not all; for most of our leather, that is exported, goes into France, with whom we never were able to keep up a balance of trade, but have traded with them for ready money, they taking little or none of the manufactures of England in exchange for their commodities. By a moderate computation, from the best intelligence I can get, France receives from England thirty thousand pounds worth of our leather every year, which they cannot be without, for our leather manufacture was the only manufacture, that they were forced to be beholden unto us for; thirty thousand pounds worth of our leather manufactured was worth, in France, one hundred and twenty thousand pounds; then at least seventy thousand pounds of that went into our manufacturers pockets, the rest to the merchants, and what our manufacturers got, was spent in the provisions and manufactures of the kingdom; which being consumed bore a better rate than now, and helped to keep up the rents of lands.

This money we not only now lose, to our impoverishment, and the French get, to their inriching; but considering that we now import as much, nay far more, of French goods into England, than we did formerly; and taking it for granted, that when we transported the most that ever we did, yet could not a balance of trade be kept up between the two kingdoms, but our ready money went for a great part of the goods imported; then must it naturally follow, that by sending our leather unmanufactured, which formerly was manufactured, we must send over nigh one hundred thousand pounds more in ready money, than formerly we did, or need to do, were it not for this act, which furnisheth France with our coin, to pay their workmen for manufacturing of our staple commodities, and greatly exhausteth the treasure of this kingdom; but if this act be repealed, and Ireland's transporting of raw hides be prevented, then France, and other foreigners, must have leather from England manufactured, as formerly they had, whereby our handicraft tradesmen would be set at work, and, having work, would live handsomely, as formerly they did, to consume the provisions and manufactures of the kingdom: so that to any rational man it must be apparent, that this act hath not answered the end designed, nor raised the price of hides, as expected, nor can it; for Ireland transporting vast quantities of raw hides beyond the seas, and importing great quantities

of their hides into England, as aforesaid, hinders the sale of our hides, or tanned leather, at any considerable rates, either at home, or to foreigners, because we want a consumption at home; and foreigners chuse to buy their raw hides, rather than our leather, by reason they can purchase them at a third part of the price we can afford to sell ours at, and, by tanning of them, employ their own bark; which is a great mischief to the gentry in England, whose bark, by reason thereof, sells at very low rates.

IX.

The ninth thing proposed is, that a court, in the nature of a Court of Requests in London, be established for Westminster, Southwark, and all other parts within the weekly bills of mortality; and, if possible, in every city and town corporate in England, to determine differences between poor people for small debts not exceeding forty shillings, and for words, trespasses, assaults and batteries (where the people pay neither scot nor lot), that so they may not be undone by law-suits.

The Court of Requests in London is of excellent use and long continuance, and hath prevented the ruin of many thousands of families; and might have done far more, had it not been limited to the liberties of the city; whereby all Westminster, Southwark, Tower-Hamlets, Middlesex, and Surrey, within the weekly bills of mortality, wherein the generality of the poor inhabit, are excluded their jurisdiction.

Of these poor (for want of this court) many are every year undone by law-suits commenced against each other for small debts, or trivial actions, for words, assaults, or trespasses, the poorest oftentimes proving the proudest, most quarrelsome, and vexatious.

These are such, who maintain themselves and families by turning and winding twenty or forty shillings a week, which they take upon their credit, and employ in buying and selling butcher's meat, poultry-ware, and fish; herbs, fruit, and roots; boiled wheat and oat cakes, butter and eggs, and divers other things, which they cry about the streets, or sell at tavern doors, or in little bulks, as, oranges, lemons, oisters, tape, threadlaces, silk and ferret ribbon, children's play things, and such like small commodities; whereby they keep their families from burdening the parishes wherein they dwell, and yet are so poor, that they are not rated to the church and poor where they trade.

These people are (the greatest part of them) most commonly indebted twenty, thirty, or forty shillings a-piece for the stock they trade with; nevertheless have more owing to them, by the persons they sell their wares to, than, when received, will pay such their debts; but there are cunning fellows, belonging to the Marshalsea, St. Catharine's, Whitechapel, and Westminster (pretending to be bailiffs, or other officers) placed in every part of London and Westminster, and the suburbs thereof, who make it their business to inquire out these poor and their creditors, and thereupon to contrive some stories, whereby to incite their creditors to make a demand of their debts, and, if not presently paid, then to arrest the debtors. These knaves also spend their whole time in promoting differences between the poorer sort of people, for frivolous words, slight trespasses, or pitiful small debts; which done, they are employed to arrest men, and the person arrested must either presently

pay, and give satisfaction, or put in bail; the which if he cannot do (as frequently it happens they cannot, they laying their actions high, though the occasion of action be very small) then they are hurried over to the knight marshal's prison, or to some other jail, and put to great expence, lose their credit and trade, and very many of them are utterly ruined by the charge of arrests, prison fees, and the suits, though the verdict upon their trials happen to be for them, as most commonly it is, there being not one action in ten brought in those courts, for words or trespasses, that happens to be according to law.

Nevertheless, if the said defendants demur, because the words are not actionable, or the plaintiff have a verdict, and the defendant move in arrest of judgment, and the judgment be arrested, yet in neither of these cases hath the defendant any costs; so that both plaintiffs and defendants spend their money in vain; and the parishes, where the defendants inhabit, are frequently forced to redeem them out of the Marshalsea, Whitechapel, St. Catharine's, and other jails, or otherwise they should lie and starve in prison, though the cause of action were but a trifle, the charges and fees oftentimes falling out to be four, five, or six times as much as, originally, the action was brought for; by reason whereof, the recovering of four, six, or twelve-pence sometimes costs three, four, five, or six pounds; whereas, if the court desired were erected, to end these differences in a summary, less expensive, and more expeditious way, the utter ruin of some hundreds, if not thousands, of families would be every year prevented, the parish charges greatly lessened, and quarrelsome vexatious suits, for small debts of forty shillings, or under, or for trespasses, assaults, or words, would be prevented.

In London, no freeman dwelling within the liberties can be arrested or sued for any debt under forty shillings; the Court of Conscience, or Requests, sits at Guildhall, Wednesdays and Saturdays in every week, to hear complaints, and take course therein. Upon any complaint, they first send a summons to the party complained against, and that is served upon him by a sworn officer, and costs six-pence; which done, the next court day the plaintiff must attend, and call the defendant, and enter his own appearance, else is non-suited, loseth his summons, and must begin again; but the defendant runs no hazard in not appearing the first day.

If the defendant appear the second court day after summons, he prevents an attachment, and is ordered to pay his debt; for which the plaintiff pays four-pence.

If the defendant fail to appear the second court day, before the court riseth, the court grants an attachment; which costs, being executed, amount to one shilling and ten-pence.

The officer serves this attachment, as soon as he can find the defendant; which done, he gives the plaintiff notice, that the defendant will meet him next court day, and that costs four-pence more.

If the defendant appear, and is cast, he pays for the summons and attachment; which is but two shillings and eight-pence in the whole.

But, if the defendant appear not the third court day after attached, then the plaintiff comes and swears his debt, and the court orders payment thereof at the plaintiff's own house, if he pleaseth; which saves

eight-pence, that must be paid, if it be brought into court, to take it out again; and this order costs four-pence more.

Of this order the officer gives the defendant notice, and that he must meet the plaintiff in court the third court day, after the making thereof.

If the defendant appear not the third court day, then, upon the plaintiff's request, the court grants judgment and execution against him; which costs two shillings.

So that the whole charge of summons, order, and attachment, second order for judgment, and the judgment and execution executed, comes but to four shillings and eight-pence.

And all is done in three weeks time: but the suit in the Marshalsea, Whitechapel, or St. Catharine's, or Westminster courts, and charges incident thereunto, costs four or five pounds, when the debt, or cause of action, was not worth five shillings.

The erecting the court desired would give a great credit to the poor.

For, were such courts erected, every gentleman, or person of any considerable estate, would lend a poor distressed neighbour twenty, thirty, or forty shillings, to put him in a way to live, or to prevent their being cast into prison, if arrested for a small sum; whereas, now, poor men are forced to borrow of brokers, pawn double the value of what they borrow, and pay above cent. per cent. interest; which eats out their profit, so presseth and grinds them, that they frequently are incapacitated to redeem the pledges left for the money taken up (which is one other great mischief worthy the consideration of the parliament, and fit to be redressed) whereas, whilst the law is thus costly, men are afraid to lend their neighbours thirty or forty shillings to set them up with, or to prevent their being imprisoned, because, if they repay it not without a suit, the same may cost five or six times as much as the original debt; and, when the creditor hath judgment, he is not sure of his debt, but in danger, through the poverty of the debtor, to lose both principal, debt, interest, and charges, or undergo the hard censures and clamours of the poor by confining them to prison, which no ingenuous or generous soul can endure the thoughts of.

By the erecting this court, there is none can be prejudiced, excepting:

First, bailiffs, one of which fellows, to arrest a poor man, though it be but for three-pence, four-pence, or some other very small sum, makes the man pay four or five shillings for the arrest, hurries him into an alehouse, and there runs him twelve-pence or two shillings on the score; and, if not able presently to pay the same, hurries him to prison.

Secondly, several idle persons, falsly calling themselves attornies, who are as active as the bailiffs, to promote and carry on suits begun, though but for trivial matters, setting people together by the ears, and living upon the ruin of the poor, make them sell their very beds from under them, or clothes from off their backs, to pay their pretended fees, and the fees of the courts, which is too frequently done.

Thirdly, or the judges of the Marshalsea, Westminster, St. Catharine's, Whitechapel, and other inferior courts of record, where small debts, under forty shillings, may be recovered; but, certainly, they having

their places given them, gratis, and being persons of generous education, will not oppose so charitable a work as this proposed, though they should lose some profit thereby, such profit coming from such miserable poor people, that it were charity in them rather to give them as much as their fees come to, than to exact any thing from them.

And if they, by the court desired, should lose a little profit, they will save much time that they now spend in trying these causes, and, being lawyers, may certainly spend it to as great, if not better advantage, than what they will lose by setting up the judicature proposed.

Let these consider, that such gentlemen, not being lawyers, as shall be appointed judges of the courts desired, will be greater losers than they are, since they must sit and spend their time and money without any manner of compensation at all, save the satisfaction they will receive in being instrumental in doing good to the poor, which certainly they will do.

For, whereas, now it costs five or six pounds to recover five or six shillings, by the way proposed, four shillings and eight-pence is all the charge, though the suits be spun out to the utmost extremity, that any suitor or defendant can be put unto.

So, by the setting up of this court, justice will be had speedier and cheaper.

The ruin of many poor people, by multitudes of vexatious suits for small matters, will be prevented.

Love and amity betwixt neighbours will be preserved, charges of the parishes lessened, men's liberties to follow their callings, to their own and family's comfort, will be continued, and the debts they owe be more easily and speedily paid.

And a work very pleasing and acceptable to God will be done, who hath pronounced a blessing upon all those who consider the poor, for whose relief alone this is proposed.

X.

The tenth thing proposed is, that a bound be put to the extravagant habits and expences of all sorts of persons; that servants and handicraft-tradesmen's expensive ways be reduced, and no foreign manufactures, except from Ireland, be suffered to be worn in England; but that the importation, and exposing them to sale, be made felony.

There is nothing ruins the gentry and tradesmen of England so much, as living above their estates, or profit arising by their trades. How much all sorts of men do this, I leave the world to judge, their habits and other expences being more extravagant and vain than ever was known; and not only do masters and mistresses of families run to excess in their own dresses, but suffer and encourage their servants also to do the same, which costs them dear at last; for all comes out of their pockets, and it makes servants so proud and scornful, as to neglect their duties, slight their superiors, and, upon every little reproof, to go from them.

How many gentlemen are there in England that spend their whole yearly incomes upon clothing themselves, their wives and children? What way then have they to answer their other family expences, but by spending upon the main stock?

How careless are parents of their children's education, bringing them up idly, putting them upon no manner of employment, unless to musick and dancing; using them to balls and plays, and to keep vain company? Which they get such an habit of, that they very hardly, if ever, can be broken from it, but spend most of their time in gaming, whoring, and drinking; so that, by that time they come to their estates, whatever their fathers leave them, by following their examples, they quickly make it away, if they have not run it out before they come to it. Their clothes must be of the mode, gentlemen of three or four hundred pounds, per annum, will be as fine, keep their coaches, live as high as if they were lords, and had great estates; and nothing will serve them but what is foreign made, whilst our own countrymen starve for want of work; insomuch now, that our English manufacturers, of silk especially, and point-laces, and ribbons, which are become a general wear, cannot sell their goods when they have made them; or, if they do, it is at such pitiful low rates, that they lose by their work, and the shopkeepers that buy them, when they come to shew them to customers, are forced to vouch them to be foreign made, or else they cannot sell them; so that our manufacturers are often necessitated to get Frenchmen to go with their wares, and sell them to shop-keepers as French. Thereupon the gentry, though the goods be English made, are so fond as to pay dearer for them than otherwise they need to do, because of the brokerage which the manufacturer pays to those that sell them to the shops, and so the manufacturers get little or nothing by them. So great a truth there is in this, that I could instance where persons of quality have come into a shop, seen a commodity, liked it well, but, being ingenuously told that it was English made, would not buy it: the very next day, the same goods have been sent by a Frenchwoman to the persons desiring to buy the same, and they have bought them as French goods, and paid double as much for them as they might have had them for the day before in the shop.

Is not this a thing highly commendable in our gentry so to admire foreigners, and undervalue, discourage, and hurt their native countrymen? Did they consider, or were they but sensible how they hurt and ruin them, themselves, and their own estates, by such their vain fancies, hindering the consumption of our manufactures, and impoverishing our manufacturers, certainly they would give it over. A further mischief there is also, that gentlemen and ladies do fancy greatly to have their servants, that are about them, so fine and neat, that they must be in their silk-gowns, and petticoats laced, whisks and cuffs, fine shoes and stockings, that they will not do any ordinary work; whereby they are necessitated to keep more servants than they used or need to do. And, what the wages and diet of every servant comes to in a year, especially about London, where it is that most people are grown so vain, let themselves compute.

Come to the citizens, who complain for want of a trade, but without a cause, though so many tradesmen fail yearly, for there never was a greater trade than there is now. What reason is there then of their failing? It is high living, every tradesman thinking now to have as great a trade, and as quickly to grow rich, as those did that were of

his trade twenty or thirty years ago, never considering that there are five times as many of most trades as were then, and that, thereby, trade is more diffused, shop-keepers, of late years, through covetousness of a little money, taking double or treble the number of apprentices that formerly they kept, or indeed, if strictly looked after, than they ought to keep, nothing spoiling any particular trade more than to have multiplicity of traders in the same way; with these apprentices they exact as much more money, as formerly they used to have; so that, perhaps, half their portion is gone to bind them apprentices; which is a great madness, and no reason to be given for it, but because apprentices must live high, and wear finer clothes than formerly they did; wait on their masters abroad, and do none of the servile work, that formerly they used to do; which kept them humble; and, if they were now obliged to the same, it would keep them from growing so proud and scornful as they are, or taking the liberty, they now do, of taunting at their superiors, quarrelling with their services, usage, and diet, and going from them, when fit to do them service: and, if it happen that they do serve out their time, and have a thousand pounds to set up with, it is very well, and a fair beginning, treble as much as many of their masters had, when they set up; who, by close living, and diligence, and great industry, after many years care and pains, have arrived to an estate of twenty, thirty, or forty thousand pounds, and a good certain custom; so, consequently, are able to buy their commodities, with ready money, cheaper than he that hath but a small stock, and trades upon credit; and thereby they are able to keep the custom from their servants, when they set up, because they can give customers a greater credit, and a longer time for payment. Yet a young man, as soon as he comes out of his time, not knowing whether ever he shall attain to a full trade, will have as good a house as his master's, keep as high a table, and lay out four or five hundred pounds, out of his thousand pounds stock, in furnishing his house, and the fine of the same, his design being thereby to advance himself in a match. And thereupon he gets a wife, perhaps, with a thousand pounds portion, which, added to his own stock, if the same had been kept together, would have made two thousand pounds; but, of this, one half of his being gone for a fine of a house and furniture, as aforesaid, the wife, out of her's, will have fine clothes, laces, cupboards of plate, a necklace of pearls, jewels in her ears, diamond rings on her fingers, bulls-locks or towers, laced or embroidered petticoats, shoes, and silk-hose; so that in these things go three or four hundred pounds more, which might, most of it, have been saved.

Add to this the vast rent he sits at, and must pay, whether he hath a trade, or not: if this had been spared, he might have had it of his own to have traded with; but, this laid out, it lies dead, whilst he is forced, for want thereof, to trade upon credit for so much, and pay interest for the same. This credit if he keeps not, he is lost; and, being necessitated to trust, and trusting being dangerous, many men are undone, partly by that, and partly by the extravagancies of their good wives; who, being through their husbands vanity and indiscretion made so fine, will not stir out of doors without a coach, and yet make such

frequent and long visits, that they spend more in coach hire, some weeks, than the gains of the shop come to; and abroad they get new acquaintance, at balls, plays, or dancing-schools; and, being young, pretty, and in fine clothes, are so courted and gallanted, that oftentimes they are persuaded into such inconveniencies, as prove fatal to their husbands, as well as to themselves. But the husbands may blame themselves, they being originally the occasion thereof, and of their own ruin thereby; for nothing will serve them, but to live at this rate, keep their wives thus fine, expose them to temptations, by setting them in their shops in tempting dresses, thinking to invite customers; and thereby very often they have that effect; but sometimes those customers make bold with that ware that should not be sold or lent; and, once having attained that liberty, if both parties agree, it is ten to one if that poor man be not presently blown up, either by the charge his wife will put him to, in maintaining that gallant, or by the credit that good gentleman shall have in the shop, to take up what he pleases; and then, when gone as far as the owner can give credit for, he leaves the shop and his mistress to his care. Nevertheless, sometimes men are undone, and yet their wives are virtuous (as, without doubt, many thousands are, and more would be, were it not the husbands fault) that is, when, after their being a while set up, and a little estate gotten, they grow high, keep their coaches, must have their country-houses, the candles burning at both ends, never thinking they shall see an end of their gains. And their wives, forsooth, must not be nurses, but send their children abroad; so that, reckoning the charge of keeping there, and frequent going to see them, and the gifts and good things that are unknown carried to the nurses, these high expenees, accompanied with a decay and declination of trade, occasioned by the multiplicity of traders, as aforesaid, go far in destroying young beginners. Moreover, the keeping unnecessary maid-servants, giving them great wages, and maintaining them idle in fine habits and dresses (who with their vain and wanton carriages oftentimes become snares to young men) this finisheth the work, and both masters, mistresses, and servants come all to ruin thereby.

One other great mischief to the young tradesmen, who are industrious, close husbands, and sober in their habits and expences, is the great rents they pay in the city, when the trade is gone to the other end of the town, where rents are low. Were all men of my mind, those who lived in London before the fire, and are freemen, and now, to the destruction of the city, live in the suburbs, merely to inrich themselves, they should starve, before a penny should be laid out amongst them. Why should they not come into the city again, and make that the seat of trade? Which is the metropolitan of England, and at such vast charge, in compliance with the king's pleasure, is nobly rebuilt, and so many thousands are undone by the building thereof, by having their houses stand empty on their hands. Such base, treacherous men to the city, who no more value the oaths they took, when bound apprentices and made free, ought not to be countenanced, where they are, by buying any thing of them; there is not one of these but is forsworn, if he duly weigh and consider the purport of his oath; and

he, that will make no conscience of forswearing himself, merely to gain a little advantage in his trade, I am sure, will make no conscience of cheating of me, therefore shall never have any of my custom.

One other great mischief to young tradesmen is, that they, being but beginners, are forced to keep shops, in order to gain a custom, and thereby are constrained to pay great rents, and taxes, which are very hard upon London, treble as much in proportion, as upon any one county of England, and paid by these young men, whilst your cunning rich ancient tradesmen, having a large acquaintance, great stock, and a full trade, give over their shops, and take a country-house, where they live for a small rent, pay not the sixth part of taxes, that are paid in London, and so carry on their trade in London, privately in warehouses. I could name several of the chief magistrates that do so, but will not at present, though they deserve it. Have they, through God's blessing, arrived, by their trades in the city, to great estates, and to be the chief magistrates thereof, only to be covetous and sordid, seeking to save a little money, when they have so much, that they know not what to do with it, and thereby put all the charges upon those young shop-keepers, through their avarice? And thus many of these young men fall to ruin, whilst the elder run away with all the trade, and ingross the same into their own hands. It is a great shame this should be suffered, and such men ought not to have any manner of government, or power in, or over the city, who make use of it, only to inrich themselves, by destroying those they govern.

Moreover, handicraft tradesmen's high wages, which they exact for their work, is greatly mischievous, not only to every man, that hath occasion to use them, whose particular occasion cannot be served, but at far greater rates than formerly, which, if that were all, would be little, but it is destructive to trade, hinders the consumption of our manufactures by foreigners, and the exportation of those vast quantities, that used to be transported, when the manufacturing of them was so cheap as formerly; for, now wool and leather being cheaper manufactured, beyond the seas than here, we are undersold in foreign markets, to our great prejudice; which, if not prevented, in few years, will tend to the total ruin and destruction of our woollen and leather manufactures. I can give no better account for this advancement of their wages, than our English people's foolishness, in encouraging foreigners, beyond their own neighbours, wearing their manufactures, and neglecting the use of our own; by means whereof our manufacturers work is carried away from them; so that, whereas they had six days work formerly, they have not above three now, and having the same families, must either have double the wages they had, when they had full employ, which enhanceth the price of the commodities, or let their families want bread three days in the week.

So the case thus stands in short; as for the loss of the foreign trade we had, and the want of the consumption that used to be of our manufactures in foreign parts, no other reason can be given, but that foreigners are able to make their work cheaper than we do, and thereby are able to undersel us, wherever we come; and the reason of their working cheaper is, because they live not so high, neither are their

expences in wages, and working, so great as ours. If they were, how could foreigners fetch our wool and leather, pay freight and custom outward, manufacture it abroad, and then import it back again, paying a second custom, and yet sell it cheaper here, than we do ours? If this be true, and thereby the foreign consumption of our manufactures be lost, the more reason there is then, in my poor judgment, to endeavour the reducing the wages of our manufacturers, and themselves to a more sober and less expensive way of living, that thereby, if possible, we may regain that trade: which if we do, we shall soon set our people at work, who now want bread. And nothing can be more conducing to this end, than to enjoin all Englishmen, not to wear any thing but what is of our own growth and manufactures; which will increase a consumption at home, and set those at work, who now live idle, and, by giving them full work, would bring down their wages; so that then we having our wool, and leather, cheaper than foreigners have, and being able to manufacture them at as easy rates as they do, it will then necessarily follow, that we may undersel them in foreign markets; which if we can do, and will be honest, make good substantial and true work, that will hold out its weight, and the full length and breadth they formerly did, we may regain that foreign trade.

And, the better to effect this, all foreign manufactures, except that of linnen, which we cannot be without, ought to be prohibited, and the exposing them to sale made felony, so as the person selling be privy to their being such, except what is manufactured in Ireland; which of necessity we must make ourselves masters of, otherwise they having wool, and leather, and workmen, cheaper than we can have, will, by supplying foreign markets, at lower rates, than we can sell for, gain that trade; and thereby destroy ours. But if these be imported into England, and bought by us, though we buy them cheap, yet when we have them, we may hold up and advance their price, so as to make them bear equal proportion, with what we can afford our own for; which we may do also with their cattle, if imported again, and being masters both of their and our own, force foreigners, especially if the exportation of wool and leather be prevented, to be beholden to us for what they want, and can no where else have; whereby trade will be increased, consumption of the products of our lands promoted, and thereby the price of them will be raised, and consequently lands yield better rents: and by this increase of trade, his majesty's revenue, by a moderate computation, would be advanced above one hundred thousand pounds, per ann. which would be an additional help, towards payment of the publick debts, and no prejudice, but a great advantage to his majesty's subjects.

XI.

The eleventh proposal is, that it may be lawful for any man to assign bills, bonds, or other securities, to any person or persons whatsoever; and that, by virtue of such assignment, the interest in the said debt, due upon such security, may immediately be vested in the assignee. And to the end, that the frauds by false entries in shop-books may be prevented: that it be made unlawful for any person, after three years, to sue for a book-debt; and that the great deceits used by many

persons, who break merely to deceive creditors, may (if possible) by some severe and strict law be prevented: than which,

First, There is hardly any thing can be of greater advantage to trade.

Secondly, Of greater security to the gentry, that they shall not for the future be wronged.

Thirdly, Of more advantage to the nation, in general.

For want of power to assign securities, many tradesmen and gentlemen are every year undone.

It is true, that men commonly make letters of attorney to their creditors, to enable them to put bonds, bills, or other securities, into suit, that are made to them; but those letters of attorney are revocable, so that the men, to whom they are made, are not secure, that the person, that makes them, shall not afterwards revoke the same, or discharge any suit brought upon any such bill, bond, or other security, by virtue of such letters of attorney: and so no man will accept of any bond entered into to another man, and a letter of attorney from the person, to whom the same is entered into, as a security for any debt due to himself, from the person to whom such bond is given. Tradesmen live upon credit, buy much upon trust, and are obliged to pay on certain days; on which if they fail, their credit is lost; and, as they buy upon credit, so they must sell upon trust: and, if the person trusted by them pay not at the time limited, yet are they, that trust them, obliged to observe punctually their days of payment, because the credit of those merchants that trust them depends thereupon. Nevertheless, many tradesmen, because they cannot get in what is owing to them, are forced to fail in point of their payments, which lessens their credit, and begets suits; and those suits occasion the ruin of many families, although the persons sued have in other men's hands good debts, which, when received, would be sufficient to answer all their creditors.

But, if the assignment of debts due upon bill, bond, or other securities, were, by act of parliament, made lawful, and it were enacted, that such assignments should be irrevocable, and that the interest in the debts, due upon such security, should, by virtue of such assignments, be actually vested in the assignee; then, if A. owed B. the sum of five hundred pounds, and B. owed C. five hundred pounds, and B. his time of payment was come, and he had no money to pay the same, the assignment of A. his bond to C. would be accepted, if he were a person answerable, in discharge of B. his debt. And, if he had occasion to pay money, and had it not by him, C. might presently assign the said A. his bond to D. and D. to E, &c. And this would make all bills, bonds, and other securities, as good as ready money; which will be of great use to the subjects, and prevent the multiplicity of suits that now happen; and thereby the ruins of many families.

Secondly, It will be of great advantage and security to the gentry; for, if their bills, bonds, or other securities be assignable, persons, to whom they enter into such securities, though they want money, will not be hasty to put their securities in suit, or compel them (as now they are forced to do) frequently to shift and alter securities, which is chargeable and difficult; because, then, bonds will be in the nature of ready money, and in trade be equally as good, when assignments shall be en-

acted to be irrevocable; and that suits brought thereupon by the assignees, in their own names, and to their own uses, shall not be discharged, but by delivering up the securities themselves, and that not without the consent of the person, to whom, by endorsement on the back of such securities, it shall appear to have been last assigned: and to enact, that no person shall be sued for a book-debt, after three years, would be of excellent use both to buyer and seller.

For frequently it hath happened, that gentlemen who had taken up goods upon trust, living remote in the country, have afterwards sent up money, and paid for the same, but not seen the book crossed; whereupon, many years after the death of the buyer and seller, by the executor of the seller, the buyer's executor hath been sued for the same, and the plaintiff hath recovered against him, merely because such a debt hath been found standing in the book, and the delivering of the goods proved; and so a verdict hath passed against the executor of the debtor, because he hath not been able to prove payment for the same.

How many, by letting debts stand long in shop-keepers books, have, when they came to account with them, found entries made of goods never bought by them, or of greater quantities, than they had of such goods as they did buy?

But, if no book debt shall be sued for, after three years standing, it will oblige the shop-keepers to come to account, once in three years, and get bill or bond for their monies, whilst things are fresh in memory, or else to sue for the same; when, if any thing be found unjust in their books, the creditor will be able, by his memory, to discover the same, and prevent payment thereof.

Besides, it will prevent perjury, and other foul practices.

Thirdly, This act desired would be of great advantage to the nation in general; for, when passed, all bills, bonds, and other good securities will be tantamount to ready money; so that there will be twenty thousand pounds, or as good as twenty thousand pounds in England, instead of every thousand pounds, that now is passing in trade, which must necessarily be a great advantage to the publick.

This course is practised in other foreign parts, and found of as great importance and benefit to trade, as can be imagined.

And, for preventing the mischiefs arising to traders, by the knaveries of persons pretending to be bankrupts, and who break with design, only to defraud their creditors, some further and stricter act must be made, than hitherto there hath been; otherwise there will be no trusting any man, it being frequent for men of wicked and cheating principles, when they design to break, knowing themselves to be persons not suspected to fail, but of a good credit, to take up great parcels of goods, or sums of money of several other tradesmen; which, so soon as they get into their hands, they dispose unto friends in trust for them, and their wives, and children; which done, then, they presently do some act, whereby they become bankrupts; as such are prosecuted, commissions taken out to declare them bankrupts, whereupon, they withdraw and abscond themselves in the country, till they can get releases from their creditors, or compound for some small matter, or otherwise they take the king's-bench, lie within the rules, and frequently go abroad, and, all that

time, have the money, they break for, going in trade in other names; and from such their trustees they receive the benefit thereof, wherewith they live high, whilst their creditors are undone by them; and, if they cannot bring their creditors to composition, they will continue all their life-time in the king's-bench, and the creditors get nothing; so that their creditors are frequently brought to small composition: which done, then these bankrupts immediately appear in their shops again, richer than ever they were, when first set up; and this, with other honest men's stocks, who, with their families are undone, through the losses sustained by those men's knavish breaking. And this trick some men have played several times over; therefore, it is fit for the future, if possible, to be prevented.

XII.

The twelfth proposal, is, that the Newcastle trade for coals be managed by commissioners for the king, whereby the subjects may be supplied with coals, at easy rates, and not be exacted upon, as they now are; and about two hundred thousand pounds, per annum, be coming to the crown; which would be a further help towards the payment of the publick debts.

I need not declare how the subjects are abused in the price of coals.

How many poor have been starved, for want of fewel, by reason of the horrid prices put upon them; especially, in time of war, either by the merchant, or the woodmonger, or between them both.

That which I shall propose, is,

That the whole trade be managed by commissioners, for the benefit of the publick.

That those commissioners take care to supply all parts of his majesty's dominions with coals.

That coals be sold all the year long, at two and twenty shillings per chaldron; at which rate, they may very well be afforded.

For, at Newcastle, they buy them for about seven shillings per chaldron.

Three Newcastle chaldrons makes five London chaldrons.

The freight of each chaldron is not above six shillings.

The duty to the city, for each chaldron, is but three shillings.

Lighterage, wharfage, and cartage may cost, per chaldron, four shillings.

I compute the highest rates that can be imagined.

And at these rates, each Newcastle chaldron will lie the commissioners but in twenty shillings.

If then three Newcastle chaldron, computed at three pounds, make five London chaldron, and they be sold for five pounds ten shillings, there is very nigh half in half gotten thereby: considering then, how many hundred thousand chaldron of coals are spent every year, and by a moderate computation it will appear, that near two hundred thousand pounds, per annum, advantage may arise hereby to the publick, and the subjects also receive a great benefit by the same.

XIII.

The last proposal is, that the fishing trade may be set up and encouraged, all poor people set at work to make fishing-tackle, and be paid

out of the yearly rates, laid upon the subjects for maintaining of the poor.

This would be of vast advantage to the publick.

The money, yearly paid by the subjects for the relief of the poor, is nigh as much as an assessment of seventy thousand pounds a month to the king.

This is employed only to maintain idle persons, doth great hurt, rather than good, makes a world of poor, more than otherwise there would be, prevents industry and laboriousness, men and women growing so idle and proud, that they will not work, but lie upon the parish, wherein they dwell, for maintenance, applying themselves to nothing but begging or pilfering, and breeding up their children accordingly, never putting them upon any thing that may render them useful in their generations, or beneficial either to themselves, or the kingdom.

But if, instead of giving them weekly allowances for maintaining them in their idleness, the money collected were employed to set all of them, that are able, at work, to some kind of employment or other, suitable to their capacities, it would be of infinite use and advantage to the nation. There are none except bedridden or blind, but some work or other may be found, that they may be capable of doing; which, if they would not set unto, when appointed them, they should have correction, rather than any encouragement, which now they have, by allowing them weekly maintenance. And, thus, not only men and women would become useful and beneficial to the kingdom, but their children should all of them be employed, and set at work, to do something or other, that may keep them from idleness; which becoming habitual to them in their youth, they are seldom broke off, whilst they live.

Industry and labour ought to be countenanced and encouraged, and magistrates and gentry would do well to give examples thereof to those amongst whom they live.

If all the poor now maintained in their idleness were set at work, and paid out of the money raised as aforesaid, those that now have two shillings, or three shillings a week, might, by their work, earn so much; or suppose they could earn but one shilling sixpence a week, and nevertheless receive three shillings, it is half in half saved; so that a moiety of what now is collected from the people might be spared to them, and yet the poor be as well, or better maintained than now.

But, if men, women, and children were set at work, few families that now receive two or three shillings a week, but, in all probability, would and might earn four or five shillings a week, help to manufacture the staple commodities of the kingdom at cheap rates, and thereby bring down the wages of handicrafts-men, which now are grown so high, that we have lost the trade of foreign consumption, because, abroad, wool, and leather, and the manufactures thereof, are sold at lower rates than we can afford ours at. This mischief of high wages to handicrafts-men is occasioned, by reason of the idleness of so vast a number of people in England, as there are, so that those that are industrious, and will work, make men pay what they please for their wages; but set the poor at work, and then these men will be forced to lower their rates, whereby

we shall quickly come to sell as cheap as foreigners do, and consequently engross the trade to ourselves.

There are many ways to set the poor at work, both old and young.

Women and children, by spinning of linnen, woollen, and worsted, carding, combing, knitting, working plain-work, or points, making bone lace, or thread or silk laces, brede, and divers other things.

The linnen-trade, if well regulated, would employ some hundred thousands of people; and, if brought to perfection, might save vast sums of money, within the kingdom, which now are sent out for the same.

The woollen and leathern manufactures would employ multitudes of men, and young youths, and vast quantities of wool might be manufactured and consumed in England, more than now is, if all the tapestry we now use were made here, which is now imported from beyond the seas. Also, if the act for burying in flannel, as ridiculous as men make it, were put in execution, seeing flannel would be as good for that use, as linnen, abundance of our poor would be employed in making these things: and the money, now paid for these foreign manufactures, would be kept in England, and defray the charge of the manufacturing of them at home.

It is not to be imagined how many thousands of men, women, and children, the fishing trade, which is that I principally aim at, would keep in employment. The making of the nets, sails, cordage, and other materials for that use, the building of fishing vessels, and the catching and curing of the fish, when catched, would find work for above two hundred thousand people, and would increase the number of sea-men, ship-wrights, and many handicrafts-men: a great revenue, if well managed, would thereby arise to the publick; and the fish taken would be as good to us, as so much ready money; and be taken off beyond seas, in exchange for such goods, as we necessarily want, and have from foreign parts, and now pay ready money for.

To conclude, were the things proposed as aforesaid done, as desired, trade would be encouraged and increased, the provisions and manufactures of the kingdom be, in far greater quantities, consumed, both at home and abroad, the price of lands would be raised, tenants be enabled to pay their rents, the kingdom would be greatly inriched, and in a few years, the publick debts of the kingdom might be discharged, without imposing any considerable tax upon the people.

THE ART OF GOOD HUSBANDRY,

OR, THE IMPROVEMENT OF TIME:

BEING A SURE WAY TO GET AND KEEP MONEY.

In a Letter to Mr. R. A. by R. T. with permission,

August 7, 1675. Roger L'Estrange.

[From a quarto edition, printed at London, for J. G. in the year MDCLXXV.]

In this tract are prescribed several rules, for merchants, shopkeepers, and mechanical tradesmen, (as well servants as masters) how they may husband their time, to the best advantage; the loss whereof is the sole cause of poverty in this city and nation. Likewise, the loss of a man's time spent in a tavern, coffee-house, or ale-house, computed. Also instructions to all sorts of people, how to order their business for the future, both to the inriching of themselves and their families.

SIR,

IN compliance to your late requests, obliging me to write to you, as soon as I came to London, I have sent you the result of a few serious minutes concerning the great 'Decay of trade, and want of money;' which is now the general cry of all people both in city and country; the grounds and reasons of which many have attempted to find out, by curious inquiries into the several laws and statutes made for the promoting of trade, supposing the non-execution of those laws to be the occasion of it. To this end large discourses have been made concerning the decay of the fishing trade; several proposals offered by ingenious persons for the restoration of it; and the great advantages that would ensue thereupon; with the many damages destructive to trade in general, that arise from the inquiries into the wool trade, alledging the exportation of wool, the importation of foreign manufactures, and the permission of foreigners to work here, to be the chief cause of that decay of trade, and want of money, which every person complains of.

Now though the grounds and reasons before-mentioned are guarded with so many probabilities, and seeming rational demonstrations, that every understanding person will be ready, at the first view, to hold up his finger and give his assent to them; yet, upon critical inspection, or more curious survey, we shall find them to be only circumstantial.

There is something more material which is near us, that we overlook by looking so far off; that is, the little value or price we set upon that inestimable jewel,—Time, which most people slight, like the cock in the fable, if they cannot make use of it, to satisfy their lascivious appetites. It is the industrious hand, that inricheth the land, and not the contriving pate. The wasps and hornets, by their rapine, bring to their

nests more honey at once, than the industrious bees can at many times; and yet, for all this, they usually die for want in the winter; whilst the industrious bees, by continual labour and improvement of time, gather sufficient to serve themselves in the winter, and can afford their masters a liberal share out of their plentiful stock.

I shall first begin with the inferior rank of people, for those are the persons most concerned in this general complaint, and shew them, how they may remedy what they complain of.

First, let them be diligent and industrious in their several trades and callings.

Secondly, let them avoid all such idle societies, that squander away a great deal of time, at a cheap rate.

I shall instance in those sober and civil conventions, as at coffee-houses, and clubs, where little money is pretended to be spent, but a great deal of precious time lost, which the person never thinks of; but measures his expences, by what goes out of his pocket; nor considers what he might put in by his labour, and what he might have saved, being employed in his shop. As for example:

A mechanick tradesman, it may be, goes to the coffee-house or ale-house in the morning, to drink his morning's draught, where he spends two-pence, and in smoaking and talking, consumes at least an hour: in the evening, about six o'clock, he goes to his two-penny club, and there stays for his two-pence till nine or ten; here is four-pence spent, and four hours at least lost, which, in most mechanick trades, cannot be reckoned less than a shilling; and, if he keep servants, they may lose him near as much by idling, or spoiling his goods, which his presence might have prevented. So that, upon these considerations, for this his supposed groat (a day's expence) he cannot reckon less than seven groats; which comes to fourteen shillings a week (Sundays excepted) which is thirty-six pounds ten shillings a year. A great deal of money in a poor tradesman's pocket!

Now the same may be applied to the higher trades and professions, whose loss of time is according to the degree, or spheres they move in; and yet this is the least thing thought of. We are apt to favour and excuse ourselves, and impute a general calamity to things afar off, when we ourselves are the occasion of it at home.

It will be necessary, before I proceed, to take notice of one objection, which seems to be most material, viz. That some men's business lies abroad, and cannot be so well managed at home, and that these meetings, or societies, are advantageous to them. As first, merchants, by these clubs or meetings, have intelligence of ships going out, and coming in; and also of the rates and prices of commodities, and meet with customers by accident, which possibly might never make inquiry at their houses or warehouses. The like excuses all men of business and trade pretend.

To this I answer: that indulging this custom, hath made it seemingly necessary; but yet there is no absolute necessity for it; for the exchange is appointed for the merchant's intelligence, and his warehouse is his shop. And, to other tradesmen, their shops are their markets; to which, if they would be reserved, they might better themselves, and

improve that time, they spend in taverns and coffee-houses, to a greater advantage: for, by these idle meetings, they lose not only what they spend, but what might be improved by the overseeing their goods, and examining their accounts, which they now wholly trust to the fidelity of a servant or servants; who, being led by their masters' examples, grow idle and extravagant; and, knowing their masters sure, make sure for themselves; furnishing themselves for their debauched assignations, they now plot and invent the means and ways for their extravagant meetings, which are the occasion of the ruin of many masters, and hopeful servants; all which might be prevented by the diligent eye of the master; the want of which is the occasion of all the debauchery, poverty, and misery, which every place cries out of. From this negligence and loss of time, come many more inconveniencies, that heap on poverty, and entail it upon themselves and generations.

From these clubs and societies (how civil soever they appear to be) it is impossible in any such meeting, but some of them are given to vice; and it is probable, the greatest part: by this means are introduced gaming, foolish wagers, wenching, swearing, and other debaucheries. And usually, at parting, or breaking up of these clubs, they divide themselves according to their several inclinations or dispositions; some go to a tavern, some to a convenient place for gaming, others to a bawdy-house, by which means, the family is neglected, and not governed as it ought to be; the wife (though possibly a very virtuous and careful housewife) exasperated by the extravagancies of her husband, and foreseeing poverty and want attending her, and her children, grows desperate; and, it may be, yields to some temptations that are too common in these days; by which means, oftentimes an estate, that was gathered by grains, is scattered abroad by bushels.

The servants, too, by these examples, fall into the same vices, and many times ruin both themselves and their friends, who have strained their estates to the utmost, to get them into those places, and engaged their friends for their fidelity, hoping that their industry might afterwards make them some retaliation: all which is frustrated, and they become vagrants and extravagants, by which means city and country are filled with so many idle persons, that live only by spoil and rapine; or like droans, feeding upon others labours; the greatest part of their business being to undo what others do, and to devise or contrive ways to cozen, supplant, or cheat each other; accounting it as lawful to get twenty shillings by cheating or playing, as by the most honest and industrious labour; so that, by this means, our commodities, which might be employed by industrious manufacturers, lie waste; and no wonder that we complain for want of trade, when the hands, that should be employed about it, are idle; for, if a strict inquiry were made into the city and suburbs, of all the persons that are capable of work, either in the wool or fishing-trade, as men, women, and children from seven years upwards, that are now altogether idle, or not employed to any purpose, in trade, there would not be found less than an hundred and fifty thousand, that live like droans, feeding upon the stock of others labours.

Now, it is our own negligence and idleness that brings poverty

upon us; for, if these idle persons were employed, we need not cry out of the exportation of wool, neither would industrious foreigners have that encouragement to work here, if we would mind it ourselves; but, if we will not improve our manufactures, we cannot blame others for doing of it.

Now, it will be supposed, that, by those laws for setting idle people to work, punishing vagrants, and rectifying disorders in publick-houses, all this might be prevented: this commonly is our last shift, and thus are we apt to excuse ourselves, and lay the burden of our own faults upon the shoulders of our governors. We may be very sensible, that we have in this kingdom as good laws as in any place in the world; we live under such a king, that, for prudence and wisdom, no empire or kingdom can make comparison with us; nor can laws be better executed than in this kingdom: but it is impossible that the eye of magistracy can see into every corner; every single person hath a corporation within himself; every family is a petty principality, of which the master or mistress is vicegerent; it lies upon every private person to put in execution those laws of nature within himself, that will inform him, what he ought to do, and what he ought not to do. Every governor or governess of a family should take care, by their good examples, to instruct their families; and severely to punish such disorders as shall be committed in their house or houses, as far as their power doth extend; the remainder they may leave to the magistrates, who will not be wanting on their parts.

Now since every one is guilty, let us endeavour to mend, and no longer complain of want, since it is in our own power to inrich ourselves and our country. The industrious hand needs not make a leg to Fortune for wealth; nor the honest heart bend his knee to Flattery, to gain him a reputation. These are the heads of what afterwards I shall present you with, methodically handled in a treatise, which, as this finds acceptance, will, before long, see the light.

In the mean time, I am
Yours to command,
R. T.

A LETTER TO A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT;

WITH

TWO DISCOURSES INCLOSED IN IT:

1. The One shewing the Reason why a Law should pass to punish Adultery with Death.
2. The Other shewing the Reasons why the Writ, *de Hæretico Comburendo,* should be abolished.

Non partis studiis agimur, sed sumsimus arma
Consiliis inimica tuis, ignavia fallax.

Printed Anno 1675. Quarto, containing eight Pages.

THE PUBLISHER'S ADVERTISEMENT.

These papers are made publick, not in presumption to inform the parliament, but only to give them an occasion to think of the subjects they treat of, it being wholly unimaginable but that the united wisdom of the nation will find out better and other reasons for the establishment of the things they propose.

The following short letter contains two proposals for the improvement of our laws, of which, that, for the abolition of the writ de Hæretico Comburendo, *was soon after complied with.*

Among the arguments for punishing adultery with death, he omits the authority of Cromwell, and his parliament, who passed the same law, which he so warmly recommends. As this writer, whoever he was, could not be probably much a favourer of the court-principles of that time, it is probable that he forgot this precedent rather than contemned it, or perhaps he might think, that the introduction of a name, so odious as that of Cromwell, would make his arguments less regarded. J——*.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

WHEN I review alone the grand entertainments of learning I used to meet with in your conversation, the wit of the poets, the reason of the philosophers, your excellent observations upon the actions of persons illustrious in arms, who have lived in the several ages of the world, my affliction is almost unimaginable to be separated from you. When you went up to the parliament, there was nothing could have staid me (who can scarce be happy a moment without you) behind you in the country, but my infirmity of health, and a certain desire of enjoying the comfort and pleasures of the spring. You know, when we parted, how I conjured you always to bear in mind that grand rule, *inter pericula libertatis, aut veritatis, silent amicitiæ et inimicitiæ*, and then the light of your own mind will dispel and overcome the darkness of others without noise or tumult. This world is governed by particular hatreds and friendships, not by the reasons of things; and there is nothing can keep you constant in your integrity, but the having a perpetual eye to that rule. I also then told you, you should look abroad as well as at home, keeping your eye on foreign affairs; for although Hannibal be not yet *ad portas*, Philip is at Olynthus. I have herein inclosed the papers I promised you, in which I claim no property against your absolute power over them, do what you will with them: you know, the one contains a discourse shewing the reasons why adultery should be punished with death; the other, why the writ, *de hæretico comburendo*, should be abolished. Adultery is the greatest of all thefts, a theft of which no restitution can be made:

——Nulla reparabilis arte,
Læsa pudicitia est, deperit illa semel.

Marriage of late hath been looked upon as an engine, a toil to catch mankind in; the magistrate had need to encourage it, to prevent depopulations; and to be always secure and certain of our wives, is, in my judgment, the best of encouragements. As to the abolishing the writ

de hæretico comburendo, you know, I ever have had a pity and charity for mankind, acknowledging in all a communion of minds and morality, and particularly for those that dissent from me in religion, *omnis animus veritate invitus privatur*: no beauty is so pleasant, so agreeable to the eye, as truth is to the soul; and all would love it, if they could discover it: As there is but one certain existence of things, so there is but one determinate truth of them, the same to all understandings, God's and man's both. If, after all my search and labour in knowledge, I cannot discover a beam of truth to guide and lead me into an unity of mind with God, am I to be made a criminal, and dealt with as a malefactor? he is infinite, and knows all things; but my poor understanding knows one thing, and doubts of a thousand: we are here in the body, *tristi et obscuro domicilio*; and the inspired apostle himself saith, 'we see darkly, and but through a glass.' God hath unfolded himself in as great variety in the minds of men, as he hath done in the material world: the seed of religion springs up variously in human souls, as we see the seminal forms do out of the earth: and would it not be madness or folly to destroy and cut up all trees and plants but the oak? I am not without all jealousy that it is possible, we in England may return back to the church of Rome, not only because I see in history monarchies more subject to changes than common-wealths in matters of religion, and observe how indefatigable that infallible church (in its own judgment) is to revenge our schism from it upon us, and so may weary us out at last, and how unsafe they apprehend themselves at Rome, while the power of the sea is in the hands of the hereticks; but chiefly from the wild philosophy and atheism of the present age, atheism being a preparation to receive any colour or tincture in religion. I would have the law of burning of hereticks repealed, lest we should see that day. It is a law sanguinary with a witness, written like Draco's in characters of blood, as barbarous as as that of Ordeal, or Tryal by Battail, built upon no reason, but upon a self-opinion every sect hath, that it hath a monopoly of God to itself, and upon no scripture I know of, but the monkish gloss, *hæreticos de vita*.

My dear friend, although gentlemen of fine parts are sooner debauched in popular assemblies under a monarchy, than men of plainer wisdom; as native beauty is less subject to be tempted by others, than beauty accompanied with the ornaments of art: I doubt not at all your integrity in this parliament, you are not a man of fluttering principles betwixt knavery and honesty, you will herd in your vote with no cabal, but go with the squadron *volante*, as reason upon every debate appears to you. I know you account a liberty of judgment in an uninterested indifference of mind, without fears or hopes, a grandeur and excellence above the rewards of wealth from the Court, or of fame from the people; nor am I afraid that, amidst the pleasure or business of the city, you will depart from the contemplative life, but be alone with your own mind, and drink of the spring of truth there, which overflowed so constantly your conversations with me in the country:

Non Venus, aut vinum sublimia pectora fregit,
Officiumve fori———

And as for our friendship, which has been a communion of minds and fortunes for several years, I have no cloud, no umbrage of jealousy towards you. Friends in this world are not like satyrs or centaurs, without real existence, as Cardan under a melancholy complains they are; I am sure I have found one, which, as he says, he never was so happy in his life to do. I will detain you no longer from the care of the publick affairs.

I am, dearest sir,

Your most sincerely affectionate friend.

April 17, 1675.

A SHORT DISCOURSE WHY A LAW SHOULD PASS IN ENGLAND, TO PUNISH ADULTERY WITH DEATH.

Publicus assertor, vitiis suppressa levabo
Pectora, vindictæ quisq; favete suæ. Ovid.

IT will be necessary, before I give my reasons why such a law should pass, that I do explain what adultery is, the notion of it being ordinarily mistaken.

Adultery is the lying of a single or married man with another man's wife, and not the lying of a married man with a single woman. Thus it was constantly apprehended among the Jews, to whom God gave the law, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery'. And David's sin was the taking of the poor man's ewe-lamb from him, which lay in his bosom, when he had flocks enough of his own. I presume, there is none doubts the Christian magistrate's power to make such a law; death is already amongst us the penalty for less crimes: we punish boldly with death a horse-stealer, or a cut-purse, without any scruple at all; and is not my property in my wife of dearer and nearer concern to me, than my horse, or a little pocket-money?

The primary law of nature is the observance of our contracts; for indeed, without this, there could be no government; the state of nature would still have continued; this crime intrenches highly on this law, dissolving the family-government; it is a breach of the solemnest contract (entered into *pro bono publico*, marriage being *seminarium reipublicæ*) imaginable. That is the nature of the crime, but the magistrate is chiefly to concern himself in the consequences of it; and they are more mischievous where the woman breaks the contract on her part; for thereby a spurious issue, that robs the husband by wholesale of his estate, of all his own and his ancestors acquisitions, is brought into his family. The crime is then a complication of all the wickedness in lust, breach of faith, and robbery; and therefore I may justly infer, that, seeing men equally concur with women to transact it, they are justly equally punishable.

If a man shall violate the companion of the king, or the companion of the eldest son and heir of the king, it is high-treason: by this we see the care of the law, no spurious issue should inherit the

crown. Should we not take some proportionable care of our own estates?

We may do well to reflect upon the example of other nations, as of the Jews (for many ages the only known people of God) amongst whom adultery was punished with death; upon the example of the *gentes moratiores* among the Heathens; of the Athenians, who, upon Solon's law punished this crime capitally; of the Romans, who, in imitation of Solon's law, set down for their law in the twelve tables, *Mœchum in adulterio deprehensum necato.* Afterwards in the Roman state it was lawful for the husband, until the *Lex Julia* in his Augustus's time, *Uxores in adulterio deprehensas sine judicio impuné necare.*

We may also consider what the Christian church has done for the suppression of this sin. In the first and best times of Christianity they did all they could, having not *jus vitæ & necis* against it. The penance then for it was perpetual to the hour of death. Zepherinus, bishop of Rome, *Anno* 216, moderated the penance; but the African churches, and particularly the grand Tertullian, opposed it as an innovation.

The Ancyran council, *Anno* 315, ordains seven years penance for it. And the council of Eliberis ordains, that he, that commits adultery again after penance for the first fault, should not be taken into communion at the hour of death.

In after ages, when the Roman church was resolved upon a celibacy in her clergy, it was necessary the sin should be looked on with a gentle eye, and now it is dwindled down into a *peccadillo,* but is, in truth, like the *peccadillo* of not believing in God at all; for, if ever he gave a law to man, it is one to prohibit adultery. Several of the reformed countries, who have recovered themselves from under the empire of wit and fraud over their consciences by that church, punish the crime at this day with death.

As for us in England, our present law is not without the infusions of the Roman church upon it in this case; all the remedy, the injured husband hath by our law, is to sue a divorce in the spiritual court, and to be cousened with a sentence of separation *a mensa & thoro,* a crafty invention against the plain gospel.

If the husband kill the adulterer, or his wife, found by him *in ipso actu,* the law excuseth him in this case from murder, but condemns him of man-slaughter, and hangs him, if he cannot read. What a poor remedy hath the injured man? If he kill the adulterer deliberately, not provoked by ocular demonstration, it is murder. Besides all this, the present law being so defective, the crime grows upon it; it is common, and this age gives it the soft and gentle French names of gallantry and divertisement, in apology for it: what ought the magistrate to do in this case, but to pursue this crime as far as his hand can reach, to the grave itself, and then *expectet Deum ultorem?*

A SHORT DISCOURSE, SHEWING WHY THE WRIT, DE HÆRETICO COMBURENDO, SHOULD BE ABOLISHED.

Chrysippus non dicit idem, nec mite Thaletis
Ingenium, dulciq; senex vicinus Hymetto. Juvenal.

Pœna errantis est doceri. Plato, cited by Grotius.

BEFORE I give my reasons, it will be necessary to shew the state of the law at present upon this writ: before the statue, 2 Henry the Fourth, cap. 15, 'No person could be convicted of heresy, but 'by the archbishop, and all the clergy of the province; but, by that 'statute, any particular bishop might in his diocese convict of heresy, 'and issue forth his precept to the sheriff, to burn the person he 'had convicted:' a law whereby the clergy had gained a dominion over the lives of the subjects independent upon the crown. It was repealed by the statute, 25 Henry the Eighth, cap. 14. 'But so as particular 'bishops may still convict; but without the king's writ, *de hæretico* '*comburendo*, first obtained, no person convict can be put to death;' and so the law stands at this day.

My REASONS are these:

I. The continuance of this writ in force amongst us, is a standing reproach to the Christian religion we profess (a religion of love and peace.) If it be not to be propagated in the whole by force and blood-shed, certainly a part of it, as a particular point of faith in it, is not. In the gospel of Christ all the punishment of heresy, and of infidelity itself, are adjourned over, and left to the other world.

II. If an act pass to abolish this writ, it will be an act of indulgence in part, and give an assurance to all persons of a different judgment from the present established church, that they are secure as to their lives under the government.

III. If Popery should ever return back into England, there must a parliament sit to repeal such an act, before any Protestant for his opinion could be put to death.

IV. Such an act would leave the power of the present church to convict, excommunicate, and imprison untouched, only would take away their barbarous execution of her sentence.

If it be objected, 'The writ is grown obsolete and disused, and so 'need not be taken away,' the answer is obvious; not so obsolete neither: it was used in King James's time; however, it is fit it should not remain as a snare among our law, for the case concerns life or death; and the Papists use the writ constantly against the Protestants, but they never against them.

A FARTHER BRIEF & TRUE NARRATION

OF

THE LATE WARS RISEN IN NEW-ENGLAND,

Occasioned by the quarrelsome disposition and perfidious carriage of the barbarous and savage Indian natives there;

WITH AN

ACCOUNT OF THE FIGHT THE 19th OF DECEMBER LAST, 1675.

London, February 17th, 1675-6. Licensed, Henry Oldenburgh.

London: printed by J. D. for M. K. and are to be sold by the Booksellers, 1676. Quarto, containing eight pages.

SIR, *Boston, December 28th*, 1675.

'TIS verily believed with us, that all generous minds in both Englands, which concern themselves to enquire after our affairs in these parts of the world, and wish us well, have a longing desire the Indian wars might be ended; and we presumed e're this, that the powers of persuasion or force would have made a happy change, by altering the minds, or restraining the malice of our heathen foes.

But so it is, the rod of God's anger is still upon us; for the Pocanaket sachem Metacom, alias Philip, still lives! he lives to be vexation to us in all places where he comes: yea, he lives, and by his subtlety proves a more forcible and perillous enemy to us than ever we could have imagined. He hath drawn into his confederacy all the Indians, from Cape Sables eastward to the Mohawks, which is about three hundred miles or upwards: and our fears are (which would to God they were but fears) that some traders of Europe, for love of gain, have from time to time supplied them with ammunition.

At the eastward, the Indians have ruined Falmouth Black Point, and Saco, and slain in those towns thirty persons: some they took alive, and sat them upright in the ground, using this sarcasm: 'You English, 'since you came into this country have grown exceedingly above 'ground, let us now see how you will grow when planted into the 'ground.' At Ketterey they have slain fourteen persons, and burnt sundry houses: at Dover they also have killed some, and fired two or three houses. Our enemies proudly exult over us, and blaspheme the name of our blessed God, saying, 'Where is your O God?' Taunting at the poor wretches, which, to make themselves sport with, they cruelly torture to death: but our affiance is in the God that made heaven and earth, who, when he arises, will scatter our enemies.

It hath been the great care of our council to distinguish between friends and enemies; for most of our mischiefs have flowed from pretended friends, who have demeaned themselves exceeding fairly with us, till they have had the opportunity secretly and suddenly to endamage us, and then they fly to our avowed adversaries. Many of our commonalty would have all Indians (*quatenus* such) declared enemies: but our soberest sort justly fear to condemn the innocent with the guilty: knowing that *justitia est firmitas regni;* nor would they draw on themselves the guilt of blotting out the interest of the Gospel amongst the Indians, remembering New-England was originally a plantation more famous for religion than trade; and to this day the Massachusets, in the impress of their publick seal, have an Indian engraven with these words, Come over and help us; alluding to Acts xvi. 9. Much intestine heart-burnings and complainings, not to say mutinies, have been about these matters; to quiet which, eleven of the most notorious, with whom some English plunder was found, were arraigned, six whereof, being evidently found guilty, were soon after executed; and, at the desire of the honestest of them, all the professing Indians are placed and provided for on certain islands, where they are out of harm's way; and, by an act of the general court, which is our parliament here, 'tis death for any of them to come off thence without license from the magistrate. Our people, since the loss of Captain Lathrop of Beverly, with about sixty men by surprize, and the burning of Springfield, are grown not less valorous, but more cautious: experience is the mother of prudence, and little good comes of despising an enemy. Yet let not the world censure too much Captain Lathrop: he, in the Pequot wars, had done exploits; nor in this would have been behind-hand, if the narrow passage or causey, where his unexpected enemies set on him, would have given him leave to have drawn up his men. But, however, this may be said, to use the words of a wise man; 'There was never censor that judged, senator 'that ordered, general that commanded, council that executed, orator 'that persuaded, nor any other mortal man, but sometimes he com-'mitted errors.' Let such as are too apt to censure the conduct of some affairs here, remember this.

On the 19th of October, Philip assaulted Hatsfield, a town on Connecticut River, with about eight hundred men: but there were two hundred of ours then in the town, which in two hours space, with the loss of one man only, put the Indians to a total flight, and killed about an hundred of them, sixty of whose dead bodies the Indians carried with them on horses, &c. (for they had several horses amongst them). After which Philip and the Nipnet Indians fled to the Narragansits; which caused the council of the Massachusets, to publish in print this manifesto:

TO OUR BRETHREN AND FRIENDS THE INHABITANTS OF THE COLONY OF THE MASSACHUSETS.

Although you cannot be ignorant, how studious this government hath been to preserve peace in this colony, and have taken up and compromised divers quarrels that have risen between ourselves, our neighbours,

and the Indians, and thereby at several times prevented those calamities wherewith we are now pressed: yet, to satisfy you that the same mind and the same endeavours are continued in the present government, we have thought it necessary to let you understand the rise and progress of our present troubles, with our endeavours to have prevented the same.

In June last, we were certified by our friends and confederates of Plymouth, that Philip, the sachem of Mount Hope, was in arms, and had sollicited all the Indians to join with him against the English; and, withal, they desired our assistance to suppress him: which we, by the articles of confederation, could not deny, and therefore applied ourselves to raise some force for their assistance, but were still desirous to prevent a war with the Indians; and therefore, upon a former experience of a good effect wrought upon the said Philip, we resolved to use the same means, viz. sending messengers from hence to Philip to treat with him, hoping of the like issue, which, upon the like case about four years since, we, by God's good hand, obtained. But our messengers arriving at Swanzy in their way towards Philip, found divers English murthered on the road; and were informed by the English there, of divers hostilities of the Indians, which rendered our design and their negotiation hopeless; upon which they returned, and informed us as abovesaid. Whereupon our forces began their march in aid of our friends at Plymouth; and having driven Philip from his country, we being informed that the Narragansets harboured his women, and aided him with men, we ordered our soldiers to march to Narraganset, in order to keep them quiet, and prevent their succouring or harbouring the enemy: where, after some delay, they were drawn to consent to our demands, promising neither to entertain nor assist our enemies, which they since confirmed in a treaty with the commissioners of the colonies; further engaging, that they would deliver all those of Philip's party, that, upon his route near Scatoneck, or since, were fled to them; but have failed in every particular.

You may also take notice, that, before any of our soldiers marched to Mount Hope, we were very careful to understand the state of the Nipnet Indians, to prevent Philip's design, and secure those Indians; and, therefore, dispatched two messengers well known to them, to certify them of Philip's motion, and of our desire to keep amity and friendship with them, according to the covenants made with them long since, no ways violated on our part. And, by the said messengers, received fair returns from the most of them, being in ten or twelve plantations. Some of them pretending fear of us; for their further satisfaction, when our forces were sent out against Philip, we, to satisfy and secure them, sent them, by Ephraim Curtice, a declaration under the publick seal, that we had no design, or intent, to disturb them, or any other Indians, that would remain in their plantations peaceably; which message and messenger was evilly treated by many of them then assembled, and the messenger much endangered by the younger men, and not with any satisfaction by their sachems, as the event shewed, though at that present more moderately received.

Soon after this dispatch, and before Philip's flying from Pocasset, and march up towards the Nipnet country, some of the said Nipnet Indians

assaulted and slew divers of our people at Mendam; whereupon, Captain Hutchinson, with a small guard, was sent up to the said Nipnet Indians, if possible to keep them quiet; who arriving at Quabaog, whereabouts was a rendezvous of the Indians, and having sent to them, they promised to meet him in a certain place, whither he at the time repairing, found not the Indians; and, being encouraged by the English of Quabaog, that the Indians were peaceable, &c. he advanced forward towards the place of the Indians rendezvous to treat them; but, in the way, was, by ambuscade, treacherously way-laid, by which himself, with several others, were wounded and slain, the English of Quabaog immediately assaulted, and the town, except one house, totally destroyed; at which time, as we understand, Philip also, with his broken party, came up to the said Indians, and upon the first, or immediately before the arrival of the forces we sent up for the relief of those of Quabaog, Philip and his whole crew retreated, as we then feared, and afterwards were informed, towards Connecticut river; from whence, recruiting himself with ammunition from Albany, and with men, partly from the treacherous Indians about Hadly, and Spring-field, he hath prosecuted his first design to ruin and destroy the English. And, notwithstanding all the opposition of our forces, hath done much mischief and spoil; and, since the repulse he received at Hatsfield, withdrew into the Nipnet country, and since that, as we understand, towards the Narragansets, who, we do conclude, have favoured, abetted, and assisted him therein; and, by entertaining and harbouring our enemies, have dealed falsly and perfidiously with us; whereby we find ourselves necessarily engaged, with the consent, advice, and assistance of the rest of the colonies, in a war with them, as well as with Philip, unless they prevent the same by a timely compliance, and performance, and security for the future: for the managing and carrying on whereof, we hope for, and expect (as we have hitherto had) the assistance of all his majesty's subjects of this colony in their respective capacities, in the just defence of the glory of God, the honour, defence, and safety of our king, country, and ourselves, from the subtlety, rage, and treacherous attempts of our barbarous enemies.

Dated at Boston, the 7th of December, anno Christi, 1675, annoque domini Caroli secundi regis Angl. Scot. Fran. et Hiber. defensoris fidei, &c. 27th.

By the Council,

EDWARD RAWSON, Secret.

COFFEE-HOUSES VINDICATED.

In Answer to the late published

CHARACTER OF A COFFEE-HOUSE.

Asserting from Reason, Experience, and good Authors, the excellent Use, and physical Vertues of that Liquor.

With the grand Conveniency of such civil Places of Resort and ingenious Conversation.

London, printed by J. Lock, for J. Clarke, 1675. *Folio*, containing eight Pages.

WIT, of late, is grown so wanton, and the humour of affecting it, becóme so common, that each little fop, whose spungy brain can but coin a small drossy joke or two, presently thinks himself privileged to asperse every thing that comes in his way, though in itself never so innocent, or beneficial to the publick. To the influence of this predominant folly, we may not improperly refer the production of those swarms of insect pamphlets, which the press weekly spawns into the world; and, particularly, the nativity of that *folio*-impertinence which occasions our present reflexions: a piece whose flaunting title raised our thoughts to an expectation of somewhat extraordinary; but, finding little in it but downright abuse, the quintessence of Billingsgate rhetorick, dregs of canting, and such rubbish language, as bubbling, bully-rock, fluxing, gonorrhœa, &c. Charity itself could not but suspect the author more conversant somewhere else than in coffee-houses, and conclude those places, being too civil for a debauched humour, had given occasion for his exposing them as lay-conventicles, &c.

However, we shall preserve that equal regard to Solomon's double-faced advice, to answer and not answer such as our characterising author, that we shall decline retorting any thing particularly to his scurrilities: let the town-wit (whom we leave to take his own satisfaction) fence with him, if he please, at those weapons; a formal answer would be too great an indulgence to his vanity, and make him think too considerably of himself: besides, to reply, in the pitiful stile of his peddling drollery, is to engage in a game at pushpin; and to say any thing serious will be no more (to borrow his phrase) than reading a lecture to a monkey. Instead, therefore, of wasting our own or the reader's time so impertinently, we shall briefly endeavour to give you an account of the use and vertues of coffee, and next consider some of those many conveniences coffee-houses afford us both for business and conversation.

Though the happy Arabia, nature's spicery, prodigally furnishes the voluptuous world with all kinds of aromaticks, and divers other rarities; yet I scarce know whether mankind be not still as much obliged to it for

the excellent fruit of the humble coffee-shrub, as for any other of its more specious productions: for, since there is nothing we here enjoy, next to life, valuable beyond health, certainly those things that contribute to preserve us in good plight and eucrasy, and fortify our weak bodies against the continual assaults and batteries of diseases, deserve our regards much more than those which only gratify a liquorish palate, or otherwise prove subservient to our delights. As for this salutiferous berry, of so general a use through all the regions of the east, it is sufficiently known, when prepared, to be moderately hot, and of a very drying attenuating and cleansing quality; whence reason infers, that its decoction must contain many good physical properties, and cannot but be an incomparable remedy to dissolve crudities, comfort the brain, and dry up ill humours in the stomach. In brief, to prevent or redress, in those that frequently drink it, all cold drowsy rheumatick distempers whatsoever, that proceed from excess of moisture, which are so numerous, that but to name them would tire the tongue of a mountebank.

This consideration alone should, methinks, be sufficient to ingratiate it to our esteem, since the use thereof does thence appear absolutely necessary; especially to us in whom phlegm is apt to abound, both by reason of the northern situation of our country, and the ill habit of extraordinary drinking, grown too epidemical among us.

Experience proves, that there is nothing more effectual than this reviving drink, to restore their senses, that have brutified themselves by immoderate tippling heady liquors, which it performs by its exsiccant property before-mentioned, that instantly dries up that cloud of giddy fumes, which, boiling up from the over-charged stomach, oppress the brain: but this, being only a kindness to voluntary devils, as my Lord Cook calls common drunkards, we should scarce reckon amongst coffee's vertues, did it not evidence its quality, and shew how beneficial it may prove by parity of reason, when designed to more worthy and noble uses, such as expelling wind, fortifying the liver, refreshing the heart, corroborating the spirits, both vital and animal, quickening the appetite, assisting digestion, helping the stone, taking away rheums and defluxions, with a thousand other kindnesses to nature, which we might enumerate, did we not think it a sufficient argument of its excellency only to observe, how universally it takes in the world; for we cannot, without an affront to our nature, imagine mankind so sottish, as greedily to entertain a drink that has nothing of sweetness to recommend it to the gust, nor any of those pleasant blandishments wherewith wine and other liquors tempt and debauch our palates, unless there were some more than ordinary vertue and efficacy in it; yet we see, without any of these insinuating advantages, coffee has so generally prevailed, that bread itself (though commonly with us voted the staff of life) is scarce of so universal use; for of that the Tartars and Arabians, vast and numerous people, eat little or none, whereas both they and the Turks, Persians, and almost all the eastern world, are so devoted to coffee, that, besides innumerable publick houses for sale of it, there is scarce a private fire without it all day long, as any, that are but moderately acquainted with sashes and turbants, can witness. Is it not enough to silence the

barking of our little wits against this innocent and wholesome drink, that is so generally used by so many mighty nations, and those too celebrated for the most witty and sagacious?

Nor wants this liquor the suffrages of excellent authors. The famous Parkinson, in his exquisite Herbal, p. 1622, commends it for the strengthening weak stomachs, helping digestion, and obstructions and tumours of the liver and spleen; the incomparable Verulam, in his Natural Histoty, fol. 155, amongst other encomiums, asserts, that it comforteth the brain, and, by condensing the spirits, expelleth fear, and maketh them strong and chearful; Sandys, in his Travels, and the judicious Sir H. B. both in his Voyage to the Levant, and elsewhere, speaks very advantageously of it: nor did the ingenious Mr. Howel, in his life-time, deny it his publick testimony in print, in a letter to Mr. Justice R. before his *Organum Salutis*.

After so many worthy names have given it their votes, what have our puisne quibblers to object? only this, it is black, and therefore wit must be shewn to call it Stygian puddle; and, besides this, it is bitter, and therefore a lye must be framed, that it is made of soot.

For the first, were they but so well acquainted with the prince of Latin poets, as our character-maker would make us believe he is with Ovid, by his dull, tedious, and impertinent quotation, they might remember,

Alba ligustra cadunt, vaccinia nigra leguntur.

It is the opinion of better heads, than any on their shoulders, that this liquor is no other, than that famous black broth of the Lacedemonians, so much celebrated by antiquity.

For its taste, it is a pitiful childish humour always to indulge our palates; diseases are removed by bitter pills, and the most sanative potions are oftentimes very ungrateful to swallow; but the truth is, this drink has nothing in it of nauseousness, nor any taste, but what, familiarised by a little use, will become pleasant and delightful.

The dull planet Saturn has not finished one revolution through his orb, since coffee-houses were first known amongst us; yet it is worth our wonder to observe how numerous they are already grown; not only here in our metropolis, but in both universities, and most cities and eminent towns throughout the nation; nor, indeed, have we any places of entertainment of more use and general conveniency, in several respects, amongst us.

First, In regard of easy expence: Being to wait for or meet a friend, a tavern-reckoning soon breeds a purse-consumption; in an ale-house, you must gorge yourself with pot after pot, sit dully alone, or be drawn in to club for others reckonings, or frowned on by your landlady, as one that cumbers the house, and hinders better guests: but here, for a penny or two, you may spend two or three hours, have the shelter of a house, the warmth of a fire, the diversion of company, and conveniency, if you please, of taking a pipe of tobacco; and all this without any grumbling or repining.

Secondly, For sobriety: it is grown, by the ill influences of I know not what hydropick stars, almost a general custom amongst us, that no

bargain can be drove, or business concluded between man and man, but it must be transacted at some publick-house. This, to persons much concerned in the world, must needs be very injurious, should they always run to taverns or ale-houses, where continual sippings, though never so warily, would be apt to fly up into their brains, and render them drowsy and indisposed for business; whereas, having now the opportunity of a coffee-house, they repair thither, take each man a dish or two (so far from causing, that it cures any dizziness, or disturbant fumes) and so, dispatching their business, go out more sprightly about their affairs, than before. The like may be said of mornings draughts, which, taken in wine, ale, or beer, most times either destroy, or very much maim the business of the whole day; whereas, if people would be persuaded to play the good-fellows, in this wholesome, wakeful, innocent drink, they would find it do no less good to their bodies, and much more promote and advance their business and employments.

Lastly, For diversion. It is older than Aristotle, and will be true, when Hobbes is forgot, that man is a sociable creature, and delights in company. Now, whither shall a person, wearied with hard study, or the laborious turmoils of a tedious day, repair to refresh himself? Or where can young gentlemen, or shop-keepers, more innocently and advantageously spend an hour or two in the evening, than at a coffee-house? Where they shall be sure to meet company, and, by the custom of the house, not such as at other places, stingy and reserved to themselves, but free and communicative; where every man may modestly begin his story, and propose to, or answer another, as he thinks fit. Discourse is *pabulum animi, cos ingenii;* the mind's best diet, and the great whetstone and incentive of ingenuity; by that we come to know men better than by their physiognomy. *Loquere, ut te videam*, speak, that I may see thee, was the philosopher's adage. To read men is acknowledged more useful than books; but where is there a better library for that study, generally, than here, amongst such a variety of humours, all expressing themselves on divers subjects, according to their respective abilities?

But our pamphlet-monger, that sputters out senseless characters faster, than any hocus can vomit inkle, will needs take upon him to be dictator of all society, and confine company to sit as mute in a coffee-house, as a quaker at a silent meeting, or himself with a little wench, when behind the hangings they are playing a game at whist. To this purpose, he babbles mightily against tattling, and makes a great deal of cold mirth with three or four stale humours, that you may find a thousand times better described in a hundred old plays; yet to collect these excellent observables cost the poor soul above half a year's time, in painful pilgrimage from one coffee-house to another; where, planting himself in a dark corner, with the dexterity of short-hand, he recorded these choice remarks, whilst all the town took him for an exciseman counting the number of dishes; the world is now obliged with the fruits of his industry, which proves no more, than that some giddy-headed coxcombs, like himself (whose skulls, instead of brains, are stuffed with saw-dust) do sometimes intrude into coffee-houses, a doctrine we are easily persuaded to believe: for, if their doors had been

kept shut against all fops, it is more than probable, himself had never known so much of their humours. We confess, *in multiloquio non deest vanitas*, Amongst so much talk there may happen some to very little purpose. But, as we doubt not, but the royal proclamation has had the good success to prevent, for the future, any dangerous intelligence, saucy prying into *arcana imperii*, or irreverent reflexions on affairs of state, so, for the little innocent extravagancies, we hold them very diverting, every fool being a fiddle to the company; for, how else should our author have raised so much laughter through the town? Besides, how infinitely are the vain pratings of these ridiculous pragmaticks over-balanced by the sage and solid reasonings, here frequently to be heard, of experienced gentlemen, judicious lawyers, able physicians, ingenious merchants, and understanding citizens, in the abstrusest points of reason, philosophy, law, and publick commerce!

In brief, it is undeniable, that, as you have here the most civil, so it is, generally, the most intelligent society; the frequenting whose converse, and observing their discourses and deportment, cannot but civilise our manners, enlarge our understandings, refine our language, teach us a generous confidence and handsome mode of address, and brush off that *pudor rubrusticus* (as, I remember, Tully somewhere calls it) that clownish kind of modesty frequently incident to the best natures, which renders them sheepish and ridiculous in company.

So that, upon the whole matter, spight of the idle sarcasms and paltry reproaches thrown upon it, we may, with no less truth than plainness, give this brief character of a well-regulated coffee-house (for our pen disdains to be an advocate for any sordid holes, that assume that name to cloke the practice of debauchery) that it is the sanctuary of health, the nursery of temperance, the delight of frugality, an academy of civility, and free-school of ingenuity.

THE CHARACTER OF A FANATICK.

BY A PERSON OF QUALITY.

London, printed in the Year 1675. Quarto, containing eight Pages.

HE is a person of a more exercised faith than understanding; one governed by instinct, not intellect; and who, like those of old, never thinks he has enough of the deity, till beside himself: You may call him, if you please, a perpetual motion, or a restless whirligig, ever turning from bad to worse; or the *ignis fatuus* of divinity, carried about with every wind; lest, considering whence it cometh, or whither it goeth, as even such, likewise, is every one that is born of him. It may be thought, the prophet had something like him in his eye, in that wheel (of his) within a wheel; for of himself he never was, but ill split from another; like those imperfect, dough-baked creatures, produced by the sun on the banks of Nile; so that his generation is founded in corruption, and his extraction of the same parentage with

monsters, not intended, but produced. His principles are like the chaos; a confused lump of every thing and nothing; or a gallimawfry of negatives; nor this, nor that, nor the other; but what he is, no man knows, no, nor the angels in heaven, nor himself to boot; this only excepted, that he is more party-coloured than Joseph's coat, and patched together of more pieces, than a taylor's cushion: Nor is his practice much unsuitable to his principles; he puts on religion as a cloke, not a garment, and varnishes his impostures with Holiness to the Lord. Thus Absalom pretends a sacrifice, when his business is rebellion; and Herod a worship, when his design is murder; nor with much wonder Machiavel, the Florentine, had taught him, he, that would gain by deceit, must first acquire a credit, by, at least, a shew of integrity; and he, that would practise upon the people, must follow the old rule of *Finge Deum*—Such influence have solemn looks, and verily, verily, upon the multitude, who have little else to pass them for men, but speech and figure: hence it is, that he puts off his tinsel for standard, and the maggots of his own brain, for divine inspiration: that he obtrudes his enthusiasms for visions, and justifies Homer, that even such dreams are of God: that he takes a holy pride to himself, and says to the rest of the world, stand off: that he calls the common infirmities of mankind, crying sins, national sins, bow-dyed sins; and his own mormo's, but slips and failings: that he can see no sin in Jacob, nor iniquity in his Israel of God: that he calls them the only holy, only chosen, only godly, only precious, only spiritually-discerning people: that he puts a discriminating schibboleth on others; as formalists, carnalists, dry moralists, withered fig-trees, outside men, negative-holiness-men, *opus-operatum*-men, will-worshippers, *Laodiceans*, and what not: that he talks of nothing but new light and prophecy, spiritual incomes, indwellings, emanations, manifestations, sealings, and the like gibberish and canting; to which, also, the zealous twang of the nose adds no small efficay: that he runs counter to all things in power, and treads the antipodes to every thing commanded, and for no other reason, but because commanded: for it may be observed, that the Lord's-prayer was not so absolutely thrown out of the kirk, till recommended by its own directory; in short, that he calls subjection, in matters of religion, a tying up the spirit, and all injunctions, even in things indifferent, a manifest invading the *sanctum sanctorum*: and now the great cry is persecution for conscience; nothing in his mouth, but destitute, afflicted; and, the common corollary, but not forsaken. Alas! alas! the habitations of Jacob are swallowed, and the places of the assembly taken away: a bow is bent against the daughter of Judah, and the breach of the Virgin of Sion is like a great sea; whereas, on the other hand, let him be but as in the years passed, and the sun once more shine on his tabernacle. This success new models his conscience, and, like Aaron's rod, he swallows up every thing that lies in his way: even princes must lay their hands on their mouths, and the nobles not speak again to his words: the poor distressed is become *hogan mogan* and the *servus servorum*, *dominus dominantium*: the little flock claims a kingdom *in condigno*, and the chosen generation sets up for a royal priesthood. In short, this little horn takes a mouth to himself, speaking

mighty things, and his language is, Overturn, overturn, overturn. And now he makes his doctrine suitable to his text, and owns above-board, that dominion is founded in grace, not nature: that the goods of this world are properly the elects: that himself and his hyperdolins are the only Israelites, and all the rest Egyptians: that the new Jerusalem must be propagated, as the second temple was built, with the sword in one hand, and the trowel in the other: or, as the abbot (in Henry the Third's time) gave it in absolution to the earl of Leicester, *gladium spiritualem sine gladio materiali nihil posse.* What shall I add? he declares that *quis suscitabit eum?* was personally meant of his tribe: and yet this man has his followers, and these of the honourable women too, not a few; for, to say truth, his conversation is much after the rate of that before the flood, the sons of God among the daughters of men; devotion in all places, whether true or false, being most natural to that sex: it was the devil's policy to our first parents, for well he knew that to beguile Eve was the ready way to hook in Adam. And thus he proves a stumbling-block to the wives, and a rock of offence to the husbands. In brief, like the dragon in the Apocalypse, his tail draws a third part of the stars, and casts them to the earth; the reason is obvious, *fortitudo ejus in lumbis ejus, & virtus umbilico ventris.* But, to proceed, his profession is like his allegiance, a mere *fucus*, yet, so well laid on, one, at first sight, could not but swear it were natural: his common-place, Polyanthea, and Concordance, and the height of his school-divinity, the assemblies catechism: his prayer, a rhapsody of holy hiccoughs, sanctified barkings, illuminated goggles, sighs, sobs, yexes, gasps, and groans, not more intelligible than nauseous: however, to give him his due, he prays most heartily for the king, but with more distinctions, and mental reservations, than an honest man would have taken the covenant: from hence, as out of the third heaven, he falls by head and shoulders into his preachment; which what other is it, than a wild career over hill and dale, till the afternoon chimes stop him? Ῥήματα ἀῤῥητα, ἀῤῥητα ῥήματα; thump upon thump, yelp upon yelp, doctrine upon doctrine, rule upon rule, reason upon reason, text upon text, proof upon proof, direction upon direction, motive upon motive, sign upon sign, token upon token, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little: effect upon effect, and uses more than innumerable; and here likewise he cries up obedience to magistrates, but with such a *salva gloria dei*, that he had better let it alone: as also, that they ought to be defended by their subjects, in defence, nevertheless, of the true religion, of which himself must be judge. And, for his grace at meat, what can I better compare it to, than a Canterbury hack, half pace, half gallop? so his, an odd hobbling shuffle, between a grace and a prayer, and a prayer and a grace: lastly, as to his virtues, (for it cannot be denied, but he has somewhat of that which Tully calls, *adumbrata virtutum specimina*) I wish it might be said of them, that they were other than masked hypocrisy; the poet hit it:

Da justum sanctumque videri,
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem:

And, like an apt scholar, he has gotten his lesson by heart, and can

wrap the Philistine's sword in an holy ephod; from whence else is it, that he can crave a blessing to the designs, though never so ungodly, and give thanks for the success, be it never so wicked? that he will not swear, but can dispense with the profitable sin of lying: that he will not be drunk, to be seen of men, but yet can take a brotherly rouse in a corner; that he walks as though he had made a covenant with his eyes, and yet *si uxor non vult aut non si possit, veniat ancilla*, is wholsome doctrine with him: that he is a zealous observer of the sabbath, and yet can make less conscience of schism than a surplice: that he cries, *væ mihi si non evangelizo vero*, and yet allows no imposition of hands, but broken pates: that he abhors idols, and yet can commit sacrilege, which, what is it, but to burn the idol with a coal from the altar? that he exhorts his beloved to constancy under persecution, and yet, come what will, he can lick himself so whole, it will be hard to tell where he had been hurt. In short, that he is a perfect Samaritan, for let the Gentiles prevail, and he is of the race of Ishmael: and let the Jews get the upperhand, he had Abraham to his father: to conclude, he is a glow-worm, that shines best in the night of ignorance, one whose faith has eaten up his charity: one that has torn the seamless coat into rags, and tacked them together to cover his nakedness: one that, having forsaken the fountain, has hewed to himself but broken cisterns: one that swallows all things unchewed, and brings them up again as raw and undigested: one, whose eyes are at the end of the earth, and yet would be thought not to mistake his way. In short, one that has an excuse for every thing that he should not do, and a *salvo* for every thing that he should do: and all this by scripture, *adeo nihil est quod S. Scriptura torqueri non possit, modo torqueatur*: in a word, he is one of whom it may be said, as Heraclius of the bow, Τὸ μεν ὄνομα βίος, τὸ δὲ ἔργον θάνατος; and, but that I find him so well cut out by Horace, I had not yet taken off my hand from so everlasting an argument,

> *Mala quem scabies, aut morbus regius urget*
> *Aut fanaticus error, aut iracunda Diana;*
> *Vesanum tetigisse timent, fugiuntque—*
> *Qui sapiunt——*

And not without reason; for, though his distemper lies not in too much learning, yet, to my unenlightened understanding, he speaks not the words, either of soberness or truth, but darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge.

A MODEST ACCOUNT

OF

THE WICKED LIFE OF THAT GRAND IMPOSTOR, LODOWICK MUGGLETON:

Wherein are related all the remarkable actions he did, and all the strange accidents that have befallen him, ever since his first coming to London, to this twenty-fifth of January, 1676.

ALSO, A PARTICULAR OF THOSE REASONS,

Which first drew him to these damnable Principles:

WITH

Several pleasant stories concerning him, proving his commission to be but counterfeit, and himself a cheat, from divers expressions which have fallen from his own mouth.

Licensed according to order.

Quarto, containing six pages, printed at London, for B. H. in 1676.

LODOWICK MUGGLETON was born of poor, though honest parents, living at Chippenham, within fifteen miles of Bristol: his relations having but little means, and a great charge of children to maintain, they were forced to send their daughters to wait on their neighbouring gentry, and to place their sons to such trades as cost little binding them apprentices. But, amongst all the rest of those of this worshipful brood, they were blessed withal, they might have observed, even in his cunicular days, in this Lodowick Muggleton, an obstinate, dissentious, and opposive spirit; which made them desirous to settle him at some distance from them, and also to bind him to such a trade, and master, as might curb him from that freedom, which the moroseness of his coarse nature extorted from his too indulgent parents: by which means, as soon as he had made some small inspection into his Accidence, without any other accomplishment, besides a little writing and casting of accompts, he was hurried up to London, and there bound apprentice to one of the cross-legged order, but of an indifferent reputation in the place where he lived, though by trade a taylor. We will pass over the parenthesis of his youth in silence, therein being nothing but usual waggeries, which generally recommend to our expectation something remarkable, when the usual extravagancies shall be seasoned with age.

When the time of his apprenticeship grew near its expiration, so that he was admitted more liberty, than formerly was granted him, he was observed to be a great haunter of conventicles; insomuch that there could not a dissenting nonconformist diffuse his sedition in any obscure corner of the city, but this Lodowick Muggleton would have a part of

it; by which means, continuing in the same idle curiosity, and taking great observation on that unknown gain, many of that canting tribe got by their deluded auditors, he proposed to himself a certain and considerable income to be got by the same means, by which he had observed many of those great pretenders gull both himself and others: for a rooked conventicler, like a bankrupt gamester, having, for some time, been cullied out of his money, learns the trick, sets up hector, and trades for himself.

Thus did Lodowick Muggleton, by sliding out of one religion into another, so dissatisfy his judgment, and run himself from the solid basis of his first principles; first degenerating, from the orthodox tenets of the Church of England, to Presbytery; from thence to Independency; thence to Anabaptism; thence to Quakerism; and, lastly, to no religion at all.

When men have, thus, once fooled themselves out of religion and a good conscience, it is no wonder, that their secular interests draw them into all sorts of impiety and profaneness, as it has done this Lodowick Muggleton; who, though, in himself, a poor, silly, despicable creature, yet had the confidence to think he had parts enough to wheedle a company of silly, credulous proselytes out of their souls and estates: and, indeed, he has had such admirable success in that wicked enterprise, that, tho' we cannot absolutely conclude, that he has cheated them of the first; yet we can prove, if occasion were, that he has defrauded them of the latter; as has been often told him, since the first day of his standing in the pillory.

It has been told already, how this impious impostor lays claim to a counterfeit commission, whereby he has infected the truths of many honest, ignorant people, with an extraordinary power, that was delivered to him by as infamous a blasphemer as himself, John Reeve; who, as he formerly rivalled Muggleton in impiety, had he been yet living, should certainly have clubbed with him in his deserved punishment.

It is about twenty-one years, since this impudent creature began his impostures; who, knowing himself as defective of reason, as of religion, made it one of the grand maxims of his policy, that his proselytes should be fully persuaded, contrary to all sense, or probability. Reason was that great beast, spoken of in the Revelation, and, consequently, not to be consulted withal, as to the examining of any fundamental point in religion; whereby he secured both himself, and his shallow disciples, from all those frequent disputations and arguments, which, otherwise, must necessarily have diverted them from adhering to his damnable, impious, and irrational tenets; which I purposely omit, as being too unsufferably profane for the modest ear of any sober, well-meaning Christian.

But we may judge a little of the theorick by the practick, I mean, of his principles by his practices, and of the soundness of his doctrine by those duties he held himself, and his followers, obliged to, in the performance of it; which, indeed, were none at all; it being his usual custom, when they met on the sabbath-day, to entertain them with a pig of their own sow; I mean, with wine, strong drink, or victuals; which either

they sent in before-hand, or brought along with them; allowing them to be as licentious, as they pleased, in all things that might gratify, or indulge their senses.

A friend of mine was, one Sunday, walking in the fields; and, meeting there an old acquaintance of his, who was lately turned Muggletonian, with a young baggage in his hand, which, he did more than suspect, was light, he could not forbear expressing his admiration, to this Muggletonian himself, in these or such like terms: 'I cannot but wonder to see you, my old neighbour, who have, for these many years, busied yourself in the study of religion, and was, not long since, like to have gone mad, because you knew not which opinion to stick to. I say, I cannot but wonder to see you abroad, on the sabbath-day, in this brisk posture; you are altered both in countenance, apparel, and manners, so that I almost doubt, whom I speak to.' 'Ah,' answered the Muggletonian, 'you know, friend, how I have heretofore troubled myself about religion indeed; insomuch that it had almost cost me my life, but all in vain, till about six weeks since; at which time I met with Lodowick Muggleton, who has put me into the easiest way to heaven, that ever was invented; for he gives us liberty, provided we do but believe in his commission, freely to launch into all those pleasures, which others, less knowing, call vices; and after all, will assure us of eternal salvation.' Behold, reader, what a sweet religion here is like to be.

But, as Muggleton was liberal in the freedom he gave his adherents, so he was always careful to avoid the prohibitions of the law; he generally appointed his bubbles to meet in the fields, where he also permitted them to humour their sensualities with any recreation, not excepting uncleanness itself; for which profaning the sabbath he was, in Oliver Cromwell's time, committed to Newgate, where he had like to have been so dealt withal then, that Tyburn had saved the pillory this trouble now: but that perfidious usurper, conscious to himself, that Muggleton could not be a greater impostor in the church, than he was in the state, upon the consideration of *fratres in malis*, restored him to his liberty.

Howbeit, a little before Oliver's death, Muggleton, by continual flatteries, had got into his books, and, amongst other prophecies concerning him, had declared, that Oliver should perform more wonderful actions, than any he had yet atchieved, before he died. But, he happening to depart this life, before he had done any thing else that was remarkable, Muggleton was demanded, why his prophecy proved not true? He answered very wisely, and like himself, viz. that he was sure Oliver would have performed them, had he lived long enough.

But, since his gracious majesty's return, he has driven on a much more profitable theological cheat, having assumed the liberty not only of infusing what doctrine he pleased into the minds of his ignorant deluded followers, but writ several profane books, which, to his great advantage, he dispersed among them; poisoning their minds thereby with a hodge-podge of rotten tenets, whereby they are become uncapable of relishing the more sound, wholesome, and undoubted principles of the Church of England.

I shall conclude with one story more concerning Muggleton, and so leave him to the censure of the ingenuous reader. A timish gentleman, accoutered with sword and peruke, hearing the noise this man caused in the town, had a great desire to discourse with him, whom he found alone in his study; and, taking advantage of that occasion, he urged Muggleton so far, that, knowing not what to say, he falls to a solemn cursing of the gentleman; who was so inraged thereat, that he drew his sword, and swore he would run him through immediately, unless he recanted the sentence of damnation, which he had presumptuously cast upon him. Muggleton, perceiving, by the gentleman's looks, that he really intended what he threatened, did not only recant his curse, but pitifully intreated him whom he had cursed before; by which we may understand the invalidity both of him and his commission.

Thus, whoever considers the contents of Muggleton's whole life, will find it, *in toto*, nothing but a continued cheat of above twenty-one years long; which, in the catastrophe, he may behold worthily rewarded with the modest punishment of a wooden ruff, or pillory; his grey hairs gilded with dirt and rotten eggs; and, in fine, himself brought, by reason of his own horrid and irreligious actions, into the greatest scorn and contempt imaginable, by all the lovers of piety, discretion, or good manners.

A TRUE AND PERFECT ACCOUNT OF

The examination, confession, trial, condemnation, and execution of

JOAN PERRY, & HER TWO SONS,

JOHN AND RICHARD PERRY,

FOR THE

SUPPOSED MURDER OF WILLIAM HARRISON, GENT.

Being one of the most remarkable occurrences which hath happened in the memory of man, sent in a letter (by Sir T. O. of Burton, in the county of Gloucester, knight, and one of his majesty's justices of the peace) to T. S. Doctor of Physick in London.

LIKEWISE,

Mr. HARRISON's OWN ACCOUNT,

How he was conveyed into Turkey, and there made a slave for above two years; and then, his master, which bought him there, dying, how he made his escape, and what hardship he endured; who, at last, through the providence of God, returned to England, while he was supposed to be murdered; here having been his man-servant arraigned, who falsly impeached his own mother and brother as guilty of the murder of his master; they were all three arraigned, convicted, and executed on Broadway-hills in Gloucestershire.

London: printed for Rowland Reynolds, next Arundel-gate, over-against St. Clement's Church in the Strand, 1676. Quarto, containing twenty-three pages.

UPON Thursday, the sixteenth day of August, 1660, William Harrison, steward to the Lady Viscountess Campden, at Campden in Gloucestershire, being about seventy years of age, walked from Campden aforesaid, to Charringworth, about two miles from thence, to receive his lady's rent; and, not returning so early as formerly, his

wife, Mrs. Harrison, between eight and nine of the clock that evening, sent her servant, John Perry, to meet his master on the way from Charringworth; but, neither Mr. Harrison, nor his servant John Perry, returning that night, the next morning early, Edward Harrison, William's son, went towards Charringworth to enquire after his father; when, on the way, meeting Perry coming thence, and being informed by him he was not there, they went together to Ebrington, a village between Charringworth and Campden, where they were told, by one Daniel, that Mr. Harrison called at his house the evening before, in his return from Charringworth, but staid not; they then went to Paxford, about half a mile thence, where, hearing nothing of Mr. Harrison, they returned towards Campden; and on the way, hearing of a hat, band, and comb, taken up in the highway, between Ebrington and Campden, by a poor woman then leesing in the field; they sought her out, with whom they found the hat, band, and comb, which they knew to be Mr. Harrison's; and being brought by the woman to the place where she found the same, in the highway, between Ebrington and Campden, near unto a great furz-brake, they there searched for Mr. Harrison, supposing he had been murthered, the hat and comb being hacked and cut, and the band bloody; but nothing more could be there found. The news hereof, coming to Campden, so alarmed the town, that men, women, and children hasted thence in multitudes, to search for Mr. Harrison's supposed dead body, but all in vain.

Mrs. Harrison's fears for her husband, being great, were now much increased; and having sent her servant Perry, the evening before, to meet his master, and he not returning that night, caused a suspicion that he had robbed and murthered him; and thereupon the said Perry was, the next day, brought before a justice of peace, by whom being examined concerning his master's absence, and his own staying out the night he went to meet him, he gave this account of himself: that, his mistress sending him to meet his master, between eight and nine of the clock in the evening, he went down Campden-field, towards Charringworth, about a land's length, where meeting one William Reed of Campden, he acquainted him with his errand; and further told him that, it growing dark, he was afraid to go forwards, and would therefore return and fetch his young master's horse, and return with him; he did to Mr. Harrison's court-gate, where they parted, and he staid still; one Pierce coming by, he went again with him about a bow's shot into the fields, and returned with him likewise to his master's gate, where they also parted; and then he, the said John Perry, saith, he went into his master's hen-roost, where he lay about an hour, but slept not; and, when the clock struck twelve, rose and went towards Charringworth, till, a great mist arising, he lost his way, and so lay the rest of the night under a hedge; and, at day-break, on Friday morning went to Charringworth, where he enquired for his master of one Edward Plaisterer, who told him, he had been with him the afternoon before, and received three and twenty pounds of him, but staid not long with him: he then went to William Curtis of the same town, who likewise told him, he heard his master was at his house the day

before, but, being not at home, did not see him: after which he saith, he returned homewards, it being about five of the clock in the morning, when, on the way, he met his master's son, with whom he went to Ebrington and Paxford, &c. as hath been related.

Read, Pearce, Plaisterer, and Curtis, being examined, affirmed what Perry had said, concerning them, to be true.

Perry being asked by the justice of peace, how he, who was afraid to go to Charringworth at nine of the clock, became so bold as to go thither at twelve? answered, that at nine of the clock it was dark, but at twelve the moon shone.

Being further asked, why, returning twice home, after his mistress had sent him to meet his master, and staying till twelve of the clock, he went not into the house to know whether his master were come home, before he went a third time, at that time of night, to look after him? answered, that he knew his master was not come home, because he saw light in his chamber-window, which never used to be there so late when he was at home.

Yet, notwithstanding this, that Perry had said for his staying forth that night, it was not thought fit to discharge him till further inquiry were made after Mr. Harrison, and accordingly he continued in custody at Campden, sometimes in an inn there, and sometimes in the common prison, from Saturday, August the eighteenth, unto the Friday following; during which time, he was again examined at Campden, by the aforesaid justice of peace, but confessed nothing more than before; nor, at that time, could any further discovery be made what was become of Mr. Harrison. But it hath been said, that, during his restraint at Campden, he told some, who pressed him to confess what he knew concerning his master, that a tinker had killed him; and to others, he said, a gentleman's servant of the neighbourhood had robbed and murdered him; and others, again, he told, that he was murdered, and hid in a bean-rick in Campden, where search was in vain made for him: at length he gave out, that, were he again carried before the justice, he would discover that to him he would discover to no body else: and thereupon he was, Friday, August the twenty-fourth, again brought before the justice of peace, who first examined him, and asking him whether he would yet confess what was become of his master; he answered, he was murdered, but not by him: the justice of peace then telling him, that, if he knew him to be murdered, he knew likewise by whom he was; so he acknowledged he did; and, being urged to confess what he knew concerning it, affirmed, that it was his mother and his brother that had murdered his master. The justice of peace then advised him to consider what he said, telling him, that he feared he might be guilty of his master's death, and that he should not draw more innocent blood upon his head; for what he now charged his mother and his brother with might cost them their lives; but he affirming he spoke nothing but the truth, and that if he were immediately to die he would justify it; the justice desired him to declare how and when they did it.

He then told him, that his mother and his brother had lain at him, ever since he came into his master's service, to help them to money,

telling him, how poor they were, and that it was in his power to relieve them, by giving them notice when his master went to receive his lady's rents; for they would then way-lay and rob him; and further said, that, upon the Thursday morning his master went to Charringworth, going of an errand into the town, he met his brother in the street, whom he then told whither his master was going, and, if he way-laid him, he might have his money: and further said, that, in the evening his mistress sent him to meet his master, he met his brother in the street, before his master's gate, going, as he said, to meet his master, and so they went together to the church-yard about a stone's throw from Mr. Harrison's gate, where they parted, he going the foot-way, cross the church-yard, and his brother keeping the great road, round the church; but in the highway, beyond the church, met again, and so went together, the way leading to Charringworth, till they came to a gate about a bow's shot from Campden church, that goes into a ground of the Lady Campden's, called the conygree (which to those, who have a key to go through the garden, is the next way from that place to Mr. Harrison's house) when they came near unto that gate, he, the said John Perry, saith, he told his brother, he did believe his master was just gone into the conygree (for it was then so dark they could not discern any man, so as to know him) but perceiving one to go into that ground, and knowing there was no way, but for those who had a key, through the gardens, concluded it was his master; and so told his brother, if he followed him, he might have his money, and he, in the mean time, would walk a turn in the fields, which accordingly he did; and then, following his brother about the middle of the conygree, found his master on the ground, his brother upon him, and his mother standing by; and being asked, whether his master was then dead? answered, no, for that, after he came to them, his master cried, 'Ah rogues, will you kill me?' at which he told his brother he hoped he would not kill his master; who replied, 'Peace, peace, you're a fool,' and so strangled him; which having done, he took a bag of money out of his pocket, and threw it into his mother's lap, and then he and his brother carried his master's dead body into the garden, adjoining to the conygree, where they consulted what to do with it; and, at length, agreed to throw it into the great-sink by Wallington's mill, behind the garden; but said, his mother and brother bade him go up to the court, next the house, to hearken whether any one were stirring, and they would throw the body into the sink: and being asked whether it were there, he said he knew not, for that he left it in the garden; but his mother and brother said they would throw it there, and, if it were not there, he knew not where it was, for that he returned no more to them, but went into the court-gate, which goes into the town, where he met with John Pearce, with whom he went into the field, and again returned with him to his master's gate; after which, he went into the hen-roost, where he lay till twelve of the clock that night, but slept not; and having, when he came from his mother and brother, brought with him his master's hat, band, and comb, which he laid in the hen-roost, he carried the said hat, band, and comb, and threw them, after he had given them three or four cuts with his knife, in the highway, where they were after found: and

being asked, what he intended by so doing? said, he did it, that it might be believed his master had been there robbed and murdered; and, having thus disposed of his hat, band, and comb, he went towards Charringworth, &c. as hath been related.

Upon this confession and accusation, the justice of peace gave order for the apprehending of Joan and Richard Perry, the mother and brother of John Perry, and for searching the sink where Mr. Harrison's body was said to be thrown, which was accordingly done, but nothing of him could be there found; the fish-pools likewise, in Campden, were drawn and searched, but nothing could be there found neither; so that some were of opinion, the body might be hid in the ruins of Campden-house, burnt in the late wars, and not unfit for such a concealment, where was likewise search made, but all in vain.

Saturday, August the twenty-fifth, Joan and Richard Perry, together with John Perry, were brought before the justice of peace, who acquainting the said Joan and Richard with what John had laid to their charge, they denied all, with many imprecations on themselves, if they were in the least guilty of any thing, of which they were accused: but John, on the other side, affirmed, to their faces, that he had spoken nothing but the truth, and that they had murdered his master; further telling them, that he could never be at quiet for them, since he came into his master's service, being continually followed by them, to help them to money, which they told him he might do by giving them notice when his master went to receive his lady's rents; and that he, meeting his brother Richard in Campden town, the Thursday morning his master went to Charringworth, told him whither he was going, and upon what errand: Richard confessed he met his brother that morning, and spoke to him, but nothing passed between them to that purpose; and both he and his mother told John he was a villain to accuse them wrongfully, as he had done; but John, on the other side, affirmed, that he had spoken nothing but the truth, and would justify it to his death.

One remarkable circumstance happened in these prisoners' return from the justice of peace's house to Campden, viz. Richard Perry, following a good distance behind his brother John, pulling a clout out of his pocket, dropped a ball of inkle, which one of his guard taking up, he desired him to restore, saying, it was only his wife's hair lace; but the party opening it, and finding a slip-knot at the end, went and shewed it unto John, who was then a good distance before, and knew nothing of the dropping and taking up of this inkle; but being shewed it, and asked, whether he knew it, shook his head and said, yea, to his sorrow, for that was the string his brother strangled his master with. This was sworn upon the evidence at their trial.

The morrow being the Lord's-day, they remained at Campden, where the minister of the place designing to speak to them (if possible to persuade them to repentance, and a further confession) they were brought to church; and in their way thither, passing by Richard's house, two of his children meeting him, he took the lesser in his arms, leading the other in his hand; when, on a sudden, both their noses fell a bleeding, which was looked upon as ominous.

Here it will be no impertinent digression, to tell how the year before Mr. Harrison had his house broken open, between eleven and twelve of the clock at noon, upon Campden market-day, whilst himself and his whole family were at the lecture; a ladder being set up to a window of the second story, and an iron bar wrenched thence with a ploughshare, which was left in the room, and seven score pounds in money carried away, the authors of which robbery could never be found.

After this, and not many weeks before Mr. Harrison's absence, his servant Perry, one evening, in Campden-Garden made an hideous outcry; whereat, some who heard it, coming in, met him running, and seemingly frighted, with a sheep-pick in his hand, to whom he told a formal story, how he had been set upon by two men in white, with naked swords, and how he defended himself with his sheep-pick; the handle whereof was cut in two or three places, and likewise a key in his pocket, which, he said, was done with one of their swords.

These passages the justice of peace having before heard, and calling to mind, upon Perry's confession, asked him first concerning the robbery, when his master lost seven score pounds out of his house, at noonday: whether he knew who did it? Who answered, yes, it was his brother. And being further asked, whether he were then with him? He answered no, he was then at church; but that he gave him notice of the money, and told him in which room it was, and where he might have a ladder that would reach the window; and that his brother after told him he had the money, and had buried it in his garden, and that they were, at Michaelmas next, to have divided it; whereupon search was made in the garden, but no money could be there found.

And being further asked concerning that other passage of his being assaulted in the garden; he confessed it was all a fiction, and that, having a design to rob his master, he did it, that, rogues being believed to haunt the place, when his master was robbed, they might be thought to have done it.

At the next assizes, which were held in September following, John, Joan, and Richard Perry had two indictments found against them; one for breaking into William Harrison's house, and robbing him of one hundred and forty pounds, in the year 1659; the other for robbing and murdering of the said William Harrison, the sixteenth day of August, 1660. Upon the last indictment, the then judge of assizes, Sir C. T. would not try them, because the body was not found; but they were then tried upon the other indictment for robbery, to which they pleaded, not guilty; but, some whispering behind them, they soon after pleaded guilty, humbly begging the benefit of his majesty's gracious pardon, and act of oblivion, which was granted them.

But though they pleaded guilty to this indictment, being thereunto prompted, as is probable, by some who were unwilling to lose time, and trouble the court with their trial, in regard the act of oblivion pardoned them; yet they all afterwards, and at their deaths, denied that they were guilty of that robbery, or that they knew who did it.

Yet at this assize, as several credible persons have affirmed, John Perry still persisted in his story, that his mother and brother had mur-

dered his master; and further added, that they had attempted to poison him in the jail, so that he durst neither eat nor drink with them.

At the next assizes, which were the spring following, John, Joan, and Richard Perry were, by the then judge of assize, Sir B. H. tried upon the indictment of murder, and pleaded thereunto, severally, not guilty; and, when John's confession, before the justice, was proved, *viva voce*, by several witnesses who heard the same, he told them, he was then mad, and knew not what he said.

The other two, Richard and Joan Perry, said they were wholly innocent of what they were accused, and that they knew nothing of Mr. Harrison's death, nor what was become of him; and Richard said, that his brother had accused others, as well as him, to have murdered his master; which the judge bidding him prove, he said, that most of those, that had given evidence against him, knew it; but, naming none, not any spoke to it, and so the jury found them all three guilty.

Some few days after, being brought to the place of their execution, which was on Broadway-hill, in sight of Campden; the mother (being reputed a witch, and to have so bewitched her sons, they could confess nothing, while she lived) was first executed; after which, Richard, being upon the ladder, professed, as he had done all along, that he was wholly innocent of the fact for which he was then to die, and that he knew nothing of Mr. Harrison's death, nor what was become of him; and did, with great earnestness, beg and beseech his brother, for the satisfaction of the whole world, and his own conscience, to declare what he knew concerning him; but he, with a dogged and surly carriage, told the people, he was not obliged to confess to them; yet, immediately before his death, said he knew nothing of his master's death, nor what was become of him, but they might hereafter possibly hear.

For Sir T. O. *Knight.*

Honoured Sir,

'IN obedience to your commands, I give you this true account of my 'being carried away beyond the seas, my continuance there, and 'return home. On a Thursday in the afternoon, in the time of harvest, 'I went to Charringworth, to demand rents due to my Lady Campden; 'at which time the tenants were busy in the fields, and late before they 'came home, which occasioned my stay there till the close of the even-'ing. I expected a considerable sum, but received only three and 'twenty pounds, and no more. In my return home, in the narrow pas-'sage amongst Ebrington furzes, there met me one horseman, and said, '"Art thou there?" And I, fearing that he would have rid over me, struck 'his horse over the nose; whereupon he struck at me with his sword, 'several blows, and run it into my side, while I, with my little cane, 'made my defence, as well as I could; at last another came behind me, 'run me into the thigh, laid hold on the collar of my doublet, and 'drew me to a hedge, near to the place; then came in another: they 'did not take my money, but mounted me behind one of them, drew 'my arms about his middle, and fastened my wrists together with some-

'thing that had a spring-lock, as I conceived, by hearing it give a snap 'as they put it on; then they threw a great cloke over me, and carried 'me away: in the night they alighted at a hay-rick, which stood near to 'a stone pit by a wall-side, where they took away my money; about 'two hours before day, as I heard one of them tell the other he thought 'it to be then, they tumbled me into the stone-pit; they staid, as I 'thought, about an hour at the hay-rick, when they took horse again; 'one of them bade me come out of the pit, I answered, they had my 'money already, and asked what they would do with me; whereupon 'he struck me again, drew me out, and put a great quantity of money 'into my pockets, and mounted me again after the same manner; and 'on the Friday, about sun-setting, they brought me to a lone house 'upon a heath, by a thicket of bushes, where they took me down almost 'dead, being sorely bruised with the carriage of the money. When the 'woman of the house saw that I could neither stand nor speak, she 'asked them, whether or no they had brought a dead man? They an-'swered no, but a friend that was hurt, and they were carrying him to a 'surgeon; she answered, if they did not make haste, their friend would 'be dead before they could bring him to one. There they laid me on 'cushions, and suffered none to come into the room but a little girl; 'there we staid all night, they giving me some broth and strong-waters: 'in the morning, very early, they mounted me as before, and on Sa-'turday night they brought me to a place where were two or three 'houses, in one of which I lay all night, on cushions, by their bed-side: 'on Sunday morning they carried me from thence, and, about three or 'four o'clock, they brought me to a place by the sea-side, called Deal, 'where they laid me down on the ground; and, one of them staying by 'me, the other two walked a little off, to meet a man, with whom they 'talked; and, in their discourse, I heard them mention seven pounds; 'after which they went away together, and about half an hour after re-'turned. The man (whose name, as I after heard, was Wrenshaw) 'said, he feared I would die before he could get me on board; then pre-'sently they put me into a boat, and carried me on ship-board, where 'my wounds were dressed. I remained in the ship, as near as I could 'reckon, about six weeks, in which time I was indifferently recovered 'of my wounds and weakness. Then the master of the ship came and 'told me, and the rest who were in the same condition, that he disco-'vered three Turkish ships; we all offered to fight in the defence of the 'ship and ourselves; but he commanded us to keep close, and said he 'would deal with them well enough: a little while after he called us 'up, and, when we came on the deck, we saw two Turkish ships close 'by us; into one of them we were put, and placed in a dark hole, where 'how long we continued, before we landed, I know not: when we were 'landed, they led us two days journey, and put us into a great house, 'or prison, where we remained four days and an half; and then came 'to us eight men to view us, who seemed to be officers; they called us, 'and examined us of our trades and callings, which every one answered; 'one said he was a surgeon, another that he was a broad-cloth weaver, 'and I, after two or three demands, said I had some skill in physick: 'we three were set by, and taken by three of those eight men that came

'to view us: it was my chance to be chosen by a grave physician of 'eighty-seven years of age, who lived near to Smyrna, who had for- 'merly been in England, and knew Crowland in Lincolnshire, which he 'preferred before all other places in England: he employed me to keep 'his still-house, and gave me a silver bowl, double gilt, to drink in; 'my business was most in that place; but once he set me to gather cot- 'ton-wool, which I not doing to his mind, he struck me down to the 'ground, and after drew his stiletto to stab me, but, I holding up my 'hands to him, he gave a stamp, and turned from me, for which I ren- 'der thanks to my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who staid his hand, 'and preserved me. I was there about a year and three quarters, and 'then my master fell sick, on a Thursday, and sent for me; and, call- 'ing me as he used, by the name of Boll, told me he should die, and 'bade me shift for myself: he died on Saturday following, and I pre- 'sently hastened with my bowl to a port, almost a day's journey distant; 'the way to which place I knew, having been twice there employed, by 'my master, about the carriage of his cotton-wool: when I came thi- 'ther, I addressed myself to two men, who came out of a ship of Ham- 'borough, which, as they said, was bound for Portugal within three or 'four days; I inquired of them for an English ship, they answered there 'was none; I intreated them to take me into their ship, they answered 'they durst not, for fear of being discovered by the searchers, which 'might occasion the forfeiture, not only of their goods, but also of their 'lives: I was very importunate with them, but could not prevail; they 'left me to wait on providence, which, at length, brought another out 'of the same ship, to whom I made known my condition, craving his 'assistance for my transportation; he made me the like answer as the 'former, and was as stiff in his denial, till the sight of my bowl put him 'to a pause: he returned to the ship, and, after half an hour's space, 'he came back again, accompanied with another sea-man, and, for my 'bowl, undertook to transport me; but told me, I must be contented 'to lie down in the keel, and endure much hardship; which I was con- 'tent to do, to gain my liberty; so they took me aboard, and placed 'me below in the vessel, in a very uneasy place, and obscured me with 'boards and other things, where I lay undiscovered, notwithstanding the 'strict search that was made in the vessel; my two chapmen, who had 'my bowl, honestly furnished me with victuals daily, until we arrived 'at Lisbon in Portugal; where, as soon as the master had left the ship, 'and was gone into the city, they set me on shore money-less to shift for 'myself: I knew not what course to take, but, as providence led me, 'I went up into the city, and came into a fair street; and, being weary, 'I turned my back to a wall, and leaned upon my staff; over-against 'me were four gentlemen discoursing together; after a while, one of 'them came to me, and spoke to me in a language that I understood 'not. I told him I was an Englishman, and understood not what he 'spoke; he answered me, in plain English, that he understood me, and 'was himself born near Wisbeech in Lincolnshire; then I related to him 'my sad condition, and he, taking compassion on me, took me with 'him, provided for me lodging and diet, and, by his interest with a 'master of a ship bound for England, procured my passage; and bring-

'ing me on ship-board, he bestowed wine and strong-waters on me, and, 'at his return, gave me eight stivers, and recommended me to the care 'of the master of the ship, who landed me safe at Dover, from whence 'I made shift to get to London, where being furnished with necessaries, 'I came into the country.

Thus, honoured Sir, I have given you a true account of my great sufferings, and happy deliverance, by the mercy and goodness of God, my most gracious Father in Jesus Christ, my Saviour and Redeemer; to whose name be ascribed all honour, praise, and glory. I conclude, and rest

Your Worship's,
In all dutiful respect,
WILLIAM HARRISON.

SIR,

'IT has not been any forgetfulness in me, you have no sooner heard 'from me; but my unhappy distemper seizing on my right hand, 'soon after my coming down into the country, so that till now I have 'been wholly deprived the use of it. I have herewith sent you a short 'narrative of that no less strange, than unhappy business, which some 'years since happened in my neighbourhood; the truth of every parti-'cular whereof I am able to attest, and I think it may very well be 'reckoned amongst the most remarkable occurrences of this age: you 'may dispose of it as you please, and, in whatever else I can serve you, 'you may freely command me, as, Sir,

Your most affectionate kinsman,
Burton, Aug. 23, 1676. and humble servant,
THO. OVERBURY.

Many question the truth of this account Mr. Harrison gives of himself, and his transportation, believing he was never out of England: but there is no question of Perry's telling a formal false story to hang himself, his mother, and his brother: and since this, of which we are assured, is no less incredible than that of which we doubt; it may induce us to suspend hard thoughts of Mr. Harrison, till time, the great discoverer of truth, shall bring to light this dark and mysterious business. That Mr. Harrison was absent from his habitation, employment, and relations, near two years, is certain; and, if not carried away (as he affirms) no probable reason can be given for his absence; he living plentifully and happily in the service of that honourable family, to which he had been then related above fifty years, with the reputation of a just and faithful servant; and, having all his days been a man of sober life and conversation, cannot now reasonably be thought in his old age, so far, to have misbehaved himself, as in such a manner voluntarily to have forsaken his wife, his children, and his stewardship, and to leave behind him, as he then did, a considerable sum of his lady's money in his house; we cannot, therefore, in reason or charity, but believe that Mr. Harrison was forcibly carried away; but by whom, or by whose procurement, is the question. Those, who he affirms did it, he withal affirms never before to have seen; and that he saw not his servant Perry, nor his mother, nor his brother, the evening he was carried

away; that he was spirited, as some are said to have been, is no ways probable, in respect he was an old and infirm man, and taken from the most inland part of the nation; and, if sold, as himself apprehends he was, for seven pounds, would not recompense the trouble and charge of his conveyance to the sea-side.

Some, therefore, have had hard thoughts of his eldest son, not knowing whom else to suspect; and believe the hopes of the stewardship, which he afterwards, by the Lord Campden's favour, enjoyed, might induce him to contrive his father's removal; and this they are the more confirmed in, from his misbehaviour in it; but, on the other side, it is hard to think the son should be knowing of his father's transportation; and consequently, of these unhappy persons' innocency, as to the murder of him, and yet prosecute them to the death, as he did; and, when condemned, should be the occasion of their being conveyed above twenty miles, to suffer near Campden, and to procure John Perry to be there hanged in chains, where he might daily see him; and himself to stand at the foot of the ladder, when they were all executed, as likewise he did.

These considerations, as they make it improbable the son should be privy to his father's transportation, so they render the whole matter the more dark and mysterious, which we must therefore leave unto him who alone knoweth all things, in his due time to reveal and bring to light.

A TRUE RELATION, FROM GERMANY,

OF

A PROTESTANT SHEPHERD's KILLING A COUNTERFEIT DEVIL,

That would have perverted him to Popery, July the Twenty-ninth, N. S. 1676.

Being a contrivance of two monks, that dressed themselves, one in the likeness of an angel, the other of a devil; and so, in the night, came to this poor shepherd, to affright and seduce him. With an account of what passed between them; how the shepherd killed him that acted the devil, and buried him; and the trouble he has been like to come into since for the same.

They compass sea and land to make one Proselyte, &c.

Licensed, August the seventh, 1676. Roger L'Estrange.

London: printed for D. M. 1676. Quarto, containing eight pages.

THE LUTHERAN SHEPHERD KILLING THE DEVIL, &c.

THAT there have been feigned miracles set on foot, and pious frauds not only tolerated, but justified by divers religious pretenders, can

be unknown to, or doubted of by none, but such as are utterly unacquainted with history. What this sheet is to set forth, comes attested from good hands, and has already been published in print in Holland, August 7, N. S. 1676. Yet shall we not oblige the faith of any to receive it farther than it appears upon enquiry to be confirmed, and not unsuitable to other plots and intrigues contrived not unfrequently to amuse and seduce the ignorant.

The account is dated from Ummendorf, July 29. N. S. 1676, and is thus. In the bishoprick of Halberstadt, near Iseburgh, there lives a poor shepherd bred up in the protestant religion, but of that kind, which, from Martin Luther, are called Lutherans, differing in many points from the Romish church, and holding consubstantiation, &c. Not far from the plains, where he kept his sheep, was situated a monastery, or convent of monks, who had frequently laboured with all the arguments they could use, to withdraw this shepherd from his profession, and bring him over to the Romish religion. Certainly there needs no mighty learning, or extraordinary parts, to contemn such a motion, and triumph over a cause, so continually baffled whenever it dares venture a trial in the presence of scripture or reason. How our shepherd was furnished with logick, I cannot say, but it appears he wanted not a settled resolution, which remained proof against all their attempts. Wherefore, finding neither persuasions nor flatteries would prevail, they proceeded to threatenings, telling him that if he persisted in heresy after so many ghostly admonitions, he should immediately be plagued with the devil, who should carry him away quick into hell. But he, not regarding such their ridiculous menaces, persevered still in his religion. Wherefore, perceiving themselves unable to vanquish him by open force, they applied themselves to stratagem. For carrying on of which, two monks dressed up themselves in strange and wonderful shapes; the one very gay and beautiful, with a brave pair of wings, and other accoutrements, fit to represent him as a good angel; the other in a horrid and frightful habit, personating the devil. And being thus prepared, they came one night to the shepherd, as he was sleeping in the fields in his karr, a small hut going upon wheels, commonly used by men of his profession. The counterfeit angel first approached him, and with fair words and insinuations, tempted him to embrace the Romish religion. But the good shepherd (possibly remembering that text,—"If an angel from heaven should teach you any other doctrine, than what you have received, let him be accursed,") would in no wise hearken unto him, so as to turn to popery. Whereupon the seeming angel told him, if he would not obey his message, he must forthwith deliver him over to the devil; and finding his threatenings make no impression, did retreat a little; and then presently came up his confederate, representing the devil's own proper person, with a dreadful noise and muttering; which put the shepherd into no small perplexity, for now he knew not what to think of it. But just as the mock devil made an offer to seize on him, the shepherd's dog, not being afraid, when he saw his master in danger, fell upon the feigned fiend; which the shepherd perceiving, and that the devil could not keep off the dog, he began to take courage, and leaped out of his car, with his crook in his hand, and therewith knocked down the sup-

posed devil dead upon the place; which his confederate angel seeing, went away; and as soon as day-light appeared, the shepherd perceived that the devil, he had slain, was only one of the monks of the neighbouring cloister; however thought it his safest way to bury him in his devil's dress as he was, that no more words might be made of it.

But the monks, next day, came to him, to demand their brother, who at first would acknowledge nothing of it; whereupon they complained to the magistrate, where being examined, he declared, that as for the monk, he could give no account of him; but true it is that the other night he did indeed kill the devil, and buried him in such a place, relating the occasion and whole story as you have heard. He was much threatened, it may be conceived, with punishment for this fact; but probably the innocency of the man, the likelihood of the thing, and the strange habit the monk's body was found in, might very much contribute to the clearing of him; but still he is much discoursed of for this thing.

That these and the like stratagems are no new devices amongst these people, I shall add a notable story affirmed by a credible author, I mean Lavaterus in his book *De Spectris*, *cap.* 8. p. 35. and was discovered at Orleans, Anno 1534.

The pretor, that is the chief judge of Orleans, his wife dying, requested of her husband, she might be buried in the church belonging to the Franciscan friars; which was done, and the Franciscans presented by the pretor with six pistoles; a bribe far beneath their avarice, but they resolved to have a better gratuity from a fall of wood of the pretor's; which he denying them, it so heated the Franciscans, that they, in revenge, plotted to noise it abroad, that his lady was damned eternally. To carry on this villainy undiscerned, they suborn a young man to act her part so notoriously, that by hideous noises at time of publick devotions, he should cause a disturbance, and be a prologue to the tragedy. A doctor of that order and an exorcist, whose plot this was, so designed the scene, that no answer was to be made by the young man if any question were asked of him, but only by signs, which the exorcist only understood, who pre-appointed them, and so could report to the auditory. When this young fellow had amused the people with dismal and un-understood notes, the exorcist boldly asked him, whether he were a spirit or not? If a spirit, whose spirit; relating the names of all such as had lately been buried there. And when he named the pretor's wife, the young man gave signs, that he was the spirit of that lady. Then the exorcist demanded, if she were damned or no, and for what offence? Whether for covetousness, or lust, or pride, or what of practical charity; or for the upstart heresy of Lutheranism? And what he meant by those clamours and unquietness? Whether the body, there buried, should be digged up and carried elsewhere or not? To all which he by signs answered affirmatively; which the exorcist and his brethren, the Franciscans, prayed the congregation there present, to take notice of: yet upon the pretor's complaint to the French king, and parliament of Paris, and commission issued forth to report the truth hereof, the wickedness of this contrivance came to light, and the parties actors in it were severely sentenced, according to their deserts.

The same author, *cap.* 7. p. 27. relates a story of the Dominicans, as

vile as this, acted at Berne, in Switzerland; that upon a controversy between them and the Franciscans, one affirming, and the other as stoutly denying, they, to evidence the truth of their opinion by miracle, procured their sub-prior, a magician, to raise a spirit, which asserted their doctrine, threatening purgatory, nay hell itself to all that opposed it; and not only so, but likewise destruction and overthrow of the city, unless they cast out the Franciscans thence as hereticks unfit to live. Much more of the like trumpery there was discovered, to the shame of the contrivers.

We might mention the boy of Bilson, the famous cheat in Staffordshire, much of kin to this, discovered by the grave bishop of Durham, and all to make way for the Popish doctrine of miracles. But let this suffice for the present for a caution to the credulous.

———*Si vult populus decipi, decipiatur.*

A TRUE NARRATIVE OF THE GREAT SOLEMNITY

OF

THE CIRCUMCISION OF MUSTAPHA, PRINCE OF TURKY,

Eldest son of Mahomet, present Emperor of the Turks.

TOGETHER WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MARRIAGE OF HIS DAUGHTER TO HIS GREAT FAVOURITE MUSSAIP, AT ADRIANOPLE,

As it was sent in a letter to a person of honour. By Mr. Coke, Secretary of the Turky Company; being in company with his Excellency the Lord Ambassador Sir John Finch.

Licensed, January 10, 1675-6. Roger L'Estrange.

London: printed by J. C. for William Crook, at the Green Dragon without Temple-Bar. 1676. Folio, containing eight pages.

SIR,

THESE last five months I have spent in Adrianople; it is pleasantly situated on the rising and top of an easy hill, which to the south and west gives the prospect of a large plain, where the eye is not lost, but bounded with the mountains of Hæmus; on the north and east are small hills. It is watered with three rivers (the chiefest Hebrus) which, often uniting and separating their streams, make many islands, capable

of what the most refined luxury could plant, or build; but spring-gardens and walks, adorned with ladies and gallants, are things unknown to us barbarians.

I have now told you all that is good; for this airy pleasure of the eye is lost in so many solid inconveniencies, that I never was yet, in any city, more uneasy, nay, more insupportable; the buildings, except a mosque or two, so mean and contemptible, that they would disgrace a poor village; the water bad, wine worse, the streets and all avenues to the city so crouded with carts, dunghills, and carrion, that nothing can be more troublesome, or offensive, to the sight and scent: in a word, what the riches and invention of mankind did contribute to make Rome delightful and glorious, the stupidity and sordidness of these people have outvied in the reverse, making this place the metropolis of filth and inconvenience.

Our arrival here was on the tenth of May; on the fifteenth began the festivals for the circumcision of the young prince. In a large piazza, or rather field, before the seraglio, were pitched the tents of the grand signior, visier, and other great men, which made a side and half of the square; another side and half was taken up with lamps hung upon ropes, and fastened to poles, disposed into several figures of ships, buildings, and woods, &c. which were changed every night: others, as they use in Egypt at their rejoicing, when they cut the Nile. The fourth side was the seraglio, where the women had the convenience of seeing through lattices.

The show begun in the afternoon, the morning being spent in entertainments. The grand signior, sitting in an elevated place by his tent, much like a summer-house in our gardens, which overlooked all, received the presents brought him by the bashaws, and all the officers of the empire, and all the arts of Constantinople. These were not left to the liberty and generosity of the presenter; but they were taxed what they should give, and an officer appointed to survey the quality of them; which, if not approved, was returned, and perhaps augmented; for, in this country, it is no ill manners to look a gift-horse in the mouth.

The mechanicks and some of the soldiery were every day entertained in a great tent with a Turkish feast; afterwards were antick dances in several habits, singing and dancing with most obscene gesticulations, jack-pudding, and Punchinello's representations; wrestling, rope-dancing, feats of activity and strength; all these promiscuously in the area of the square. Had there been but a noise, rabble, and abominable pig's-head, nothing could have been an exacter scene of Bartholomew-fair.

At night, a row of poles, about a man's height, were stuck in the ground; on the top were hoops of iron, in which burnt pine-wood, with a brisk and lively flame, which, with the lamps, gave a delightful and magnificent prospect.

About an hour in the night began the fire-works, which were plentiful, and not amiss; though, I think, those I have seen at Rome surpass them: one sort, indeed, I never saw, which was a great bason, like a mortar-piece, fixed into the ground, and filled with wild fire, which sent out a

violent stream of fire, with a hideous noise, a great height: it was an object equally terrible and delightful. These were the constant divertisements, all the time of the solemnity.

The twenty-fifth, the mufti, visier, and all the bashaws and great officers, with the janisaries walking before, and the chiaux on horseback, attended the prince, who was so adorned, or over-laden with jewels, both himself and his horse, that one might say, he carried the value of an empire about him.

The twenty-seventh, which was Mahomet's birth-day, he accompanied his father to the moschea; here was no solemn cavalcade, only the grand signior's own retinue; and, though it was less in number far than the cavalcade, yet adjusted neater, and court-like, the grand signior's footmen and pages being very rich in clothes and jewels.

This evening, the prince was circumcised in the arms of his father; he is about eleven years old, of a good aspect, his name Mustapha. About two thousand others were cut at this solemnity, who had money and a quilt from the grand signior. It was done publickly, in the tents, and any one, Turk or Christian, admitted to see them.

June the fifth, this solemnity was concluded with horse-races. After ten days repose, began the feasts for the marriage of the grand signior's daughter, of about seven years old, unto the mussaip, or favourite, who, by the tefterdar, or lord-treasurer (who was the compeer) in a solemn show, sent his presents to her, thirty mules laden with sugar-plums and sweet-meats; figures of several sorts of birds and beasts, of sugar, so ill-favouredly represented, that they could not be said to break the law against making images, though the solemnity of the time had not dispensed with it; fifty-six men, each with five more vests of cloth of gold, sattin, &c. then her jewels, several suits very rich; five led horses, with rich furniture of pearls and precious stone; and, at last, coaches with slaves.

On the nineteenth of June, was the visier, &c. in a solemn cavalcade, to accompany the presents the grand signior gave her; eighty-six mules laden with rich houshold-stuff, very rich habits for her, and jewels of all sorts; twelve coaches with slaves, and six and thirty black eunuchs.

And, the twenty-third, was the last cavalcade of all the great men, to attend her from the seraglio to her husband's house; they were in a close coach plated with silver, attended with five-and-twenty others. At last came the hassaki, or queen regent's coach, attended with ten more; to every one of these coaches were two black eunuchs. In a great court-yard of the mussaip's palace, were repeated all the sports and fire-works that were before, at which the grand signior was a constant spectator. Besides, there was a rope fastened to a high steeple, whence several men came flying down; one having a boy tied to his back with a drum, the rope broke; but, being near the ground, and falling on another man, they had none of them any considerable hurt. The most remarkable was a man that walked upon a rope, fastened to the same steeple, forward and backward; and another man, that, upon a high loose rope, hanging by his hand, his body extended, swung himself over twelve times, without stop, or touching any thing.

But too much of these trifles, though the grand signior was much de-

lighted with them, and made them be continued many more days than were intended. He took that fancy to a gypsy-boy, that swung and danced, as he hath him in the degree of a favourite, being taken into the seraglio, and presented by the great bashaws.

The mussaip, that hath married the grand signior's daughter, is a man that meddles in no business, nor is thought to be much capable of it; for, being chimacham in the visier's absence, he shewed no great abilities. The grand signior takes him for a constant companion in all his divertisements, and hath a strong affection to him, which time does not impair, but rather augment, he being a prince most constant where he fixes. You would think this marriage would make him happy, but it is quite contrary; for it not only cuts him off in his pleasures, to which he is indulgent, he being forced to discharge all his women, even his own sisters; but it ruins his fortune, both by the expence in maintaining her, while she lives, and, should she die, he must refund to the treasury all he hath had with her, besides four millions (according to common report) of dollars, which is her dote; which he is so far from an ability of, that he cannot pay his present debts: she hath good proofs of his abilities another way, he having, it is said, two-and-thirty children.

To our own private affairs, his excellency my lord ambassador, Sir John Finch, had all satisfaction, and hath obtained very advantageous additions to our capitulations; but, they being things mercantile, and, though not beyond, yet beneath your knowledge, I shall not particularise.

We had a very hot plague; my lord ambassador retired to a village, but it soon arrived there; so he lived in his tents till the sickness got among the servants, of whom five died: then he returned to the village. Mr. North and I stuck to the city, where, though in our street only two houses were free, besides our own, and the two adjoining had five sick on the one, and two on the other side, yet, God be praised, we and our servants passed well along the road; and here it is not much less: Sir Thomas Baines, my lord ambassador's companion, that attended him in his chamber, three days after our arrival, was taken, and in three more died; he is the only Englishman that hath been visited. His excellency hath retired upon this, a little way out of town, for some time.

Dated from Pera, the 9th of October, 1675.

A PERFECT NARRATIVE OF

The Apprehension, Trial, and Confession of the five several Persons that were Confederates in

STEALING THE MACE & THE TWO PRIVY PURSES

FROM THE

HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

As it was attested at the sessions held at Justice Hall in the Old Bailey, the seventh and eighth of March, Anno 1676-7. With permission. Quarto, containing eight pages.

MANY and intolerable are the injuries and abuses that are committed almost daily within the city and suburbs of London. I

need not run no further to find out examples that may equalise the barbarian infidel, do but consider in what sphere we move; with double diligence our natives run to hasten others and their own destruction; one brother can't put confidence in another, but still is fearful, lest he should betray him; one neighbour hates another, and are grown so implacable and almost incorrigible, that, did not timely justice supersede, no man could find safety in his own castle; the superviewing of each sessions will demonstrate the vices and perverseness of our times.

But not to derogate too far from the intended subject of this present narrative; I shall give you an account of the audacious burglary that was committed on my Lord Chancellor, the sixth of February, being Tuesday night, one-thousand six-hundred seventy-six, and the parties that were apprehended the Saturday night following.

The manner of their apprehension was thus: some of the head of the gang had taken a lodging in Knight-Rider-street, near Doctor's-Commons; and there, in a closet, they had lodged the mace and purses.

The woman's daughter of the house, going up in their absence to make the bed, saw some silver spangles, and some odd ends of silver scattered about the chamber, which she, with no small diligence, picked up, not knowing from whence such riches should proceed. In this admiration she paused a while, and it was not long before her fancy led her, like the rest of her sex, to pry into and search the furthermost point of this new and strange apparition, and directing her course to the closet door, she, through the key-hole, could discern something that was not commonly represented to her view, which was the upper end of the mace, but knew not what it was; however, she thought it could not be amiss to acquaint her beloved mother with what she had beheld; and, with this resolve, she hastens down stairs, and, with a voice betwixt fear and joy, she cries out: 'Oh mother! mother! yonder is the king's crown in our closet! pray, mother, come along with me and see it.'

The admiring mother, being something surprised at her daughter's relation, as also having no good opinion of her new lodgers, makes haste, good woman, and goes to the closet door; and, opening the lock with a knife, she entered into the closet, where she soon discerned that it was not a crown, but a mace; and, having heard that such a thing was lost, sends immediately away to acquaint my lord chancellor that the mace was in her house; upon which information, a warrant was soon granted, and officers sent to Mr. Thomas Northy, constable of Queen-hithe ward, who, with a sufficient assistance, went into Knight-Rider-street, to their lodging, and very luckily found them, being five in number, and of both sexes, viz. three men, and two women, whom they carried before the Right Worshipful Sir William Turner, who, after examination, according to justice, committed them to the common jail of Newgate.

At the sessions held in the Old Bailey, beginning the seventh day of this instant March, the five prisoners aforesaid were first called to the bar, where, according to the custom of England, they were bid to

hold up their hands, and asked, whether guilty or not guilty? they all replied severally, not guilty. After that the witnesses were sworn and examined, who very manifestly proved the fact, the woman and her daughter where they lodged being two great evidences against them.

After this the principal of those malefactors, a person very well known in court, having been arraigned at the same bar five or six several times before, very confidently speaks to the bench in this manner: 'My lord, 'I own the fact, and it was I, and this man, pointing to one that stood 'by him at the bar, that robbed my lord chancellor, and the other 'three are clear of the fact, though I cannot say but they were confe-'derates with us in the concealment of the prize after it was taken. 'This I declare, said he, to the honourable bench, that I may be clear 'of the blood of these other three persons.' The bench, and all spectators else, admired to hear him thus confidently declare himself guilty before examination, knowing that the fact was of so high a nature, and, without all doubt, would prove capital. However, the court went on in a legal way; and another witness begun to demonstrate in what manner he was taken; to whom the prisoner answered in this manner: 'Prithee, fellow, do not make such a long narration of my 'being taken, thou seest I am here, and I own that I and this man, 'as aforesaid, are guilty of the fact.'

With that the other prisoner, whom he thus impeached, endeavoured to clear himself, after this manner: 'My lord, said he, this 'man, meeting me in Paul's churchyard, asked me to go and drink, 'with whom I went, and, after we were seated, he told me, that he 'knew of a booty that would make me smile, telling me of the mace 'and purses; and further saying, that, if I would be his assistant, he 'would give me my share of the prize.' To whom the prisoner aforesaid made this reply in open court; 'Yes, my lord, I look like a fellow that 'would commit a robbery, and give him half the prize.' At this there was a great shout in the court, but silence was straight commanded. And the other man with the two women were examined, who endeavoured to clear themselves; but sufficient evidence was produced in court, who did attest, that they found some of the plate with them at the time of their apprehension; so they were put to silence, and dismissed the court for that time.

It was observed, the prisoner whom the chief malefactor impeached to be equally guilty of the fact with himself, had a great sense of sorrow upon him whilst he was at the bar, and complained to himself of lewd and lascivious women, saying, that they were the cause of his and many other men's ruin; which is certainly true, that they are the ruin of many a hopeful young man.

THE PRESENT STATE OF CHRISTENDOM,

AND THE

INTEREST OF ENGLAND, WITH REGARD TO FRANCE.

In a Letter to a Friend, 1677.

The subject of this treatise is of that consequence, that it needs no recommendation, in the present posture of affairs; and the interest of every state of Christendom, to oppose and curb the ambition of France, is here so clearly and justly described and proved, that nothing can be added to its perspicuity and strength of argument.

YOU gave me a brief and a pertinent deduction, the other day, of the French practices and designs; the progress of their arms, and the methods of their proceedings: together with a scheme of the inevitable ruin, and slavery, that threatens Europe, without a speedy and a powerful conjunction, against them. After this general contemplation of the present state of Christendom, you were pleased to take a particular prospect of the interest of this nation; and how far we are to reckon ourselves concerned in the common calamity: coming, at last, to this conclusion, that England cannot reasonably expect to stand long, after the loss of Holland and Flanders. For the support of this opinion (besides the force of your own reasoning) you referred me to several historical and political treatises upon the subject; which I have diligently examined, and made use of, in this following discourse; wherein I take the freedom to give you my thoughts upon the whole matter.

Your first charge upon the French was, breach of faith; and you pitched upon the cases of Spain and Portugal; the barbarous usage of the Duke of Lorrain; and the nulling of the Most Christian Queen's renunciation upon marriage; (which was the very foundation of the Pyrenean treaty) by a pretended devolution of the Spanish Netherlands in the right of that match: their underhand tampering of Denmark and Sweden, to draw the one from us, and hinder the other from joining with us; the influence they had upon our disgrace at Chatham; their playing booty on both sides, betwixt England and Holland, in the Dutch war: and to these instances (which are all so notorious, that they need no expounding) you might have added a thousand more of the like quality. But these may suffice for a seasonable and a necessary caution, and without the helps of aggravation and clamour; especially that extraordinary action of destroying the queen's renunciation, and then invading the Spanish Netherlands upon it; an action, hardly to be paralleled in the story of the whole world, for a concurrence of so many enormous circumstances. There was in it the publick faith of

the two crowns; which is the only security of government, and the bond of human society: there was in it the solemnity of an oath, at the very altar; which is the most sacred tye of a Christian: there was also the highest profession and assurance of friendship imaginable; which is accounted one of the most binding obligations betwixt man and man: and then there was a brother, a cousin, and an infant, in the case; which makes it matter of humanity and honour. And yet all these cords were as easily broken as bulrushes. This single precedent may serve, however, for a warning to all princes, and states, not to leave themselves at the mercy of men of such principles. But his Most Christian Majesty is not the only prince, that has been abused by corrupt and ambitious ministers.

Your next observation was, that they are the greatest intermeddlers in the world, in other people's affairs; that they imbroil all wherever they come; and that there is hardly any rebellion, but they are in the bottom of it. For their money walks in all the courts and councils of Christendom; nay, and beyond it too; for it is said, that the last grand visir was their pensioner. Was it not France, that debauched Scotland first, and afterwards, England, into the late rebellion? Nay, did they not stand still, and look on, to see the crowning of the work, which they themselves began, in the execrable murther of the late king? And did they not refuse to our gracious and persecuted sovereign, that now is, even a retreat in their dominions? How did they prolong the war in Portugal? What havock have they made in Poland, and what work in Hungary? And are they not, at this day, in counsel with the Port against the Empire, and undermining the bulwark of Christendom? How have they dashed England against Holland; blinded the eyes of several princes of the Empire; and baffled all mediations towards a general peace? Did they not formerly, under the colour of protecting Germany, cut off Alsatia from the Empire? And in a word, this has been their practice, wheresoever they have come: 'They covet harbours in Spain (says the admirable Baron del' Isola); leagues in the Empire; factions in Poland; wars in England and Holland; passes into Italy; and the sovereign arbitrage every where. Their quiet consists in the trouble of all others, and their advantage is in the publick calamities.' Nor have they any other way, than, by dividing and weakening the parts, to master the whole, which is the capital design. And if so, 'there is no fence against a common enemy, but a common union.'

It is already made appear, by what is above said, how dangerous they are to mankind. The next hint, you gave me, was to consider on it, whether the English may reasonably expect any better quarter from them, than other people? In which point, I shall only lay the matter before you, and leave you the judge on it.

The four main interests of a nation, are, religion, reputation, peace, and trade. For the first of these, we shall neither fare the better, nor the worse; but lose just as much for being of another communion, as his Catholick Majesty gets, by being of the same. The question, now on foot, is, a communion of state, not of faith. The alcoran and the gospel go hand in hand; and at the same time, the protestants are pro-

tected in Hungary, and persecuted in France. To say nothing of the encouragements they give there to the Jansenists*, which may, for aught we know, prove the greatest blow to the church of Rome, that ever it received since the Reformation. But what do I talk of religion, in a cause that is dipped in Christian blood, and in the tears of widows and orphans? A cause that is propagated by sacrilege, rapes, depopulation, slavery, oppression, and at least a million of lives, sacrificed to it already? The very thought of it is enough to strike the soul of any man with horror and indignation.

If you would see now, how tenderly they have handled us, in the business of reputation: pray do but cast an eye upon the character of an Englishman in their *Politique de France*†.

"As for the English, they are a people without friends, without "faith, religion, honesty, or justice; distrustful and fickle to the "highest degree imaginable; cruel, impatient, gluttonous, proud, "audacious; they will do well enough for a rubber at cuffs, or a sud-"den exploit, but they understand nothing at all of the government of "a war. The country is passable enough for them to live in, but not "rich enough to offer at any conquest abroad; nor did they ever "make any, but upon the Irish, which are a weakly people and ill "soldiers."

I think it were not amiss, in this place, to desire our impertinent undertaker to turn back to the history of Phillip de Valois, and he shall there find that our Edward the Third made a shift with one army to beat sixty thousand French, and leave betwixt thirty and forty thousand of them upon the place; and with another army in the bishoprick of Durham, to defeat as many Scots, and cut off fifteen thousand of them too. And it must not here be omitted, that this Scotch army was also animated by French counsels. I would not willingly run out a letter into a volume, so that, all other reflections a-part, I shall only add, that, if the English had not once recovered the field, and another time made it good in two of the greatest actions, of late, that have yet passed betwixt the Imperialists and the French, it is the opinion of wise men, that the latter would not have had much to brag of upon the success of this war. And this, in some degree, is acknowledged by the author of a French relation of the actions betwixt the two armies, in 1675, 1676, and 1677, (how romantical soever in other cases). Speaking of the battle under the command of Count de Lorge, after the death of the Viscount Turenne, these are his words: 'Et a rendre justice aux Anglois, & aux Irlandois, on peut dire, qu'on leur doit une bonne partie de cette victoire;' That is to say, and, to give the English and Irish their due, France is indebted to them, in a large measure, for this victory. But now to our politician again: 'Ils se haissent les uns, les autres, & sont en divisibn continuelle, soit pour la religion, soit pour le governe-

* A sort of French Papists, that deny the Pope's infallibility, and differ from the church of Rome, in the doctrine of grace, &c. so called from one Jansenius, bishop of Ipers.

† Quant a ce qui est des Anglois ils n'ont aucuns amis, ce sont des gens sans foi, sans religion, sans probite, sans justice aucune, defians, legers au derniere point, cruels, impatiens, gourmands, superbes, audacieux, avares, propres pour les coups de main, & pour une prompte execution, mais incapables de conduire une guerre avec jugement. Leur pais est assez bon pour vivre, mais il n'est pas assez riche pour leur fournir les moyens de sortir, & de faire aucune conqueste; aussi n'ont ils jamais rien conquis, excepte l'Irlande, dont les habitans sont foibles, & mauvais soldats, &c.

ment.' "The English, says he, hate one another, and are still quar-
"relling, either about religion or government."

These indecencies would almost make a man call them names; but let us pass without one angry word, from the interest of our reputation, to that of our peace. And enquire how they stand affected to us upon that point. To say, that England has not, for a long time, had any troubles, either at home or abroad, which the French have not either promoted, or improved, to their own advantage, is to say no more than that they deal with us, as they do with all the world beside; so that we must even have recourse again to their politiques for some particular mark of their favour, where you shall find that our state-mountebank has not yet shewn all his tricks, but puts himself with a very grave and fore-casting countenance upon the very project of our ruin.

"A war, says he, of three or four years with France, would abso-
"lutely destroy the English; so that, methinks, we should not enter-
"tain any peace with them, but upon very profitable terms †."

And then a little after:

"In fine, says he, the way to undo the English, is to make them
"keep an army on foot; and there is no fear of their landing in
"France, but to their certain destruction, unless they should be invited
"by a rebellion; without which, their troops will, in a short time,
"most undoubtedly fall foul one upon another. To keep them upon
"continual expence, it is but giving them the alarm upon the isles of
"Jersy and Guernsey, Wight and Man, Ireland and the Cinque-
"Ports; by which means they will be put upon the charge of forti-
"fications and garisons, which will persuade the people that the king
"intends to set up a standing army, and an arbitrary government. So
"long as this holds, the nation will never be at quiet, but torment
"themselves with fears and jealousies, which may be easily fomented
"by letters in cipher, to such and such particular persons; and in
"such sort to be intercepted as shall be found convenient. These
"letters may give a hint of a descent in Ireland, and elsewhere, which
"would dispose the Irish, who mortally hate the English, to a revolt;
"and among the suspicious multitude they would pass for gospel.
"This contrivance would make the Scots also to bethink themselves of
"recovering their liberty; where there must be parties made, and the
"sects encouraged one against another; especially the Roman catho-
"licks must be fairly handled, and private assurance given (in the name
"of the king of England) to the Benedictins (who are easy enough to
"be imposed upon) that they shall be restored to all their former bene-
"fits, according to the printed Monasticon; which will presently make
"the Roman catholicks declare themselves; and the monks will move
"heaven and earth for bringing of matters about; but then care must
"be taken to carry on the report that the king is of the Romish religion;
"which will distract the government, and throw all into an absolute
"confusion."

† Une guerre de France de trois ou quatre ans contre eux les ruinera entierement, ainsi il semble qu'il ne faut point faire de paix avec eux qu'a des conditions qui nous soient tres avantageuses.

From hence we may gather; First, what opinion the French have of us. Secondly, that it is not only their desire and study, but a formed design to embroil us. Thirdly, that they will stick at nothing neither, to compass that end, be it never so foul. Fourthly, this libeller has traced us out the very methods of their working. As by amusing the people with forged letters of intelligence, where the first author of the plot must miraculously discover it; by filling the people's heads with fears and jealousies, and leaving no stone unturned in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to stir up a rebellion; by making use of the king's name in pretended commissions to Papists, in favour of their religion, and artificially insinuating that his majesty is of that persuasion, to make him odious to his subjects; by first putting the king upon the necessity of an army, for the securing of his dominions; and then interpreting the effect of that necessity, for an attempt upon the liberty of his people. Why has he not advised the poisoning of all our fountains too? Which would have been a course of as much Christianity and honour. But, that this trifler may not glorify himself too much in his wonderous speculations, take notice, that he is only the transcriber, not the author, of this goodly piece, for the original was betwixt Richelieu and Mazarine; and it amounts to no more, in effect, than an imperfect history of the French dealings with us for a long time, and, particularly, in our late troubles.

To come now from his most unmannerly malice to his reason of state: if I am not mistaken, England might longer subsist in a war with France, than France could in a peace within itself (the heaviest of all judgments, when a nation must be wicked upon necessity.) And again, when he says, that England cannot hurt France by a descent, unless called in by a rebellion, he never considers, that, if England had an army on foot, and stood inclined to make use of it that way, we should not be long without an invitation. For we see what the Bourdelois, &c. did upon their own bottom, and without any foreign encouragement; and the whole business miscarried only for want of a vigorous second. Lastly, give me leave to say that he has extremely overshot himself in one thing more; for though this has been really the practice of the French, and is at this day the very model and rule by which their emissaries govern themselves; it should yet have been kept as the greatest secret in the world; for the owning of these inglorious artifices, in publick, makes it one of the grossest libels that ever was written, against the French government; to say nothing of his oversight in disobliging the Roman catholicks, and laying snares to trepan them.

A word now from their counsels and instructions to their instruments, which will be best known by the conformity of their behaviour to the mode of their French masters; and it is no matter to us, in what shape they appear, nor is it much to themselves; who are any thing for profit, and the very *materia prima* is not susceptible of more forms. Do the French put tricks upon us with forged letters? So do they. Do the French labour to poison the people with apprehensions that their liberties are in danger, and their religion; and that the king himself is popishly affected? So do they. Do the French endeavour to create misunderstandings betwixt the king and his people? So do they. Do the French blow the coal in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and, when

they have set all in flame, roast their own eggs at the fire? So do they. Do the French change their party with their interests? So do they. What can be plainer now then that the French interest beats in the pulse of these incendiaries? and what can be more ridiculous than be foolish over and over by the same hand? But this is enough to lay open the source of our miseries.

The question of trade has been so beaten already, that there remains little to be added to it. Nor, in truth, needs it, since it is agreed on all hands, that the French set up for an universal commerce, as well as for an universal monarchy. And, in effect, the one is but a necessary consequent upon the other. Nor is it enough, it seems, for us to be designed upon by them, without lending them our own hands towards the cutting of our own throats: for, upon a sober and judicious estimate, we are losers by our trade with France, at least, a million and a half per annum. I shall conclude this head with one passage more, out of our politicks of France (and you'll say it is a pleasant one too; but it must be under the rose). 'Upon a presupposal of mischief that is a brewing in England, Now,' says he, 'it will be our business to renew an alliance with Holland; we can wheedle them into an opinion, that they are the only men that understand the knack of trade, so that they shall have that to themselves; the talent of the French, alas! lies another way, and there is no forcing of any thing against nature: and that now is their nick of time, to crush their competitors for the northern seas.' So that we are all of us to be served with the same sauce; but it is some degree of honesty yet, when they tell the world what they are to trust to.

Now to sum up all that is said: if the French can dispense with oaths, and solemn contracts; if it be their custom, and a branch of their policy, to fish in troubled waters; if they hate us, as Englishmen, and are not for us, as reformed catholicks; if they do all they can to wound us in our reputation, our peace, and our trade, we may take for granted, that they will destroy us to all purposes, if they can; which naturally leads me to an enquiry, how far we are in their power, or likely so to be, that we may take our measures accordingly.

It will not stand with the brevity I propose, in this paper, to give you a geographical, or an historical account of places or actions; but, in as few words as I can, I am to present you with a general view of the present state of Christendom, with a regard to the power of France; and then to consider how far England may come to be concerned in the common fate. Here it was, that you and I brake off in our last discourse; so that, in the prosecution of it, I must try to walk without leading (saving only the helps that I have gathered from certain tracts which I have read, upon his recommendation) wherein I shall steer a middle course, betwixt some that overvalue the strength of France, and others that will have it to be less than, indeed, it is.

That the arms of France, are, at this day, formidable to all Christendom, is not to be denied; and Tacitus gives you the reason of it, in the case of the Romans and Britons: 'There must be,' saith he,* 'a com-

* *Rarus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus: ita, dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur.*

mon force to oppose a common danger; they struggled one by one, till they were all destroyed.' The French (no doubt of it) are a wealthy, a populous, and a military nation. But it must be allowed, that they are more indebted, for their greatness, to the slips and oversights of others (and this without disparagement too) than they are to their proper conduct and valour. The advance they made into Flanders, in 1667, was introduced by the Spaniards trusting to their assurances of friendship, and rather imputable to an excess of charity, than any want of precaution; tho' it seemed not very likely, that they should march with horse, foot, and cannon, only to go a birding. Through these, and the like arts, they have raised themselves to that dangerous height where now we behold them; taking all advantages of the unsettled condition of Spain, the divisions of the empire, the factions in Holland, and of all other mistakes in point of foresight, and resolution, elsewhere. You know very well, the conquests they have made upon the United Provinces, the Spanish Netherlands, a considerable part of Germany, with the terror and devastation that accompanies them every where: the progress of their arms in Catalonia, Sicily, the West Indies, &c. Now what may be the consequences of this over-growing power, and how to prevent them, is the matter in question.

A SHORT VIEW OF THE PRESENT STATE OF CHRISTENDOM.

As it is without dispute, that the French aim at universal dominion (which is only a more plausible cover for that universal slavery which must create it) so is it accounted as indubitable a principle, that the conquest of Flanders must be the foundation of it. And according to this maxim it is, that they take their measures; for they have made themselves masters of the outworks already, in Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omers; three places of very great strength and importance: and it is generally believed, by the recalling of their troops from the Rhine, and bending the flower of their force that way, that they will push for the rest this campaign. If they carry it (as probably they will, without the speedy addition of some powerful alliance) take notice, I beseech you, of that which naturally follows. In the first place, the charge and the hazard of that war is over, which in garisons, and in the field, has put his most Christian majesty to the expence of keeping near one hundred thousand men in pay (which will then be at liberty to fall in upon the empire.) Beside what has been expended in management, as the French call it, which, in honest English, is downright corruption. Secondly, this acquisition will furnish the French king with men, and monies, for an army of fifty thousand men (and no better soldiers in Europe). Thirdly, what will become of the duke of Brandenburg, if the French shall fall into Cleves, and Mark, with a matter of forty or fifty thousand men more, and from thence into Pomerania and Prussia? Fourthly, the whole patrimony of the empire, from the Rhine, to the frontiers of France, fall by an inevitable consequence into the hands of the French; as they have already swallowed the three bishopricks of Metz, Taul, and Verdun. So that the imperial army will be

forced over the Rhine, and there probably kept in play, and upon the bare defensive, by the troops of Bavaria, and other princes of the French interest; while, in the mean time, the princes of Westphalia will be reduced to an absolute necessity of ranging themselves under the French protection, and changing their party. And what can be then expected from Holland, after what they have suffered already, and under their present despairs, but to content themselves with such conditions as France will give them? For, after the loss of Cleves and Flanders, their case is wholly desperate, unless England should vigorously interpose to their relief. And the state of the empire is neither better, nor worse, than that of their neighbours; for they must all submit their necks to the same yoke. When matters are brought to this pass, they have before them England, Spain, and Italy; the cloud is gathered already, and it is wholly at their choice where it shall break.

There are a great many people, I know, that promise themselves many things, from the event of another campaign, for want, I fear of consulting the chart, and the almost insuperable difficulties, that lie in the way; the means they propose are, either by carrying the war into France, by way of revulsion, or by forcing the French upon a capital battle: the former proposition seems first very impracticable; and secondly, of little or no advantage, if it could be effected. It must be considered that, beyond Mentz, Coblents, and Treves, the Imperialists have no magazine at all; that betwixt Treves and France (a part of Luxemburg excepted) is absolutely in the enemy's power. Now how should an army subsist there, that must, over and above, pass through a country of about twenty leagues, that is wholly laid waste, and in ashes, and without any cattle in it, or any other sort of necessary provision?

Put the case now, that the Imperialists should break through all these difficulties, and carry an army even into Lorrain itself, the country of Metzin or Burgundy (which would take them up the best part of a summer too) all the strong holds are in the hands of the French, and the country laid so desolate, that there is no living for an army there. When it comes to this, they must resolve either upon a battle, or a siege. If the former, the French are at liberty whether they will fight, or no, and there is no compelling of them; for they are among their strong holds; and all is their own both behind them, and on each side, and the country either burnt, or deserted. But carry it farther yet, and suppose the French forced upon the risque of a battle. First, the Imperialists are not sure to get the better of it. And secondly, what if they should? Nay to the degree of an intire victory? All that would be expected more, for that year, would be only to take in some considerable post, and make good the ground they had gotten for the next campaign: for it would be a madness to pursue their victory, into the heart of an enemy's country, and leave so many strong garisons upon their backs, which would undoubtedly cut off all their convoys, and starve them.

But this is still the supposing of a thing not to be supposed; for the French, in this case, would stand upon the defensive, and not to come to a battle. Or in case they should, and be worsted, they have men

enough in garison, for recruits, that would immediately reinforce them.

Now on the other side, what if the Imperialists should chance to be routed? The garisons, which the French hold in Lorrain, Burgundy, and Alsatia, would, in such a case, totally destroy that broken army, and cut out such work in Germany, as has not been known in the empire for many ages.

In this extremity, let us suppose that the empire should yet bring another army into the field, and try the issue of a second battle, and miscarry: and that the duke of Bavaria, with other disaffected princes of the empire, should declare themselves for the enemy; all that part of Germany that lies within two, or three days journey of the Rhine, would be irrecoverably lost; a great part of it being so harrassed already, that it is not able so much as to furnish an army upon a march, much less for a winter-quarter.

Now to the business of a siege, the French have taught us, by Philipsburg, and Maestricht, that they want neither skill to fortify a place, nor courage to defend it. So that, without a great loss of time, and men, it cannot be expected that the Imperialists should make themselves masters of any considerable place; and when they shall have carried it, what will a town in Lorrain, or Burgundy, signify to the saving of the Spanish Netherlands, which, if once lost, are hardly ever to be retrieved?

Now taking this for granted, if England does not step in, with all the speed and vigour imaginable, see what will be the end on it; first, that the French, being masters of all the posts, passes, and strong holds in Lorrain, and Burgundy, may dodge, and trifle the Imperialists at pleasure, and make them spend out the year, without any advantage to the Netherlands. The way would have been for the Imperialists to have pressed, with an army of five hundred thousand men, directly into the body of France, and the confederate troops, in the Low Countries, to have made another inroad, by the way of Picardy, or Bologne; but since the taking of Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omers, there is no possibility of piercing France that way. So that a very small army now upon the Spanish Netherlands, with the help of the French garisons, is sufficient to amuse and tire out the whole force of Spain, and Holland, upon that quarter.

Secondly, France, being thus secured on that side, will unquestionably fall in with all their power upon the empire; unless diverted by the alarm, they have now received from England. Now admitting this to be the condition of France, let any man of sense judge, what good the Imperial army can do to the Netherlands (upon which single point, depends the fortune of Christendom). What if they should march up to the borders of France, with fifty thousand men? Will not the French encounter them there, with as many, or more? And with this odds too, that the Imperialists suffer a thousand incommodities in their march, through a ruined country; whereas the French have good quarters, and plenty of all things at hand, watching the others motions, and improving all advantages against them.

Thirdly, in this posture of affairs, the confederates must never expect

to do any great matter upon the French, in these provinces, unless they do very much out-number them.

And it is likewise to be considered, that these troubles falling out in the minority of his Catholick majesty, the distractions of that government, the revolt of Sicily, and great disorders upon the frontiers of Spain; the Netherlands have been much neglected, till the elevation of his highness Don Juan of Austria to the dignity of prime minister. And that it is not possible for him, by reason of the many exigences of that crown nearer home, to send any considerable succour to the Low Countries, otherwise than by supplies of money: so that, by that time, the Imperialists and the Hollanders are got into their winter quarters, or at least, before they take the field again, the French, from time to time, will be ready with fresh troops, out of their garisons, to prosecute their conquests; which by degrees must needs break the hearts of the poor inhabitants, when they find that neither their faith, nor their courage, is able any longer to protect them. And, when that day comes, what by their armies, and what by other influences, the French will have as good as subjected two thirds of Europe. And there will also occur these farther difficulties: first, no body knows where the French will begin their attack; which will oblige the Spaniard, and Hollander, to strengthen all their garisons, as far as their men will reach. Secondly, when the Spanish and Holland troops shall be so dispersed, wheresoever the French sit down, they must give themselves for lost, for want of an army to relieve them; beside their furious and obstinate manner of assault, for they care not how many men they lose, so they carry the place. (And then most of the men too are made prisoners of war.) Nor is the season of the year any discouragement to them neither; witness their first irruption into Burgundy, and the restless activity of their troops, even at this instant.

So soon as their work in Flanders is over (which only England, under heaven, is able to prevent a check) the French will have an army, of at least fifty thousand men, about Lorrain, Luxemburg, and Burgundy, to face the Imperialists; and at the same time, with as many more perhaps they will seize upon the Dutchy of Juliers, and of Cleves, and from thence pass the Rhine, to countenance those that are of the French cabal, on the side of Westphalia; and so, in due time, several other princes of the empire. It is remarkable, that in a three years war against the confederates, his most Christian majesty has not only stood his ground, without losing so much as one inch of his ancient patrimony, but actually, and almost without opposition, taken several towns, and some intire provinces, from the principals of the confederacy; and made himself almost as considerable at sea, as he is at land: not only in the Mediterranean, and upon the coasts of Spain and Italy, but in America too: where he has laid a foundation of great mischief both to England, and Holland, in the point of commerce, if not timely prevented. And he does little less by his money, than by his arms; for he pays all; supports the Swede, and with French money, under pretext of neutrality, maintains considerable armies in the very heart of the empire; which, it is feared, will be ready enough, upon any disaster, to join with the common enemy. It is the French court that manages the counsels of

Poland, and they govern the Swiss no less; who, by the conquest of the Franche Compte, are made little better than slaves. And yet, by a fatal and besotted blindness, that republick still furnishes the French with the best of their soldiers, and helps forward the destruction of Europe, never dreaming that they themselves are to be undone too at last.

But it is no great matter, you will say, to impose upon the Swiss (which are a heavy and a phlegmatick people) but the French charms have bewitched even Italy itself; though a nation the most clear-sighted and suspicious of all others. For their republicks lie as quiet, as if they were asleep; though the fire is already kindled in Sicily, and the danger brought home to their own doors. It is a wonder, that they lay things no more to heart, considering, First, the passages that the French have to favour their entry. Secondly, that they are many and small states; weak and easily to be corrupted, if not so already. Thirdly, that though they have been formerly very brave, and in many particulars remain so still, yet, in the generality, they are soft and effeminate. And, Fourthly, that the French is there the master of the seas. These reflexions, methinks, might convince any man of the condition they are in. And certainly, they, that were not able to defend themselves against Charles the eighth, will be much less able to encounter Lewis the fourteenth: or, if he gets in, to drive him out again, as they did the other. For they must do it wholly upon their own strength, having only the Turk in condition to help them. For Germany and Spain are sunk already; and the Swiss will neither dare to venture upon it, nor are they able to do it, if they had a mind to it.

As for Spain, it is neither populous, nor fortified, and perhaps want of provisions may keep it from an invasion. And yet, for all that, with a body of thirty or forty thousand men by the way of Fontarabia, and as many by Catalonia, the French may, if they please, in two campaigns, make themselves masters of Navarre, Arragon, Catalonia, and Valentia; and then it is but fortifying the frontiers, and making his Catholick majesty a tributary in Castile; who must content himself to take what they please to give him, over and above, in consideration of his dominions in Italy, and the Spanish Indies: a possibility that England and Holland shall do well to think of: for, when he has the mines in his power, and Europe under his feet, there will be no contending.

After this, they have only the Swiss, or the English, to fall upon next; for the former, they are neither fortified, nor united, in affections, or religion.

As for England; they are a people not naturally addicted to the French; sensible of their honour, and of their interest; and the whole world is convinced of their courage. They are united under the government of a gracious prince; and their concerns are at this instant lodged in the hands of the most loyal and publick-spirited representatives that ever acted in that station; beside the strength of the island by situation: so that the French would find it a hard matter, either to make a conquest here, or, if they should surprise it, to keep it. But yet they have finer ways to victory than by force of arms; and their gold has done them better service than their iron.

What have we now to do then, but, in a common cause, to arm against a common oppression? This is the time, or never, for Italy to enter

into a league for their common safety, and not only to keep, but, if possible, to force the French from their borders; while the Imperial army holds the capital power of France in play?

And this is the time too, for the Swiss to recall all their troops out of the French service, and to strike a general league also for the recovery of Burgundy, the only outwork of their liberties, and to expel the French garisons, and deliver the places into the hands of the right owners.

And will it not concern Poland, as much as any of the rest; that stands, or falls with the empire, as the defence of Christendom against the Turks, and whose own turn is next?

This alarm, methinks, should call off the princes from the acquisitions they have made upon part of the Swedes possessions in the empire, to the assistance of the Spanish Netherlands; and make all the French mercenaries in the empire to bethink themselves of returning from the delusions which either the French artifice or money has imposed upon them. He, that has no regard for the head, will have less for the dependences, when he has them at his mercy.

Nay the very French themselves should do well to contemplate the slavery that is now prepared for them. Their laws and liberties are trampled upon; and, till the French government be reduced to the bounds of its ancient constitution, neither the people, nor their neighbours, can ever be secure.

In this dangerous crisis of affairs, it has pleased divine Providence to leave England the arbitress of the fate of Europe; and to annex such advantages to the office, that the honour, the duty, and the security of this nation seem to be wrapped up together. In the point of honour, what can be more generous, than to succour the miserable and oppressed, and to put a stop to that torrent that threatens Christendom with an universal deluge? Beside the vindication of ourselves for those affronts and indignities, both publick and private, that we have suffered upon our own account. And then, in matter of duty, it is not only Christendom, but Christianity itself, that lies at stake. For, in the ruin of the empire, the Turk's work is done to his hand, by breaking down the only fence that has preserved us all this while from the incursions of the Ottoman power. Now, as nothing can be more glorious, than, at all hazards, to hinder the effusion of more Christian blood, and to save Christendom itself from bondage; it is so much our interest too, that we ourselves are lost without it. And, as the obligation is reciprocal, so the resolution is necessary. The choice we have before us being only this, either to unite with our neighbours, for a common safety; or to stand still, and look on, the tame spectators of their ruin, till we fall alone. This is so demonstrative, that, if we do not by a powerful alliance, and diversion, prevent the conquest of Flanders (which lies already a gasping) we are cut off from all communication with the rest of Europe; and cooped up at home, to the irrecoverable loss of our reputation and commerce; for Holland must inevitably follow the fate of Flanders, and then the French are masters of the sea; ravage our plantations; and infallibly possess themselves of the Spanish Indies, and leave us answerable for all those calamities that shall ensue

upon it; which as yet, by God's providence, may be timely prevented. But he, that stills the raging of the sea, will undoubtedly set bounds to this overflowing greatness; having now, as an earnest of that mercy, put it into the hearts of our superiors to provide seasonably for the common safety, and in proportion also to the exigence of the affair; knowing very well, that things of this nature are not to be done by halves.

We have to do with a nation of a large territory; abounding in men, and money; and their dominion is grown so absolute, that no man there can call any thing his own, if the court says nay to it. So that the sober and industrious part are only slaves to the lusts and ambition of the military. In this condition of servitude, they feel already what their neighbours fear, and wish as well to any opportunity, either of avoiding, or of casting off the yoke; which will easily be given by a conjunction of England and Holland, at sea; and almost infallibly produce these effects. First, it will draw off the naval force of France from Sicily, America, and elsewhere, to attend this expedition. Secondly, the diversion will be an ease to the empire, and the confederates, from whence more troops must be drawn to encounter this difficulty, than the French can well spare. Thirdly, it will not only encourage those princes, and states, that are already engaged, but likewise keep in awe those that are disaffected, and confirm those that waver.

It is true, this war must needs be prodigiously expensive; but then, in all probability, it will be short; and, in cases of this quality, people must do as in a storm at sea, rather throw part of the lading over-board, than founder the vessel. I do not speak this, as supposing any difficulty in the case, for the very contemplation of it has put fire into the veins of every true Englishman; and they are moved, as by a sacred impulse, to the necessary and the only means of their preservation. And that which crowns our hopes, is, that these generous inclinations are only ready to execute what the wisdom of their superiors shall find reasonable to command. I need not tell you how jealous the people of England are of their religion and liberties; to what degree they have contended, even for the shadow of these interests; nor how much blood, and treasure, they have spent upon the quarrel. Could an imposture work so much; and can any man imagine, that they will be now less sensible, when they see before their eyes a manifest plot upon their religion; their liberties invaded; their traffick interrupted; the honour and the very being of their country at stake; their wives and children exposed to beggary and scorn; and in conclusion, the privileges of a free-born Englishman exchanged for the vassalage of France.

STRANGE AND TRUE NEWS FROM STAFFORDSHIRE;

Or, a true Narrative concerning a Young Man lying under Almighty God's just Vengeance, for

IMPRECATING GOD's JUDGMENT UPON HIMSELF,

And pleading his innocency, though he knew himself guilty.

Written by W. Vincent, minister of God's word at Bednall, in the county of Stafford, aforesaid, who saw and discoursed the said person, upon the 26th day of April, 1677. The saddest spectacle that ever eyes beheld. Licensed, May 11, 1677. Roger L'Estrange.

London: printed in the year 1677. Quarto, containing six pages.

THOUGH the sad examples of God's justice upon notorious offenders have been many, in the several parts of the world, yet men are not deterred from, but persist in perfidiousness and villainy: when Satan has, by his temptations, got once an advantage, he never leaves tempting such vanquished sinners, till he has drawn them from less sins to greater, and so brought them to shame and destruction, either in this life, or that which is to come; as by this sad example, of which I am about to discourse, will more fully appear.

One Mr. William Vincent, a minister, hearing a report that a man's hands and feet should rot off, and yet the said man not at all sick, but could eat, and drink, and speak heartily; and having an account where this man lay, could not be satisfied, but made it his business to ride to the place, which was about fourteen or fifteen miles distant from Bednall, where the said minister liveth; and coming to some few houses adjoining to a heath-side in the county of Stafford, aforesaid, in a little shed, or barn, there he finds this subject of God's wrath, and object of every eye's pity that beheld him; and, at that time, there were a great many, both men, women, and children, beholding of him: the person, so afflicted, lying there, upon a pad of straw, between a pair of sheets, not being able to help himself, neither one way or other, more than what the person that looked after him did for him; for there is a man hired only to attend him.

As to the miserableness of his condition, it is this: several of his members consume away and rot; one hand, being rotted from the wrist, that you may not only see through the master bones, but also the bones, for half a handful, between the knuckle-bone of the wrist, and upwards, towards the elbow, hath neither vein, flesh, nor sinew left, but is as bare as any bone can be: one hand is as black as a beast's hoof, and drawn together in the form of the same; so that the said minister, upon the first sight of it, did conclude, that it had been a beast's hoof that had

lain by him, till his keeper shewed him to the contrary, by moving his arm; by which it did appear, that that was his hand, and did join to his wrist, that was bare to the bone for above four inches: the flesh that next appeared, towards his elbow, was ulcerous, and in a rotten condition, and one of his knees rotted, so that his leg was ready to drop off; yet, all this while, the said afflicted person eating, and drinking, and speaking heartily.

Now, you have heard in what a miserable and dreadful condition this sad subject of God's just wrath now lies. Let us proceed to give you an account of his own conjectures, of the cause of his so exemplary punishment.

The said person stealing a Bible, being accused of the fact, did absolutely and impudently deny it; not only so, but imprecating sad judgments against himself, in these and such like words, saying, that he desired that God might make him an example, if he were any ways guilty of that crime laid to his charge; and that his hands might rot off if he stole it, and he might rot alive if he had it, or meddled with it; notwithstanding, he knew himself to be guilty of the stealing of it.

All which you may more fully understand, by this following confession from his own mouth, to the said minister, the author of this present narrative.

This minister, when he came to him, propounded several questions to him, after he had bewailed the lamentable condition of the said person.

1. He asked him, whether he did not look upon the hand of divine vengeance to be upon him, in an extraordinary manner?

He answered 'He did.'

2. The said minister asked him, whether he did apprehend, what that so sore a judgment was for, that he then lay under? Whether he were guilty of any particular sin (that his conscience accused him withal) which did provoke God's wrath in so high a nature against him?

He said, that his particular sin was stealing a Bible, for which he apprehended this sore judgment of God upon him.

The said minister said further to him, 'Did you steal a Bible?'

He answered, 'Yes.'

The minister told him, though he did, that was a sin pardonable upon repentance; that God was a merciful God.

But the afflicted person further added, that, when he was questioned for it, he positively denied it, and wished that he might rot alive, and that his hands might rot off, if he ever touched it; and all this while knew himself guilty of the crime.

The minister asked him, 'How long since this fact was committed?'

He answered, 'About six weeks.'

The minister asked him, how long, after that he had wished those sad wishes to himself, it was, before he apprehended that hand of God's wrath to be upon him?

He answered, 'Not long.'

The minister asked him, after what manner he found himself alter, as to any distemper that seized upon him?

He answered, 'He was taken with an aguish and feverish condition, and immediately his hand began to rot, and then he looked upon it to

be the hand of God upon him, in punishing him for those sad wishes he wished upon himself: and he further added, that he desired all good people to pray for him.

Let this sad spectacle of divine vengeance move us to consider, with what a God we have to do: be not deceived, God will not be mocked. Let every one consider and admire God's free grace and mercy, that he hath not been made a subject of God's immediate wrath, instead of being a living monument of God's long-suffering and patience. Let no man presume to take God's name in vain; much more, not dare to challenge God's vengeance upon himself. This sad example (being well considered) may deter all that hear of it from such notorious sins. Let every man take the advice of Moses, Deut. xxxii. 29. "To be wise, to understand, and to consider their latter ends:" which, being done, will bring us to the knowledge of God, ourselves, of Heaven and Hell, and prevent from being unhappy or miserable, either in body or soul. Which is the hearty desire of your humble remembrancer.

W. V.

PROPOSALS FOR BUILDING, IN EVERY COUNTY,

A

WORKING-ALMS-HOUSE OR HOSPITAL,

AS THE BEST EXPEDIENT

TO PERFECT THE TRADE AND MANUFACTORY OF LINNEN CLOTH.

WHEREBY

1. All poor people and their children, from five or six years old, may be employed and maintained; as also all beggars, vagrants, &c. restrained and for ever prevented, and so all parishes eased of that intolerable burden.
2. Many hundred-thousand pounds kept at home, which now every year goes out of the kingdom for linnen, whereby our wealth becomes a prey to other nations.
3. Much land improved in every county to great advantage of landlord and tenant. Humbly offered to the consideration of the great wisdom of the whole nation, now assembled in parliament.

Printed at London, by W. G. for R. Harford, at the sign of the Angel, in Cornhill, 1677. Quarto, containing fourteen pages.

CONSIDERING the great complaints of poverty; the heavy burdens most parishes lie under to maintain their poor, which daily increase; the swarms of beggars, vagrants, and idle people in city

and country; the great, and it is feared, irrecoverable decay of our ancient trade for woollen cloth; the vast charge we are yearly at in purchasing linnen, &c. from other nations, whereby our treasure is exhausted, and our lands fall for want of being improved some other way, besides planting corn, breeding for wool, &c. which are become of so low a price, as scarce to turn to account: and understanding, that, for remedying thereof, the improving the manufactory of linnen is now under debate, I have taken the boldness to offer the following proposal, which, if thought fit to be put in practice, will, in my opinion, infallibly conduce to all the good ends desired and intended, viz.

That there may be erected in every county, according to its extent or populousness, a greater or lesser working alms-house, wherein the poor may be continually employed in the manufactory of linnen cloth.

The advantages whereof are evident; for,

I. This manufactory is an employment for the weakest people, not capable of stronger work, viz. women and children, and decrepit or aged people, now the most chargeable; as likewise for beggars and vagrants, who live idly, and by the sweat of other men's labours, and can no way so effectually be brought to industry and order, as when reduced into so narrow a compass or confinement, under fitly qualified rulers, officers, and regular government.

II. These working alms-houses may raise and supply the nation yearly with a sufficient stock of linnen cloth, the finest sort excepted, if true measures be taken, and the design effectually prosecuted: as for example, one million three hundred and fifty-two thousand pounds worth of cloth may yearly be spun in them only, besides what is made in private families——thus demonstrated;

1. It is well known by experience, that three quarters of a pound of thread, worth twelve-pence per pound spinning, will make one ell of cloth, worth two shillings per ell; which three quarters of a pound two spinners may spin in one day; hence it follows,

2. That two-thousand spinners will spin thread enough in one day to make a thousand ells of cloth, worth a hundred pound. And, working but two-hundred and sixty days in the year, may spin twenty-six thousand pounds worth of linnen cloth in a year.

3. Suppose then there be as many publick work-houses, as there are counties, which are fifty-two, and in every work-house, one with another, two-thousand spinners (though in some more, some less) then according to these reasonable measures, there will be the fore-mentioned sum of one million three-hundred and fifty-two thousand pounds worth of cloth spun in one year; which is what we undertook to demonstrate.

This or some such prodigious sum of money might yearly be raised to the nation, whereby a treble benefit would ensue: First, we might save so much money, now yearly sent out of the nation for linnen, which, as computed by very worthy intelligent persons, has of late cost us more than a million per annum. Secondly, by employing those hands, which, for the greatest part, are idle; it being reasonably supposed

that there are, at least, a hundred-thousand beggars, or others, who want a lawful employment. Besides, almost all, both men, women, and children, that can but pull tire, or tow from the distaff, or such easy work, may be speedily employed and removed from being chargeable; so that there will be no fear of any parish in the kingdom being oppressed, or indeed charged, save only in case of extreme age, or children in their infancy, neither of which continues long. And Thirdly, much land, throughout England, will be greatly improved by sowing hemp, flax, &c.

Object. It may be objected, that if the house be stocked with so many weak, antient people and children, this will cross the great design, because they will not be capable to spin their quantity of cloth, nor so fine.

Answ. As to fineness, it matters not, if but one in five be employed in it, to an exquisite degree; for there is enough occasion for coarser, for sacking, sails, ticking, common table-linnen, sheets, &c. And as to quantity, it may not be the less, because the most laborious thing in spinning is turning of the wheel.

Now, for the better effecting a design so profitable and honourable to the kingdom, I have improved my small genius to the utmost, notwithstanding I, above all projectors, have been most discouraged: and I know whoever will attempt any thing for publick benefit, may expect these three things. The first is necessary, the second customary, and the third diabolical. viz. To be the object of wise men's censure, other men's laughter, and, if advantageous to himself, envy's implacable displeasure; of which last, I have had a share to the highest degree, that revenge could express; and this too from a pretended loving brother, a person of an honest profession, and of as debauched a conscience; yet I say, notwithstanding such discouragements, I have spent some time for publick advantage, viz. To find out an expedient both for ease and quick dispatch, so as that the weak may do as much as the strong, and the strong, much more than before.

As thus: one man may turn fifty spinning wheels, which shall serve a hundred persons to spin with at once; so that the spinners shall have nothing to do but employ both hands to draw tire from the distaff. The demonstration of the infallibility of this invention may be easily made, when commanded.

As also, an engine by which fifty men may, without striking a stroke, beat as much hemp in one day, as a hundred shall do in two days.

Besides the advantage of this spinning engine in ease, its expedition will also be considerable; for if, as we doubt not, by this help spinners can earn nine-pence per day, as easy as six-pence per day without it, by that means, computing only a thousand spinners in each of the fifty-two work-houses, in one year's time, will be gained the sum of one-hundred and sixty-three thousand nine-hundred and sixty-eight pounds and upwards, as by calculation appears; and the invention for hemp-beating, which is the hardest work of all, will likewise, in its kind, be very considerably advantageous.

Object. 2. But some will be ready to object, and tell us, That we talk of brave things, if words would do the work; but where is the

money for the building of such great hospitals? and providing all tools and materials will cost many thousand pounds.

I confess here is the knot, which seems knit by magick art; but, if it can be untied, without cutting or breaking the thread, then I hope our proposals will not be rejected.

Answ. To this therefore I humbly answer, That it may be done by a county charge, with as much satisfaction, pleasure, and advantage, as to part with five pounds, to prevent paying fifty shillings per annum; which I think no wise people will judge to be an hard bargain; especially, if they consider the other vast profit to the nation, and that thereby they purchase, in the country, fifty shillings per annum more, by improvement of their lands for hemp or flax.—As thus:

Suppose every parish, one with another, throughout the nation, relieves as many poor people, beggars, &c. as doth amount to twelve-pence in the pound; so that every hundred pound per annum pays five pounds per annum to the poor: now if every hundred pound per annum pay five pounds towards building such hospital, then whereas more than half their poor consists of children, women, and decrepit weak persons, unfit for any other employment, but such as may fitly be removed to this hospital; it follows, more than half their charge will for the future be abated; yea, many parishes have scarce any poor to provide for.

Wherefore, as for raising money, we will take our measures thus. In England, there are commonly accounted nine-thousand seven-hundred and twenty-five parishes, and fifty-two counties; so that, one with another, there are a hundred and eighty-seven parishes to each county, and each parish supposed to be worth fifteen-hundred pounds per annum, some more, some less, at the rate of twelve-pence per pound, it will amount to the sum of fourteen-thousand and twenty-five pounds, in each county, which undoubtedly will compleat the house and materials.

Object. 3. But this method will not hold, because one county hath not so many parishes as another.

Answ. It matters not; let each county build proportionably to their money, as it will arise at twelve-pence per pound, we doubt not but it will be sufficient.

Object. 4. It may further be objected, as impossible, that the spinning engine should turn to account, because, as often as one spinner has occasion to stop, all the rest must be idle; and again, since every wheel hath its motion alike, and several spinners work some faster, some slower, therefore, all considered, this project will make but a confusion.

Answ. To this I reply; any one may stop, and the rest work on, and also may vary the motion of each spinning instrument, so as the nimblest and the slowest may have their desire: nor may these instruments be contemned, since they are as cheap as the other, and so ordered, that the spinners may sit or stand when they please; which, doubtless, will be a good conveniency.

The invention of these engines is wholly mine, and, if they prove effectual, I hope I shall not be deprived of receiving some benefit thereof;

because I am so free, as, in effect, to discover it before-hand. However, I submit to what the pleasure of authority shall allow: and to the intent, these hospitals may never fail of encouragement, that the invention may be for ever secured to them, and prohibited to all others, so that the same may be improved only for their benefit, and private persons not take the advantage thereof, to the prejudice of this our pious and necessary design: I doubt not but many will say, 'Tush! This is easy; any body may invent such things as these.'—Thus the industry of one is gratified with the contempt of others: Howbeit I leave it with all humble submission to the grave wisdom aforesaid, to consider,

1. Whether these great hospitals may not become nurseries for bringing up all poor people's children to industry, and how, by a methodical government, every one may be so encouraged, that, one striving to excel the rest, in a very short time, the finest linnen may be made at home, upon far better terms, than what comes from beyond the seas; and whether there be not a probability, if the engines take, that we may come to transport linnen, upon as good terms as other nations, since flax and hemp may here be as plentifully produced as in any other country.

2. Whether this great and profitable trade may not be managed, for the most part, by those who at present are a burden; so that those which before were industrious, may follow their former employments, and so no want of people for husbandry, &c.

Object. 5. But what shall we do for weavers?

Answ. I propose it to consideration, whether it might not be a more christian and effectual course to suppress notorious malefactors, except only in cases of treason and murder, to condemn them hither, for life or years, where they may be serviceable to turn wheels, fit tire to the distaffs, reel yarn, swingle or hitchel hemp or flax, weave, &c. which an ordinary ingenuity may learn in a few days, rather than to send them out with a brand to commit fresh villainies, or transport them, whence they presently return: and this is the rather to be heeded, for that foreign plantations have now so little occasions for them, that merchants refuse to take them off the sheriff's hands, without being paid for their passage; so that above eighty convicts in Newgate lately obtained a general pardon, on that very score, because they knew not what to do with them: besides, how many overstocked trades are there that complain for want of trade, &c. These may quickly learn to weave, and never fear an employ.

Object. 6. But, as to convicts brought hither, it will be objected, that they must be kept more secure, lest they escape and do mischief.

Answ. They may be secured well enough, and those that turn the wheel, &c. may be separated by an iron grate from the rest:——And here, by the way, the pious wisdom of the city of London may find out a means, whereby all those impudent night-walkers, and nurses of debauchery, may be wholly removed, which at present are a destruction, both to the estates, bodies, and souls of many hundreds, and cannot be reclaimed by ordinary Bridewels, because their labour there is only a punishment, and turns not to advantage, to keep them there all their days, or at least until they marry, and keep within doors.

Object. 7. Some may imagine an inconvenience, in sending so many people from all parts of the county to one place, and say, why were it not better to build many little work-houses, rather than one great one?

Answ. I answer, by no means; for then we shall miss one great and chief design, viz. the maintenance of good government; by which the whole family may be instructed in good manners, both towards God and man; only, as some counties are greater, more populous, &c. they may have more or less, proportionably.

Object. 8. There still remains one objection and that is, What shall we do for hemp and flax?

Answ. To which I answer, that hemp or flax, one or the other, may plentifully be had in every county of England: take Sussex, as an example; any indifferent good land, chalky, &c. from the foot of the downs, to the sea-side, with double folding or dunging, and twice plowing, will produce hemp in abundance; yet though their land be rich enough, dry, &c. it will not produce good flax: but, to supply that, many thousand acres of the wild of Sussex will produce crops of flax, worth some four, some five, some six pounds an acre, and that kind for hemp, as aforesaid, worth as much. Besides, for encouraging the planting the same at home, it may be convenient to lay an imposition of four or five shillings, in the pound, or upwards, upon all hemp, thread, cordage, or linnen imported from foreign parts; by means whereof, we may raise it at home, cheaper than buy them abroad, and then every body will plant hemp and flax abundantly, as a thing of course, inriching those that promote it.

But why four or five counties should, as some have proposed, enjoy this great wealth and advantage of promoting the linnen manufactory, and improvement of lands, and not the rest, I cannot understand; nor, for what reason, so many people should be drained out of all the nation, into four or five midland counties, since those counties, next adjoining to the sea, ought to be kept most populous.

But to what purpose should so much hemp be planted?

I answer, hemp is of greater strength than flax, therefore of more excellent use for great advantage, as cables, ropes, and all kinds of cordage, sails, sacking, &c. As also thread for all nets for fishery; for which, and other purposes, we now buy yearly several hundred thousand pounds worth, from beyond the seas; so that, without controversy, there is as much hemp to be used as flax, and consequently the hemp-mill may be as useful as the spinning instrument.

Having, we hope, satisfactorily answered all material objections against the main body of this design, it remains to consider of the order and method of governing these great families or corporations; but the particulars thereof we leave to the deeper wisdom and judicious care of authority; only in general propose:

1. That, for the better encouragement and support of so many poor people labouring in so profitable a manufactory, each alms-house be provided with, and allowed a publick granary, for stocking themselves with corn, when it is cheapest, against the time of dearth; a privilege,

we conceive, not to be so properly advisable for other companies or handicrafts as some propose and desire, because that would always keep corn too cheap, and consequently undo the tenant, or landlord, or both: for what makes wheat as often at four shillings a bushel (under which it is known, the farmer cannot live) as at two shillings and six-pence, but because all people in the nation, that have occasion, must buy of the land-occupiers, at the same time, when it is scarce? But by such general granaries, the hopes of four shillings per bushel will be banished the markets; but, in our case, painful husbandry, that antient employment may well allow granaries, both because this manufactory and design eases their charge to the poor, and is of more advantage to the publick, than some twenty trades besides; and particularly, because it helps to improve their lands by flax and hemp, that now they need not so much rely upon corn, for raising their rent: besides, if other overstocked trades want bread, let them quit their station, and come to weaving, and then they may enjoy the benefit of these granaries, also.

2. That the maiden children brought up in this corporation, may, after they attain to the age of fifteen years, or other fit time, be permitted to go forth to service to learn good houswifry, and the lads to husbandry or trades, if they think fit; nor will there be need of so great caution to prevent the marriages of the meaner sort, since now the parishes need not so much fear a charge, knowing a means how to employ all their children, as fast as they come to be five or six years old; nor can a young man have better choice for a wife than here, amongst so many, all bred up industriously, under strict discipline, and in a way to live: and therefore, this method will be so far from causing any depopulation, that it may increase our inhabitants; and the more, the better, since we know how to dispose of them, in such laudable employments: moreover, hereby the distracting cares of poor honest parents, often occasioned by a foresight of their incapacity to provide for their children, will be removed; so that they may pass their time in peace, knowing, that a good honest comfortable employment and education is provided for their children, and their children's children; nor may this less remove the temptations, both in parents, and children, which cause them to be guilty of such misdemeanors, as sometimes bring them to the gallows; so that the expedients offered for the accomplishing this manufactory will produce a happy change in the whole nation, viz. no more want of work or bread for the poor, no more parishes oppressed, no more beggars, a great abatement of felons, thieves, cheats, nurses of debauchery, &c. many lives preserved, and (which is an hundred thousand times more than all the rest) many souls saved. Much more might be said in this case, to set forth the excellence of this design: but I leave it as a work more deserving the skill of the most learned and godly divine, and shall only add,

In order to that last-mentioned incomparable end, and for the better education and instruction of this great family, that there may be placed in each house, an able, honest, godly minister, of a good, peaceable, kind disposition, and exemplary conversation; that so no means may be wanting for promoting God's glory, and their edification:

To which purpose, on holidays and other spare times, all or the most docible part of the people trained up here, may likewise be taught to read, &c.

So may our most great prince and worthy senators become further instruments, for the nation's prosperity, and the salvation of many souls: thus may the blessing of heaven crown all their honourable enterprises and prudent counsels, with most prosperous success; which that it may be so, is the hearty desire of

Your most humble,
obedient, and faithful
subject and servant,
R. H.

WONDERFUL NEWS FROM WALES;

OR,

A TRUE NARRATIVE OF AN OLD WOMAN

Living near Lanselin in Denbighshire,

Whose Memory serves her truly and perfectly to relate what she hath seen and done one hundred and thirty Years ago. Having now the full Number of her Teeth; the most of them were lost, when she was Three-score Years and Ten. She is also remembered, by some of ninety Years old, to be taller than she is by seventeen or eighteen Inches; with several other Circumstances of her life, which shew her to be the Wonder of her Age. Licensed August 9, 1677. London, printed for C. L. Anno Dom. 1677. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

NOTHING appears so contradictory and idle, but some philosopher or other has so earnestly espoused, that his life might have been easily taken, as a mortgage for the security of the truth, were the forfeiture thought considerable: and as of this sort there are many extravagant precedents that would make nature very ridiculous; so there are to be found amongst the graver sort of assertors, all the world over, whimsies, more foolish and barbarous than with the savages, who enjoyed scarce, or not at all, the light of nature: amongst other bustlings and trials of pens, it hath been a great dispute about the age of Adam, Methuselah, &c. Some would have monthly years, deducing arguments from Eve; others from the moon: some more Persian like, will give the sun the glory of compleating the year; holding also nature to be in a continual decay through her own weakness, or our wantonness; and, though they lived so many years heretofore, we have so changed our bodies, that no one can be expected to live the quarter, nay scarce the tythe of our forefathers time. But it will be found nature cannot decay, nor has her luxury so circumscribed our age, but that we do find persons, whose extent of years serves to confute such indigested fancies.

Not far from the seat of old Parr, at this time lives (near Lanselin in Denbighshire) a woman, named Jane Morgan, whose memory yet serves her to give an exact account of several things she hath seen and known one hundred and thirty years ago: she walks uprightly, without the use of the least stick; her teeth are almost all now perfect in her head, although about threescore years ago she had lost most of them; she can see as well without spectacles, if not better than with them; her hearing is quick and apprehensive, and her organs of smelling are so corroborated by age, that no stench can invade them to the least prejudice. She was the first that learnt that famous and memorable tune called Sidanen, in all those parts. When queen Elisabeth was crowned, she led all the dances, and continued the head of all that country sports, until the death of king James; and was so sensible of the glory she had atchieved by such continual custom, that she would not part with it, until she had bred her daughter up to have it conferred on her; which she did in a publick assembly, when the coronation of king Charles the first was solemnised: but before her daughter, as her deputy, had practised, and in her absence taught the country measures for the space of one and twenty years, having several tunes dedicated to her: Old Simon the King was called her Delight; Jo Bent, her Fancy; Bob in Joy her Conceit; sleeping and waking she sung the Sidanen; wherefore the neighbours called her by that name.

Her mother Jane Lloyd was married at twenty years of age to one Evan Morgan, an able farmer's Son, who was the activest and strongest in his country at wrestling: but, at a certain trial of skill, when he had foiled all the neighbours, and strangers too, she put on man's apparel, entered the round, and gave him three falls; upon which she bore away the little silver bell that was the conqueror's due; but, upon enquiry, who this valiant stranger was, the young man fell so deeply in love with her, that, maugre all his friends, he married her, and lived with her forty-five years, before her womb was mature for conception; about the sixty-sixth year of her age, she brought forth her first born, a daughter, who did not conceive till the fifty-fifth year of her age.

Many masculine and heroick acts did this virago mother do, and, though sometimes the justices were severe, yet their warrants were always void; and, like curses of malefactors, returned upon themselves, for whatever ground she trod on, was to catch-polls and petty-constables as fatal, as Irish earth to venomous creatures.

But, as the longest day will have a night, spightful age wrought a tendency towards a decay, upon her vigorous nerves; yet in all this while time could not make her subject to the least disease, though it has submitted her to the most unheard of shifts for food as ever were or can be; and, by the calculation of her stomach, she may be thought now to be in the meridian of her age: hundreds of her neighbours can justify, that of what disease soever, cattle, horses, swine, sheep, or the like, die, her stomach (so far is fantastick prejudice unable to make the least impression on her) has a *menstruum* to digest gratefully such fætid flesh, that others would not only abhor, but it would put such stress and violence upon them, that irresistible death would infallibly follow.

It is a certain truth, that carrion, buried two or three days in the

winter-time, she will take up, which without any other preparation she will slice, and fling as collops upon the coals, which she will eat as savourly, as he that thinks he eats the best in town, when he hath the rarest cutlets dressed for him: and, if her prize cannot be at once eaten, she'll gently and carefully salt the remainder, and expose it to the greatest fury of her smoaking cell, and prudently reserve it as a future happiness.

If against a good time her neighbours bounty will bestow any corn upon her, she will yet upon her head make shift to carry two bushels to the mill; which tho' it be very remarkable in one of her age, it is very inconsiderable to what she hath done formerly.

When she was near an hundred years old, her occasions invited her about that time to Oswaldstrey market, which is three miles; but, because of its ruggedness and length, she had better have gone from London to Barnet: after she had there filled her apron with cumbersome necessaries to that bulk, that the burden seemed at some distance to walk before her; she was told by a stander-by, that it was impossible for her to carry such a troublesome burden home: this man's horse was then loaden with two pieces of coarse Welch cotton; she then scornfully answered it: 'If you put those two pieces, which your horse seems 'almost to shrink under, upon my shoulders, I will for a wager, under-'take to carry them as far as my house, before you and your horse can 'come thither:' the man, being her neighbour (fearful to lose, and unwilling to displease her) replied he was more willing to ease than trouble her. But one of the incredulous corporation, ignorant of her prodigious strength, wagered with her; and suspecting her neighbour would be partial, he, with three or four of his most curious neighbours, got horses, and followed her presently; and at the end of the two miles and a half they overtook the man, belabouring his weary horse: they asked him for the woman. He answered them, cursing, saying he had two or three scurvy falls, and that he had no sight of her in a quarter of a mile: they, going forward, found her returned, sitting in her chimney corner, smoaking tobacco in a comfortable short pipe; at which they were astonished.

A thousand more considerable stories must here (for brevity sake) be omitted: it will therefore be convenient to add a relation her neighbours give, in respect of her age; some of fourscore-and-ten remember they heard their fathers say, she was a very proper tall woman.

In a house out of which she had seen buried eleven heirs, her proportion, as to her height, was taken above a hundred years ago; and, the last year coming to the same place, she was found to want of that measure betwixt seventeen and eighteen inches; and now she is four feet and four inches high, not at all stooping, at which the by-standers much admired; which she perceiving, told them, that her mother was compleatly two yards; and that, before she died, she shrunk to three feet and six inches: so that she concluded, by the graduation of their decays, before she had shrunk to her utmost, she must yet live above threescore years; and who knows but she may? For she is as merry as a girl of fifteen, and will sing from morning till night; her memory is so lively,

that she'll tell stories of Queen Elisabeth and King James, as fresh, and more pleasantly, than the sufferers in the late wars can.

I was the more willing to publish this, because I hoped some virtuoso's would be so kind, as curiously to satisfy themselves of the truth, and then the world after; with reasons how this comes to pass; and why others live not to the same age?

What sort of menstruum her stomach has?

How are her organs ordered, since no stench offends her?

And, since it is a contradiction to say she grows less, how comes the whole contexture of her body with such consent of parts to be diminished?

And, since the bones must consequently be contracted, how come we to find bones, long buried, of the same length as when first interred?

If any person question the truth of this narrative, or desire to satisfy their curiosity, let them repair to West-Smithfield, where she is daily expected, to convince the world of the truth thereof.

Mr. HOWELL's VINDICATION OF HIMSELF

FROM THE

CHARGE OF BEING NO FRIEND TO PARLIAMENTS, AND A MALIGNANT.

London: printed, 1677. Quarto, containing ten pages.

BY that which hath been spoken†, which is the language of my heart, I hope no indifferent judicious reader will doubt of the cordial affection, of the high respects and due reverence I bear to parliament, as being the wholsomest constitution, and done by the highest and happiest reach of policy that ever was established in this island, to perpetuate the happiness thereof: therefore I must tell that gentleman, who was author of a book intituled, 'The Popish Royal Favourite' (lately printed and exposed to the world) that he offers me very hard measure; nay, he doth me apparent wrong, to term me therein, no friend to parliament, and a malignant; a character, which as I deserve it not, so I disdain it.

For the first part of his charge, I would have him know, that I am as much a friend, and as real an affectionate humble servant and votary to the parliament, as possibly he can be; and will live and die with these affections about me: and I could wish, that he were secretary of my thoughts a while; or, if I may take the boldness to apply that comparison his late majesty used in a famous speech to one of his parliaments,

† i. e. In his Pre-eminence and Pedigree of Parliament, printed in Vol. I. p. 45 of this Miscellany.

I could wish there were a chrystal window in my breast, through which the world might espy the inward motions and palpitations of my heart; then would he be certified of the sincerity of this protestation.

For the second part of his charge, to be a malignant, I must confess to have some malignity that lurks within me, much against my will; but it is no malignity of mind, it is amongst the humours, not in my intellectuals. And I believe, there is no natural man, let him have his humours never so well balanced, but hath some of this malignity reigning within him: for, as long as we are composed of the four elements, whence these humours are derived, and with whom they symbolise in qualities; which elements the philosophers hold to be in a restless contention amongst themselves (and the Stoick thought that the world subsisted by this innate, mutual strife) as long, I say, as the four humours, in imitation of their principles, the elements, are in perpetual reluctancy, and combate for predominancy, there must be some malignity lodged within us, as adusted choler, and the like; whereof I had late experience, in a dangerous fit of sickness it pleased God to lay upon me, which the physicians told me proceeded from the malignant hypocondriacal effects of melancholy; having been so long in this Saturnine black condition of close imprisonment, and buried alive between the walls of this fatal Fleet. These kinds of malignities, I confess, are very rife in me; and, they are not only incident, but connatural to every man according to his complexion: and, were it not for this incessant struggling and enmity against the humours for mastery, which produceth such malignant effects in us, our souls would be loth ever to depart from our bodies, or to abandon this mansion of clay.

Now, what malignity my accuser means, I know not; if he means malignity of spirit, as some antipathy or ill impression upon the mind, arising from disaffection, hatred, or rancour, with a desire of some destructive revenge, he is mightily deceived in me: I malign or hate no creature that ever God made, but the devil, who is the author of all malignity; and, therefore, is most commonly in French, le Malin Asprit, the Malignant Spirit. Every night before I go to bed, I have the grace, I thank God for it, to forgive all the world, and not to harbour, or let roost in my bosom, the least malignant thought; yet, none can deny, but the aspersions, which this my accuser casts upon me, were enough to make me a malignant towards him; yet, it could never have the power to do it: for I have prevailed with myself to forgive him this wrong censure of me, issuing rather from his not-knowledge of me, than from malice; for we never mingled speech, or saw one another in our lives, to my remembrance; which makes me wonder the more, that a professor of the law, as he is, should pronounce such a positive sentence against me so slightly. But, methinks, I overhear him say, that the precedent discourse of parliament is involved in generals; and the tropick axiom tells us, that *dolus versatur in universalibus*, there is double dealing in universals: his meaning is, that I am no friend to this present parliament (though he speaks in the plural number, parliaments) and consequently, he concludes me a malignant: therein, I must tell him also, that I am traduced; and I am confident it will never be proved against me, from any actions, words, or letters,

though divers of mine have been intercepted, or any other misdemeanor, though some things are fathered upon me, which never dropped from my quill. Alas! how unworthy and uncapable am I to censure the proceedings of that great senate, that high synedrion, wherein the wisdom of the whole state is epitomised? It were a presumption in me, of the highest nature that could be: it is enough for me to pray for the prosperous success of their consultations: and, as I hold it my duty, so I have good reason so to do, in regard I am to have my share in the happiness; and, could the utmost of my poor endeavours, by any ministerial humble office (and sometimes the meanest boatswain may help to preserve the ship from sinking) be so happy, as to contribute any thing to advance that great work, (which I am in despair to do, while I am thus under hatches in this Fleet) I would esteem it the greatest honour that possibly could befall me; as I hold it now to be my greatest disaster, to have fallen so heavily under an affliction of this nature, and to be made a sacrifice to publick fame, than which there is no other proof, nor that yet urged against me, or any thing else produced after so long, so long captivity, which hath brought me to such a low ebb, and put me so far behind in the course of my poor fortunes, and, indeed, more than half undone me. For, although my whole life, since I was left to myself to swim, as they say, without bladders, has been nothing else but a continued succession of crosses, and that there are but few red letters found, God wot, in the almanack of my age (for which I account not myself a whit the less happy) yet, this cross has carried with it a greater weight, it hath been of a larger extent, longer continuance, and lighted heavier upon me, than any other; and, as I have present patience to bear it, so I hope for subsequent grace to make use of it accordingly, that my old motto may be still confirmed, Παθήματα μαθήματα.

He produceth my attestation for some passages in Spain, at his majesty's being there; and he quotes me right, which obligeth me to him: and I hope all his quotations, wherein he is so extraordinary copious and elaborate in all his works, are so; yet I must tell him, that those interchangeable letters* which passed between his majesty and the pope, which were originally couched in Latin, the language wherein all nations treat with Rome, and the empire with all the princes thereof; those letters, I say, are adulterated in many places, which I impute not to him, but to the French chronicler, from whom he took them in trust. The truth of that business is this: the world knows there was a tedious treaty of an alliance betwixt the Infanta Donna Maria (who now is empress) and his majesty, which, in regard of the slow affected pace of the Spaniard, lasted about ten years, as that in Henry the Seventh's time, betwixt Prince Arthur and, afterwards, Queen Catharine, was spun out above seven. To quicken, or rather to consummate the work, his majesty made that adventurous journey, through the whole continent of France, into Spain; which voyage, though there was a great deal of gallantry in it (whereof all posterity will ring, until it turn

* These letters, translated from the French, are printed in Vol. V. p. 235 of this Miscellany.

at last to a romance) yet it proved the bane of the business, which it is not the errand of so poor a pamphlet as this to unfold. His majesty being there arrived, the ignorant common people cried out, the Prince of Wales came thither to make himself a Christian. The pope writ to the inquisitor general, and others, to use all industry they could to reduce him to the Roman religion; and one of Olivares's first compliments to him, was, that he doubted not but that his highness came thither to change his religion: whereunto he made a short answer, that he came not thither for a religion, but for a wife. There were extraordinary processions made, and other artifices used, by protraction of things, to make him stay there of purpose till the spring following, to work upon him the better: and the infanta herself desired him (which was esteemed the greatest favour he received from her all the while) to visit the nun of Carion; hoping that the said nun, who was so much cried up for miracles, might have wrought one upon him; but her art failed her: nor was his highness so weak a subject to work upon, according to his late majesty's speech to Doctor Maw and Wren: who when they came to kiss his hands, before they went to Spain to attend the prince their master, he wished them to have a care of Buckingham; as touching his son Charles, he apprehended no fear at all of him; for he knew him to be so well-grounded a Protestant, that nothing could shake him in his religion. The Arabian proverb is, that the sun never soils in his passage, though his beams reverberate never so strongly, and dwell never so long upon the miry lake of Mæotis, the black-turfed moors of Holland, the aguish woose of Kent and Essex, or any other place, be it never so dirty. Though Spain be a hot country, yet one may pass and repass through the very center of it, and never be sunburnt, if he carry with him bongrace, and a such a one his majesty had.

Well, after his majesty's arrival at Madrid, the treaty of marriage went on still (though he told them at his first coming, that he came not thither like an ambassador, to treat of marriage; but as a prince, to fetch home a wife); and, in regard they were of different religions, it could not be done without a dispensation from the pope; and the pope would grant none, unless some capitulations were stipulated in favour of the Romish Catholicks in England (the same in substance were agreed on with France). Well, when the dispensation came, which was negotiated solely by the King of Spain's ministers; because his majesty would have as little to do as might be with Rome, Pope Gregory the Fifteenth, who died a little after, sent his majesty a letter, which was delivered by the nuncio, whereof an answer was sent a while after: which letters were imprinted and exposed to the view of the world, because his majesty would not have people whisper, that the business was carried in a clandestine manner. And truly, besides this, I do not know of any letter, or message, or compliment, that ever passed betwixt his majesty and the pope, before or after. Some addresses, peradventure, might be made to the cardinals, to whom the drawing of those matrimonial dispatches was referred, to quicken the work; but this was only by way of civil negotiation.

Now, touching that responsory letter from his majesty, it was no other than a compliment in the severest interpretation; and such formalities pass betwixt the crown of England and the great Turk, and divers heathen princes. The pope writ first, and no man can deny, but by all moral rules, and in common human civility, his majesty was bound to answer it, especially considering how punctual they are in those countries to correspond in this kind, how exact they are in repaying visits, and the performance of such ceremonies: and, had this compliance been omitted, it might have made very ill impressions, as the posture of things stood then; for it had prejudiced the great work in hand, I mean the match, which was then in the heat and height of agitation: his majesty's person was there engaged, and so it was no time to give the least offence. They, that are never so little versed in business abroad, do know that there must be addresses, compliances, and formalities of this nature (according to the Italian proverb, that one must sometimes light a candle to the devil) used in the carriage of matters of state, as this great business was, whereon the eyes of all Christendom were so greedily fixed; a business which was like to bring with it such an universal good, as the restitution of the Palatinate, the quenching of those hideous fires in Germany, and the establishing of a peace through all the Christian world.

I hope none will take offence, that in this particular, which comes within the compass of my knowledge, being upon the stage when this scene was acted, I do this right to the king my master, in displaying the truth, and putting her forth in her own colours: a rare thing in these days.

Touching the Vocal Forest, an allegorical discourse, that goes abroad under my name, a good while before the beginning of this parliament, which this gentleman cites (and that very faithfully) I understand there be some that mutter at certain passages therein, by putting ill glosses upon the text, and taking with the left hand, what I offer with the right: (nor is it a wonder for trees which lie open, and stand exposed to all weathers, to be nipped:) but I desire this favour, which, in common justice, I am sure in the court of Chancery cannot be denied me, it being the privilege of every author, and a received maxim through the world, *cujus est condere, ejus est interpretari*: I say, I crave this favour, to have leave to expound my own text, and I doubt not then but to rectify any one in his opinion of me, and that, in lieu of the plums which I give him from those trees, he will not throw the stones at me.

Moreover, I desire those that are over-critical censurers of that piece, to know, that as in divinity it is a rule, *scriptura parabolica non est argumentativa;* so it is in all other kinds of knowledge. Parables (whereof that discourse is composed) though pressed never so hard, prove nothing. There is another rule also, that parables must be gently used, like a nurse's breast; which, if you press too hard, you shall have blood instead of milk.

But as the author of the Vocal Forest thinks he hath done neither his country, nor the commonwealth of learning, any prejudice thereby (that maiden fancy having received so good entertainment and respect

abroad, as to be translated into divers languages, and to gain the publick approbation of some famous universities); so he makes this humble protest unto all the world, that though the design of that discourse was partly satyrical (which peradventure induced the author to shrowd it of purpose under shadows of trees; and where should satyrs be, but amongst trees?) Yet it never entered into his imagination to let fall from him the least thing that might give any offence to the high and honourable court of parliament, whereof he had the honour to be once a member, and hopes he may be thought worthy again: and, were he guilty of such an offence, or piacle, rather, he thinks he should never forgive himself, though he were appointed his own judge. If there occur any passage therein, that may admit a hard construction, let the reader observe, that the author doth not positively assert, or pass a judgment on any thing in that discourse which consists principally of concise, cursory narrations, of the choicest occurrences and criticisms of state, according as the pulse of time did beat then: and matters of state, as all other sublunary things, are subject to alterations, contingencies, and change, which makes the opinions and minds of men vary accordingly; not one amongst twenty is the same man to day as he was four years ago, in point of judgment, which turns and alters according to the circumstance and success of things: and it is a true saying, whereof we find common experience, *posterior dies est prioris magister*: The day following is the former day's school-master. There is another aphorism, 'the wisdom of one day is foolishness to another;' and it will be so as long as there is a man left in the world.

I will conclude with this modest request to that gentleman of the long robe: that, having unpassionately perused what I have written in this small discourse, in penning whereof my conscience guided my quill all along as well as my hand, he would please to be so charitable and just, as to reverse that harsh sentence upon me, to be no friend to parliaments, and a malignant.

THE QUACKS ACADEMY:

OR,

THE DUNCES DIRECTORY.

A new Art to cross the old Proverb, and make a Man a Fool and Physician both at a Time.

Discovering the several Methods whereby so many ignorant Pretenders obtain Repute and Practice.

Cur ludere nobis
Non liceat, licuit cum jugulare tibi. MART.

With Allowance.

Quarto, containing 6 Pages, printed at London, for A. B. in MDCLXXVIII.

BEFORE we enter upon the subject matter of this sheet, we must declare, that we do except out of our design all those learned and

worthy persons, whose experience and labour, in the arts of medicine, may any way contribute to the common good of mankind, intending only to reflect on those illiterate pretenders to physick, whose practices are as well shameful as dangerous to the place they live in; of which latter sort we are about to speak.

Having observed the prodigious success of modern quackery, and that the practice of it is lately become a last shift, more common and thriving too, than selling of ale, or setting up a coffee-house: and finding still abundance of indigent idle people, that could never make their untoward handicrafts fadge to purpose, who would be glad to exchange them for so genteel and advantageous an employ, had they but the secreet knack, whereby other bankrupts, with small pains and less parts, have in an instant raised themselves from beggary to competent estates: out of our great respect to such hearty well-willers, to secure so gainfull a science, we have thought fit to unfold the whole mystery, as it is this day practised with so much profit and applause. Draw near then with attention, all you decayed ragamuffins of the town; you by whose dulness no mechanick mystery but scorns to be mastered, whom neither sea nor gibbet will accept; we will put you in a way of feeding yourselves and the worms too. Honest, no doubt, because common and safe, for why, your miscarriages shall never be heard for the din of knells you shall occasion.——But to deliver our documents in order:

First, to pass for current, you have no more to do but to call yourselves doctors; Pliny hath affirmed it before; and, though I neither expect nor desire you should understand Latin, yet, because a scrap may do you a kindness, one time or other, to swagger with, I will give it you in his own language:

Hac sola artium, evenit quod cuilibet se medicum dicenti facile creditur, cum sit periculum in nullo mendacio majus.

'In this art alone it comes to pass, that any one, but professing himself a physician, is presently believed, though in no case the belief of a lye be more dangerous.'

I have Englished this for the benefit of those that do not understand Latin; and I have no quarrel at all against those that do.

However, in the second place, to support this title, there are several things convenient; of which some are external accoutrements, others internal qualifications.

Your outward requisites are a decent black suit, and, if your credit will stretch so far in Long-lane, a plush jacket; not a pin the worse, though threadbare as a taylor's cloke; it shews the more reverend antiquity.

Secondly, like Mercury, you must always carry a *Caduceus* or conjuring japan in your hand, capped with a civet-box: with which you must walk with Spanish gravity, as in deep contemplation upon an arbitrament between life and death.

Thirdly, a convenient lodging, not forgetting a hatch at the door; a chamber hung either with Dutch pictures or looking-glasses, belittered with urinals or empty gally-pots, and phials filled with tap-droppings, or fair water, coloured with Saunders. Any sexton will furnish your

window with a skull, in hope of your custom; over which hang up the skeleton of a monkey, to proclaim your skill in anatomy.

Fourthly, let your table be never without some old musty Greek or Arabick author, and the fourth book of Cornelius Agrippa's Occult Philosophy, wide open, to amuse the spectators; with half a dozen of gilt shillings, as so many guineas received that morning for fees.

Fifthly, fail not to oblige neighbouring ale-houses, to recommend you to inquirers; and hold correspondence with all the nurses and midwives near you, to applaud your skill at gossipings.

Now to your necessary qualifications, they are in general two, viz. loquacity or talkativeness and impudence.

As for the first, it is a mighty setter-off among the vulgar; be sure, therefore, you learn to pronounce oppilation and obstruction of the spleen, and schirrus of the liver, with a full mouth; at least speak hard words, though never so wretchedly misapplied, and obscure common ordinary things in terms of art (for all the use, you are to make of such terms, is the same jugglers do of *hictius doctius* and *presto;* to amuse people's brains, while you pick their pockets) if you can but get so far as to call the fit of an ague, a paroxysm, fits of the mother, hysterical passions; thunder out sympathetical and antipathetical cures; prate of the mechanism of nature, though you know no more of it than a ploughman does of clock-work; tell them of appeasing the irritated, archaical, microcosmical monarch; increasing the radical moisture, and relieving all the powers, vital, natural, and animal; the admiring patient shall certainly cry you up for a great schollard, provided always your nonsense be fluent, and mixed with a disparagement of the College, graduated doctors, and book-learned physicians; against whom you must ever bring in your high and mighty word experience.

But since every man is not endued with the gift of tatling, and that it is fit you should learn, like a Dutchman, to sail with every wind; if niggardly nature, or more penurious education, have not afforded you a tongue well hung, make a virtue of necessity; look grave and big, decline all discourse, especially if ingenious men be by; tell them diseases are not to be frighted away with words; that you do not come to talk but to cure, &c. This will at once conceal your ignorance from the judicious, and increase your esteem for a notable reserved pretty fellow with others: if any ask the cause of their distempers, or reason of your prescriptions, satisfy them both by producing a list of your mighty cures; wherein, if one half be false and the other hired, there is no great danger: for he must be a strange inquisitive infidel, that will not rather believe them, than give himself the trouble of disproving them——which brings me to the second property, viz.

A convenient audacity. There is nothing more necessary, nothing more advantageous. Make people believe that no pitched field ever slew or wounded half so many as you have recovered; that you have made death retreat, where nature was more fiercely beleaguered than ever was Stetin, and disappointed him of more bits than civil or foreign wars have furnished him with these forty years; that you have even beckoned souls back again, that have been some leagues onwards their journey from their bodies; boast the wonders you have done at Leyden

and Hamburgh, the Lazaretto at Venice, and the Maison de Dieu at Paris; that your closets are immortality-offices, and that you can let leases of lives of a larger date than Popish indulgences; pretend to the cure of all diseases, especially such as are incurable; and to know which are most in season, consult the bills of mortality, and next week vary your bill accordingly.

In particular, since the whole art of physick consists in the diagnosticks, prognosticks, and therapeuticks; for the first two you must either pretend to be waterologers; or (which is more abstruse and modish) ass-trologers, or piss-prophets, or star wizards; either way will do well enough, and, to speak truth, are much of a certainty; in both there is necessary a previous pumping, by apt and wary questions, and their answers, handsomely turned into other words, will extremely gratify the patient or querent. If you practise by the urinal, though it is as like to discover the colour of a sick man's cloaths as his infirmities: yet a thousand to one, but with discreet handling, you may shake it into the scurvy, the pox, or the consumption: nay, you may venture to tell what trade your patient is of, by his working-day's water, and, if you see his Sunday's water, what religion he is of. But, if you proceed by the scheme, there is nothing so probable as to say, he is bewitched under an ill tongue; that he has a take upon him, or is planet-struck, and the Lord of the Seventh shews you to be the only doctor in the world that can help him. Only here beware that you never pronounce a common-council-man with child, or a constable sick of the mother; and in other cases, if your judgment chance not to hit the nail on the head, it is but having recourse to necessary prudence, called by the superstitious, the art of lying, as to tell them their stomach is fallen out of the place, but you doubt not but to fetch it up again. That they have straws in their lungs, as big as beams, and their livers are wasted with venery and drinking. Then as for therapeuticks, if your medicines be Galenical, though never so common, disguise them with strange names; call sena a specific, mithridate an elixir, *extractum Rudii* an Arcanum, and add a nostrum to *Album Græcum*. But if you would rather betake yourself to chymical devices, and want nonsense to cant their vertues; there are pamphlets enough abroad to furnish you. The Tincture of the Sun's Beard; the Powder of the Moon's Horns; or a Quintessence extracted from the Souls of the Heathen Gods: will go off rarely for an universal medicine; and bubble the simple out of their money first, and their lives afterwards.

But to deal ingenuously, I will teach you a far more ready and curious way, both of finding out and curing all diseases, than has yet been discovered; which is thus: take two large sheets of paper, on the one write down (or get the book-learned scribe that writes your bills to do it for you) the names of all ordinary distempers; on the other all celebrated medicines, whether catharticks, diureticks, diaphoreticks, or emeticks. Then when any patient comes or sends, and you have heard the story, retire a while, telling them a true physician must first study and then prescribe. In the mean time, by yourself, on the roll of Infirmities, fling a dye, and, as many as the chance is, so many diseases, you may assure them, the party has; but principally that where-

on the dye falls; then the same on the paper of remedies, and prescribe or administer that which the dye lights on, to be taken so many times as there are spots on the chance. And, if the sick be pained in the head, you may easily discourse them into a persuasion that the disease, or at least the cause, is in their hand or toe; by which safe and ingenious course, you shall honestly refer it to fortune, to discover both the disease and medicine; whereas others through a conceited knowledge, or unhappy ignorance, render themselves more than accessary to the death of many.

There are several other directions fit to acquaint you with, which we shall reserve for the second part of this most useful directory. In the mean time (as your predecessors have done before you) practise these and give thanks

To your old friend,

Miso-Agyrtes.

THE PACQUET-BOAT ADVICE:

OR, A DISCOURSE

CONCERNING THE WAR WITH FRANCE,

Between some English Gentlemen and a Frenchman, betwixt Calais and Dover.

Omnis fabula fundatur in veritate.

London, Printed, MDCLXXVIII. *Quarto,* containing Twenty-one Pages.

HAVING received advice from some of my friends in England, that there was a little cloud of discontent arising, by reason of the jealousies of the growing greatness of the French, their many great and unexpected conquests, which they seemed not only obstinately resolved to keep themselves possessed of, but, by the progress of their arms, to enlarge and extend; and guessing, that, in all probability, these storms would not be allayed without some showers of blood, I began to unfix myself from my residence at Mompellier, whither my curiosity, and the course of my studies, had carried me; and my intentions were to have spent some time, and then to have passed over the Alps to see Italy, the garden of the world.

But receiving letters of fresh date, giving an account of his highness the Prince of Orange's marriage with the Lady Mary, and his majesty's calling of the parliament sooner than the general expectation:

I began then to think, that there was something at the bottom of the flying rumours. Being not willing to run the hazard of being ill treated in France, where I had not so perfectly made myself master of the language as to pass for a native, and considering, that I had no way to support myself, but by bills of exchange, or begging, if there should be a war between the two nations, I began to reflect how difficult it would be for me to secure myself of constant supplies, and that, if I had them, possibly, I might run the risque of being suspected and seized for an intelligencer; and not daring to trust to the charity of a people who are

so impoverished, as generally rather to expect it from strangers, than to afford it them, and where my very being an Englishman would deprive me of the charity of such as were able, since they would look upon me as an enemy; and in truth, fancying that I should make a very ill beggar, it being a trade I had no acquaintance with; upon these considerations, I thought it more adviseable to take my leave of France, and to retire into my native country: upon which resolution I departed, with the first conveniency that offered, for Paris, where, when I arrived, the rumour was hot amongst the English, that there would be a war, and that very speedily, though the French were very mute and hush about it.

These considerations made me think of staying less time than I intended at Paris, and therefore I made immediately for Calais, in order to my coming over in the pacquet-boat for Dover.

We went a-board with the morning tide, the day proving exceeding fair, and the wind which we had scarce enough, and not directly for us, it made our passage something more tedious; but, however, the company were so civil to themselves, and one to another, as to endeavour to shorten the passage, by stealing some hours in entertaining themselves with variety of discourses upon sundry subjects.

Amongst the rest, there was one gentleman who started the discourse, concerning the present rumour of the war, and desired the opinion of the company about it, whether they did believe it would prove so in good earnest, or whether it was not only an overture and appearance. His concern and inquisitiveness made me guilty of the same humour, and rather because, amongst a great variety of entertainment, all the company had discovered themselves, as to their designs and professions, and some of them without any reserve, even to their very names, and the places of their habitation; yet I found this person not so innocent and simply liberal, only he told us he was a merchant in Paris, who had some correspondents in England, and that the news of the war had persuaded him to cross over the seas, and so for London, to endeavour to secure his effects there, in case there should be a rupture in good earnest, and that he had considerable bills of exchange upon the account of several of the greatest French merchants in England. I gave him the patience of hearing, but, I confess, no great credit to his words; for methought his mein, his equipage, and his discourse, betrayed something more in him, than meer merchant; and I perceived he had been abroad upon other affairs than those of traffick, for he gave us a punctual account of the most considerable actions of the present war in Flanders and Germany: but that which gave me the greatest suspicion, was his frequent mention of something more than a bare knowledge of most of the great persons of the court of France, and particularly of Monsieur Lovois, and Monsieur Colbert, whom he called the great patron of merchants, trade, and industry, extolling him to heaven, and protesting, that, if his designs took effect, France would be the only emporium, or market of the world. This jealousy, that he did trade with these great persons only for diamonds, having once infected my imagination, I had a curiosity to drive it as far as I could, with all the studied ignorance and simplicity I was capable of, and pretending great kindness to this nation, a folly too common, and usually true with the English, who are wont, with a kind of witchcraft, to dote upon the French. So that

we fell smartly upon the subject of the war; and, in regard I appeared most forward in my civility, and ready to entertain his discourse, he thought he had met with a right English spaniel; and therefore, making his application particularly to me, Monsieur (saith he) you are an Englishman, and though you have spent some time in France, yet, I doubt not, but by your appearance, which seems to discover you to be no common person, you have good intelligence from persons of condition; you will infinitely oblige the company, and myself in a most particular manner, if you will honour us with your opinion, whether or no you do believe, that we shall fall from those good terms of friendship and alliance, which his majesty of Great Britain has hitherto conserved for his most Christian majesty.

Sir, replied I, you set too obliging a value upon the opinion of a stranger, but it is the usual effect of your generosity, which I shall in some measure endeavour to merit, by my obedience to your commands: for I was willing to pay him with his own coin. But, Sir, added I, your question is of too great consideration, to find a resolution from my private opinion. Affairs of that high nature are only transacted in the cabinets of our great masters, and it may be it is no less a point of presumption, than folly, for us to concern ourselves about them. Monsieur (said he briskly) what we say is only to divert our passage, and to borrow an hour or two from these slow sails and the wind, which uses not at this time of the year to be so sluggish. But, in my opinion, there are several reasons which may be alledged to persuade the world that this will not come to blows.

Sir, said a good blunt gentleman, with a scar of honour in his face, who lay all along in the boat, and had not spoken till then, it may be your are not so well acquainted with the English, as I am; for my part, I am not much concerned in affairs of state, nor am I acquainted with the counsels of princes, but let me assure you, by what I have heard, and know, that, if it were put to the vote of the people, whether a war, or no war with France, I believe, not one in a thousand, but would be for a war.

Monsieur, said the Frenchman, a little fired at his discourse, no wonder at that; the people are like the element which now carries us, full of floods and ebbs, and, it may be, they will to-morrow be as forward for peace, as to-day they are for a war: you English love to talk of wars, but you hate to part with your money to defray the charge of it.

Sir, said the gentleman, raising himself a little, I know not whether we can part with our money, but we will part with our blood freely: it is said indeed you part with yours, and shoot golden bullets, and make use of keys of the same metal, which will open a breach, or a gate, into the strongest fortifications; but, Sir, we have been used to do it with steel and iron, and yet, give me leave to tell you, I hope we shall be so wise, rather to part with our money, than to keep it till the French come with armed troops to collect it, as they do in their own country; and I hope, yet before I die, to help to open some of the gates of Paris with that hard metal, and to hear the drums beat the heavy English march through the streets again, which once spoiled a jest of one of your kings.

Monsieur, said the French merchant, as he called himself, biting the

nails of his thumbs, by which I knew he was angry, Jerne Diable, you will find something to do before you come there; the king of France has two hundred thousand gens d' arms, and one hundred sale of ships, who will speak thunder and lightning, and make bold to stop your passage.

Messieurs (interposed I, not willing to have these heats spoil our conversation) be so obliging not to transport yourselves into a heat about an affair, which was only started for our divertisement; there is no war yet, and I hope none there will be. Sir, answered the English gentleman fiercely, there is not, but I hope there will be, and that quickly too. This gentleman, as I understood after our landing, was an English captain, a soldier of fortune, who was taken prisoner going wounded from Maestricht, and not having wherewith to ransom himself, according to the rate set upon him, had been a long time very ill used amongst the French, but, having made friends to procure a small ransom, which they were willing to take, rather than none at all, having got his liberty, was coming over to look for some employ wherewith he might at once satisfy both his necessity and revenge: I gave him a little sign, which he understood; and, being unwilling to hinder the prosecution of the discourse, he laid himself down again, upon which I took up the former argument of my French merchant, and desired him to favour us with the reasons that moved him to believe there would be no war.

Monsieur (said he) can the English nation possibly live more happily than at present they do, whilst enjoying peace they have the commerce and traffick of the whole world, without paying any gabels, taxes, I think, you call them? And would it not be a strange thing for them to put their finger into their neighbours fire when there is no necessity; when they have all the assurances of his most Christian majesty, that he has all the honour and esteem for them imaginable, and that he would be ready to do them all the good offices, as his majesty did in the late war with Holland in 1665, when the Count D'Estrees was sent with a squadron of gallant ships to your assistance against the Dutch.

Monsieur, said I, people speak variously of that assistance, and I have heard some persons affirm, that Monsieur D'Estrees did the English more prejudice than kindness; and I remember, I saw a letter, which affirmed, that the not coming in of the French squadron ravished an assured victory from the English.

Upon which the steersman of the vessel would put in his oar into the boat: marry, said he, I was then a-board of the London, under Sir John Harman, and I saw never a ship of the French strike a stroke; but, how do you call him, Monsieur Martin, he fought like a gallant man board and board with the Dutch; but, they say, when he came home, he was clapped up in the tower of Paris for his pains.

Friend, said I, to him, you mean Monsieur Martel, and that he was made a prisoner in the Bastile; but it was not for fighting, but for disobeying the order of his admiral. Monsieur, added the French merchant, it was for some language which he gave the Count D'Estrees, which did not become him to give, nor the other to receive: but, what signifies one idle talking captain, who was justly punished for his insolence? But, monsieur, said he, turning himself to me, if it were not the advantage of trade, which you do, and may enjoy, upon keeping

up a good understanding with the French, yet the puissance of his arms, which is so gloriously beyond all that ever were before him, attended with a thousand victories, a thousand successes, might persuade you not to be so hasty to enter into a war with a nation, so great, so potent, so fortunate, and who is not without hopes still of greater assistances and alliances, and, possibly, before long, you may hear that some other princes have declared in favour of France.

Sir, said I to him, the argument which you use to persuade to peace is that which, generally I suppose in England, is accounted the greatest motive of the war; the wealth and puissance, the victories and conquests of the French, is that which makes them looked upon as too great and dangerous a neighbour, both in peace and war; in peace, because they will certainly, they affirm, diminish their trade and treasure, as they find by experience; and in war, there is no doubt, but their greatness must needs make them sensible of their danger, and they esteem it, therefore, a point of prudence to endeavour, if possible, to arrest the course of their designs, before they break all the banks and ancient limits, which were the boundaries of their ancestors, and overflowing these parts of the world with a dominion, the name of which is odious to the English.

Monsieur, reparted the French gentleman, you do well to put it only by way of supposition, (if possible) for I assure you, had you but seen the French armies such brave men, such gallant captains,———

Upon which the English captain, who, I thought had been at his repose, starts up: what men do you mean, pray, sir? Are you not obliged to our countrymen for your brave atchievements you talk of; pray, who was it that took Maestricht? Are you not obliged to the Duke of Monmouth and the English for that town? Who was it that saved Marshal Turenne oftener than once in Alsace? And who was it that brought off his army after that he was knocked on the head? When these men are drawn off from you, and when they come to fight against you, we shall hear of another story.

Sir, said I to him, all the world must allow, that the French are brave men, well disciplined, and that their commanders are the most vigilant and expert captains of the age.

Pray, sir, said he short upon me, are you an Englishman Frenchified, or a Frenchman in the disguise of an English? But, be an Englishman or a Frenchman, or what you will, I would tell you a story of one of the gallant French commanders, which will be reason enough to persuade all Englishmen to love them less than they do (if it be possible) and to fight with them, and beat them too, which is very possible; for, let them give you never so good words at present, if ever you come within their clutches, they will use you like dogs, and worse, for they will give you a knock, but the devil a bit with it. I was a captain at Woerden, when the French lay at Utrecht, and, if you will give me leave, I will tell you of a brave speech, which the duke of Luxemborgh, now the Marshal Montmorency, made to his soldiers.

Monsieur, said the French merchant, interrupting him, pray, spare the duke of Luxemborgh, I presume you do not know him; for he is certainly the most obliging gallant gentleman in the world.

Sir, replied the captain, he may be what he will; I have seen him, and, if he were here, I would say what I have said; and hope, as gallant as he is, if I can come near him for his life-guard, to change a pistol with him loaden with a brace of slugs of good English lead; and, though mine will not shoot so far as your French pistols (which they say are better for battery than heavy cannon) yet they will kill the gallantest Frenchman in the army, if they have but the luck to hit him three inches underneath his feather. And, for the duke of Luxemborgh, I will justify, ——

Hold, hold, noble captain, said I, you are a man of war, we are all peaceable, and I beg the favour of you, that you will allow us the freedom of discourse; it is only to pass away our time till we come to Dover, it will not now be long; and therefore, applying myself to my merchant, sir, said I, there is no doubt but the French are a most potent nation, and, if some other princes of the empire should join with him, it would be a considerable addition to his power; but still give me leave to speak in favour of my countrymen, the English, they are a people not to be despised; and, if it be true, which is said, that there is a strict confederation between them and the Hollanders, they will outdo you far at sea; and, if they cut off your navy, they can cut off an arm from France, which one may say as the Turk, comparing the loss of the battle of Lepanto to that of Cyprus, it is worse cutting off the head than cutting off the hair, because the one will grow again, but the other never; and besides the stopping of your trade, and keeping your wines and other commodities on your hands, will make your money run upon the lees, and is cutting the nerves of war, as money is always esteemed. And, as this power at sea may well balance all that you can say of your masters, so the armies, that England may add to those of the confederates at land, will more than balance the assistance you promise yourself; and yet some persons are of opinion, that the princes will still maintain their neutrality, till they see which way the dye of war will fall; you know it is safe joining with the victor, and, in the mean time, they keep their country free from winter-quarters and plunder; but, besides all this, his electoral highness of Brandenburgh will now be at great liberty, to assist the confederates with those brave men who made themselves masters of the obstinate town of Stetin.

Monsieur, said the French merchant, you speak a great measure of reason, but we can difficultly persuade ourselves that you are in good earnest, though some things have passed of late that begin to stagger a great many people. Yes, says the captain, who could hold out no longer, I believe it doth stagger a great many people, and the French especially. But that, said the captain, for all your pretensions of being a merchant, I believe you are one of his agents, who, with the bills of exchange you told us of, are going into England, to hold intelligence, and sow jealousies; that is a sort of merchandise which you have of late traded with very much in all parts of the world; but it may be, before long we shall hear, that you are broke by the discovery of your correspondence. And I hope those English people, those dull English, whom, you think, you can cheat and out-wit at your pleasure, will be so wise as to see your tricks and arts, and to understand that the gold,

you are so liberal of to some of them, is only to gild the chains you intend to put upon them all. I am satisfied, if they knew you but half so well as I do, or had but seen your kindness to the province of Utrecht, after it had been wheedled into a surrender, they would have little reason to trust to your kindness.

Monsieur, said the Frenchman, what is all this to the English?

Sir, said the captain, I think it is a fair warning to the English, to stand upon their guard, and to endeavour to put themselves out of the danger of falling under the kindness of the French.

Pray, monsieur, said the French merchant (being a little cooled with the rough humour of the captain) what are those usages which the province of Utrecht complains of?

Look you here, said the captain, with that he pulled a little book out of his pocket, written in French, intituled, *Advis fidele aux veritables Hollandois*, all this is true, and more than this I know to be true, when your gallant Duke of Luxemburgh, and the surintendant Robert, had broken their backs with quarter and plunder, and payments, and confiscations, and the devil and all, the Marquess de Lovois sends them a letter of consolation, a cup of comfort, an egg broken into a pale of water, which you shall hear, if you have patience.

Messieurs, I'ay receu vostre Lettre 23 *du mois passe*, &c. but because, sir, said he, you understand and speak English so well, as to make you pass for any thing, if you can but leave your shrug and your *jernies* and *bongres*, I will not trouble the company with a language I do love as little as it may be they understand, and therefore I will endeavour to teach the marques to speak English, for he is a civil, obliging, complaisant person.

"Messieurs, I have received your letter of the twenty-third of the "last past, by which I have seen all the reasons which you represent, to "make me understand, that the city and province of Utrecht are not "in a condition to satisfy the demands, which Monsieur Robert hath "made. I do easily judge that you cannot do it without great trouble, "but, since necessity has no law, and that the armies of the king must "be maintained, you ought to accommodate yourselves to the said "Sieur Roberts, so as to furnish what he demands, otherwise it is impos- "sible, but you must fall into a most grand desolation; and, to mend "the matter, the honest Sieur Robert tells them in short, that, since "they made such an impossibility to raise the money demanded, he "would cause fire to be set to the four quarters of the city, and he "would light it in the middle himself, *a fin de reduire en cendre une "ville, qui n' estoit qui a charge et inutile au roy mon maistre*, to "the end I may reduce a city into ashes, which is unprofitable, and a "charge to the king my master."

Is this true or not, sir?

Monsieur, said the Frenchman, but what is all this to the English?

Sir, answered the captain, I think it is a fair warning to the English, to stand upon their guard, and to endeavour to put themselves out of the danger of coming under the power of the French, and, if possible, to put the French out of the power of putting them in danger.

Why, sir, replied the other, the French have no designs upon you, but only as your own fears and apprehensions persuade you.

What, cried the captain, the French without designs? you shall as soon find a monkey without tricks; from the onion porridge-man to the marshal you are all politicians and designers, You have, you say, an hundred sail of ships, and two-hundred thousand men, and you have no designs nor ever had I warrant you to make yourselves masters of Flanders, Germany, Holland, and England at last. But, by your favour, sir, you must pass through fire as well as water, before it comes to that.

Well, Monsieur, said the Frenchman, I hope for all this that there will be a peace, and, it may be, I have some reason for my conjecture; I assure you, we merchants are in hopes, that you will not enter upon a war, which must be so great a hazard and charge to the nation.

Sir, said the captain, you offer fair, but I cannot imagine, why you should be so troubled for the charge of the war, though I hope it will come to your share at last to defray it, unless you are afraid we should so impoverish ourselves by a war, that, when you come to visit us, we should not be worth the plundering, and London would be good for nothing, but a second fire, as Robert said of Utrecht; and for my own particular, and I hope all true English hearts are of the same tough old metal, you shall first try how you can digest our steel and iron before you taste of our gold and silver.

I found my two gentlemen were running into a heat, and therefore I thought it better to make a tack, as the boat then did, to some other discourse, which we presently did, and so past the time till we came to Dover peer.

As we parted, the monsieurs bid us adieu, and, with the grace of a shrug particular to his nation, he told me he should be obliged infinitely, if he had the good fortune and honour to meet me upon the Exchange.

Farewell, said the captain, and have a care I do not meet you scattering your bills of exchange in the wrong place, and taking up news to send into France, in lieu of which you will return us suspicions of your own making, to set us together by the ears at home, that so you may be secured from us abroad.

The Frenchman gave him a look full of indignation, and away he went to take post immediately for London; I was extremely pleased with the rugged, honest conversation of this captain, and therefore desired, if his affairs would permit, that we might be companions for that night at Dover, where I had some little affair; he willingly consented to my proposition, and so together we went to an inn, where we had no sooner taken a room, but in came two gentlemen of my relations, who had promised to meet me there; I was very much pleased at their arrival, and after mutual civilities passed, and that we had, like Englishmen, made some provision for supper, without ever asking what we should pay for it, and got a bottle of good Canary (for my captain would drink no French wine) we presently fell to chat.

The first question you may be sure was, What news? and the cap-

tain was in great haste, what, shall we have a war with France? sir, answered one of my friends, men's opinions are various as their interests; but here is his majesty's speech, which, it may be, is news to you; and, if you please to read it, you may make your conjecture. Cousin, said I, you mistake, if you think it news, or if, in less than a week's time, we do not see in Paris every thing of moment that passes at London: the French trade in Aleppo pigeons; nay, if we will believe them, they would persuade us, that they tell before-hand what will be done.

That is an excellent way of intelligence, said the other gentleman; but, for my part, I look upon it as a French artifice; and I am confident, that that trick of pretending to know every thing, amongst us, has done them considerable service; for, certainly, it has given occasion for those jealousies, which now break out amongst us, as if there were a secret intrigue betwixt the French and us, in order to some strange design; and nothing will beat it out of some people's heads, but that this war is only for a colour. Sir, said the captain, here came over with us one of their whisperers, pistole-droppers, news-makers, and away he is posted for London, to fill some people's heads with proclamations of peace, popery, arbitrary government, &c. and others pockets with French money to swear it is true, they have letters from France that confirm it.

Cousin, said I, if the French can accomplish this either way, they have done their business. I assure you, there is nothing they dread like a war with England. I saw, upon several posts in Paris, a severe prohibition, so much as to mention such a war; but, if they can drive it off with these reports, by disuniting the king and his subjects, they are lucky people, and safe enough; and, if they can make a peace underhand, though they give as much money for it, as would almost maintain the war, yet they have their aim.

Well, said the captain, I doubt nothing; I am assured from a good hand, that, before I get to London, some resolution will be taken. I told you some stories of the French, but I have more of their pranks to acquaint the people with. Honest captain, and fellow-traveller, said I, God send you good luck; I dare say you will bestow your skill upon the French with a good will; but cousin, said I, pray what's the matter? Sir, replied he, they were wise that could tell you; and, for my part, I have little curiosity, and less acquaintance with state affairs; but some people, I find, are displeased: but, prithee, what's that to us? let us drink and be merry, and let the world go which way it will. By your favour, sir, said the captain, there are some people that are displeased, because they resolved before-hand to be so with every thing; but I presume, that you, and every Englishman, are so far concerned, that if you do not look about you, the French will before long spoil both your mirth and drinking; what mean you? (answered the other) I hope they will not spoil our drinking, by cutting our throats, as they say the Danes did, which brought in the custom of pledging, or being pledged when one drank. Sir, said the captain, you may live and drink, and be merry in that hope; but, for my part, I do not intend to trust them: I had rather cut some of

theirs faitly, for I hate to have my weasand slit, unless it be in the field.

Well, honest, brave captain, said I, your ill usage makes you in a rage against the French, and you think the quarrel moves too slow; but, sir, you must consider, this is an affair of great weight, and it is not good to make more haste than speed. Sir, said he, the greater weight should make the motion more quick; you do not seem to understand the worth of time, nor the brisk humour of the French, and, therefore, I have nothing to say to you; but, I hope, other people do, and will consider it. Come, come, says my cousin, what have we to do with these matters? it was never well since there were so many little statesmen, and polite politicians.

I believe most people are satisfied of the necessity of a war, to reduce the world to the old balance, and France amongst the rest, that so she may be easy to her neighbours, and they safe from her; and what would any body desire more? It is true, there have been some jealousies, which have clogged the wheels of this great affair; but I can assure you, when I came out of town, it was generally hoped, that a little time would bring all people to a good understanding, councils to unity, and the affair to a happy period.

Sir, said the captain, this is a word of comfort, for I dare assure you, that the great hopes of France are grounded upon our divisions, which they are not so ill husbands, but they know how to improve: I heard one of them the other day say, that, he thought that of the great Turk, Solyman, might be applied to the English, who will be of one mind (as he said, the Christian princes would) when all the fingers of his hand were united into one.

Come, captain, said I, unity, secrecy, and expedition, added to our courage and power, may do much; and I doubt not, but the necessity, which seems to be upon us, will make them all meet: the cause is good, for it is not for sovereignty, but for safety; not for glory, but security, and to preserve the Protestant religion, our lives, liberties, and estates, from the rapine and ambition of the French; and he is no true Englishman, who will not heartily venture his life and fortune, in such a lawful war.

Upon which, supper came in, and, having talked ourselves into a good opinion of eating, we gratified our palates, as well as the place would afford; and, not long after, every one retired to his apartment, where, I believe, the captain dreamed of drums, and trumpets, and cannons, and Granado's storms, and battles, for he made a horrible noise in his sleep, lying in the next room to me; for my part, like a person not much concerned, I slept as heartily as the soldier would permit me, who gave me several alarms; and I can no more tell, what I dreamed, than I can tell certainly what all men long so much to know, that we shall have a war with France, or such a peace as shall be safe and honourable for England, and all Christendom.

THE

HISTORY OF THE GUNPOWDER TREASON:

COLLECTED FROM APPROVED AUTHORS,

*AS WELL POPISH AS PROTESTANT.**

Sæpe divinitatis opera hæc sunt, et furias in ipso jam successu securas subita ultio excipiat; ne vel unquam improbis timor, vel spes absit calamitosæ virtuti.

Jo. Barclaii Conspiratio Anglicana.

Printed at London, in 1678. Quarto, containing thirty-two pages.

THERE are no conspiracies and insurrections more dangerous to states and governments, than those, that the name of religion is made to patronise; for, when that doth head and manage the party, as it makes it look somewhat considerable in itself, so it doth inspire those, that are concerned, with a certain furious and intemperate zeal, and an ungovernable violence: they then rebel with authority, and kill with a safe conscience, and think they cannot do amiss, as long as it is to do God service. 'The brother will then deliver up the brother to death, and the father the child; and the children will rise up against their parents, and cause them to be put to death;' and the laws of nature, which are of themselves sacred and inviolable, shall, in such a case, be despised, and lose their authority. This, this is it, which, in these latter ages more especially, hath disturbed governments, disposed of the crowns of princes, and troubled the peace of the world: from hence spring all those mischiefs, that threatened and perpetually alarmed this nation, during the long and fortunate reign of Queen Elisabeth: from hence proceeded that barbarous and bloody design of the Gun-powder Treason, in 1605: such a design, as the world before never heard of, and which posterity will hardly believe, for the horror of it, say the soberer of their own § authors: such a design, as even some of the Jesuits, after it miscarried, and they saw how ill it was resented by the rest of mankind, professed their detestation of ‖; but how little to their own vindication, and the satisfaction of the world, will easily appear to any one, that doth impartially inquire into the history and the process of it. For this design was not taken up of a sudden, and what a small company of rash and hot-headed persons did without consideration attempt, but what proceeded from the same original, and was carried on by the same counsels and endeavours, that were in being in the time

+ The authors, from whence this narrative hath been collected, are, Thuanus: Jo. Barclaii Conspiratio Anglicana. Proceedings against the Traitors, printed in 1606; Historia Missionis Anglicanæ, Societatis Jesu, Collectore Henrico Moro, printed at St. Omers 1660. Andreæ Eudæmon-Joannis Apologia pro Garnetto. Rob. Abboti Antilogia adversus Apologiam Andreæ Eudæmon-Joannis. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu.

§ Thuanus. Barclay. Rog. Widdrington, in his Apolog. pro Jure Principum, pag. 1.

‖ Mori Historia Missionis Anglicanæ Præfat.

of Queen Elisabeth; the principals in which, for their time, were, Garnet, the provincial of the Jesuits in England, Baldwin in Flanders, and Creswel in Spain: these were the great projectors and encouragers of that which was called the Spanish Treason, in the last year of Queen Elisabeth; and which when defeated in by her death, and the peace that issued upon it betwixt the crowns of England and Spain, they were put upon new counsels, and forced to take other measures for the prosecution of it.

It was in December, in the year 1601, that Thomas Winter was sent into Spain, by the joint advice of Henry Garnet and Oswald Tesmond, Jesuits, and of Robert Catesby and Francis Tresham, gentlemen of good quality and reputation, to try what could be done for their assistance, that were ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for the Catholick cause; and to assure the King of Spain, that, could they but prevail with him to send over an army, they would have in readiness fifteen hundred or two thousand horses for the service. With Winter was sent over Oswald Tesmond, and by them a letter to Creswel, the Jesuit, then residing there; by whose mediation the motion was readily hearkened to, and Don Pedro Francesa, second secretary of state, and the Duke of Lerma did assure them of the king's furtherance and help; and, in the conclusion, the Count of Miranda particularly told them, that his master had resolved to bestow 200,000 crowns to that use, half to be paid that year, and the rest the next following; and that, at Spring, he would, without fail, set footing in England.

About the latter end of the year, Thomas Winter returns with this joyful news, and they were now busy in preparing for it, and almost every day expecting the arrival of these forces, when of a sudden all was dashed by the death of Queen Elisabeth, which was March the twenty-fourth, 1602. Upon this, one of the Wrights is immediately dispatched into Spain, to give the king notice of it; and about the same time was Guy Fawkes sent, with letters and commission, from Sir William Stanley, Hugh Owen, and Baldwin the Jesuit (who were then in Flanders, and ready to attend and to prosecute the same design) but that king told them, that he was now otherwise resolved, and it became him not to hearken to such proposals, after he had sent ambassadors to the new king of England to treat of a peace. It was now, therefore, fit either to let their design fall, or to betake themselves to some other course to effect it: but the former their temper and their principles would not permit; and therefore, since they could not promise themselves success therein by force, they did contrive how, without any noise, or visible and open preparations, it might be obtained.

That a king or queen, who is an heretick, may be deposed or killed, was current doctrine amongst them, in the time of Queen Elisabeth, and what they had been taught from Father Creswel, or whoever was the author of the book called *Philopater*, and by Tresham, in his book *De Officio hominis Christiani*, found with them about this time. And, though the king was not formally declared and proceeded against, as such, yet it was thought sufficient, by them, that the pope on Maunday-Thursday, did censure and condemn all hereticks in the general, as Guy Fawkes and others of them did confess; and therefore the question

was not so much about the lawfulness of it, as about the order that was to be observed, and the way that was fit to be taken in it. Catesby, who was no novice in these affairs, and that, from his acquaintance with Parsons, when in England, and Garnet, and the other Jesuits (to whose order he and his family, from Campian down to this time, were particularly devoted) had learned great skill and subtlety, quickly contrived this for them; and, when Percy, who was of the house of Northumberland, and at that time one of the king's pensioners, according to the bluntness of his temper, did offer himself for the service, and that he would, without any more ado, undertake to assassinate the king, this wary gentleman replied: That would be too dear a purchase, when his own life would be hazarded in it; and it was unnecessary, when it might as well be accomplished without it; and so acquaints him, in part, with what was intended.

Before this was fit to be fully communicated, he thought it necessary, that there should be some care taken to oblige all to secrecy; for which purpose, an oath was devised, that every one should take, and which was accordingly administered to them by Gerard the Jesuit. The oath was:

"You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the sacrament you "now purpose to receive, never to disclose, directly nor indirectly, by "word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to "keep secret; nor desist from the execution thereof, until the rest shall "give you leave."

This was taken, and the sacrament upon it received by Catesby, Percy, Christopher Wright, Thomas Winter, and Fawkes, in May, 1604.

Upon which, Catesby communicated the whole, and told them, that, at the meeting of the parliament, which now drew on, they would have a fair opportunity to consummate all their wishes, and without being observed or discovered, by one fatal blow to destroy the king, the prince, the duke, and the parliament at once; for, as long as there were those branches of the royal family remaining, to what purpose would it be to make away the king? And, as long as there was a parliament in being, what should they get, if they could not as well destroy the branches, as the root? Therefore his design was to extirpate at once all the seeds of heresy, and, by a train of powder conveniently laid under the house, in which at that time they should all be assembled, to blow them up, and their cause together. This was what the confederates very well approved of, and now they united counsels and endeavours to carry it on.

The first thing to be considered was the hiring of the house, and this Percy undertook, and, having, not without some difficulty, persuaded the present tenant, Ferris, to quit it, he became immediate tenant to Whinyard, keeper of the wardrobe; at whose disposal it was, in the intervals of parliament. The house was committed to the care of Fawkes, as being least known; who, the better to conceal himself, changed his name to Johnson, and gave himself out to be Percy's servant. Whilst they were thus busy in contriving and carrying on their plot, the parliament was prorogued till February the seventh, upon which they dispersed themselves into several countries; but, to lose no time, did

think of taking in some other persons, whom they might confide in, and expect some help from. Catesby was sensible, that he had given Thomas Bates, a servant of his, that attended him, too great cause of suspicion, and upon examination found him to have observed somewhat from his proceedings, and therefore invited him into the undertaking; but he, somewhat surprised at the horror of it, began to decline it, till his master referred him for advice to Tesmond; unto whom imparting it in confession, the subtle priest both invited him to it, as a work of great merit, and obliged him to secrecy and fidelity therein. Then were Robert Keyes, and the other Wright, gentlemen, and Ambrose Rockwood, and John Grant, and Robert Winter, esquires, admitted into the number. In Michaelmas-term they met again, and then they thought fit to provide a storehouse for the timber which they should use in the mine that they intended to make, and for the powder and other materials; from whence they might fetch it, as occasion served. And such a place they found and took at Lambeth. December the eleventh, they began to work; but, what from the difficulty of the work (the wall, that they were to make their way through, being three ells thick) what from their want of skill in it, and of being used to such kind of labour, they found that their time would be too short for their enterprise, and they began to despair of success in it. But, when under this irresolution and discouragement, their hopes were revived by two unexpected accidents: for, first, the parliament was adjourned to the fifth of October following; by which means they should have time before them. And, then, they had an opportunity of hiring a vault much more for their turn, than the mine which they had so long employed themselves in. This they came to the knowledge of, upon this occasion: as they were one day busy at their work, they were not a little frighted by an unusual noise on the other side of the wall, which made them think that they were betrayed, and to betake themselves to their weapons, with a resolution of dying upon the place. But Fawkes, who was sent out to make discovery, returns with joy to tell them, that it was only the removing of coals, that were laid in the adjoining vault or cellar, which was now to be let. This they presently hire; thither they brought their stores. By this means they gained a double advantage: First, that their business was brought into a less room, which was more for their ease and safety; and, then, that they were rid of their hard, and, but upon such a cause, to them intolerable labour; for this was a mine, as it were, already, and what was so well situated by its being almost under the royal throne, that they could not have chose any thing more commodious. And now they were at leisure, not so much to think of this design (for that was brought to its head, and what they reckoned themselves sure of) as how to carry on the other part of it. The king and Prince Henry, they did not doubt, would fall in this common calamity; but the duke, being but four years old, they thought would be absent; of him, therefore, Percy took the charge, and said, he would attend about the chamber till the blow was given, and then in a trice conveigh him away, with the help of two or three, that should be ready on horseback: which they might the more easily do, as many of the court would be that day upon attendance, and perish with the rest; and the others would by it be put

into confusion, and unprovided to make any opposition. As for the Lady Elisabeth, she might be reserved, and her name made use of by them in stilling and composing the minds of the people, and for making good whatever they thought fit to use her authority in; and her they might the more easily gain into their hands, as she was now at the Lord Harrington's at Comb-Abbey in Warwickshire, whereabouts they might securely be, under the pretence of an hunting-match, and with the first news there surprise her.

In the mean time, was care taken to give notice to those abroad, whom they might trust; and, in March 1605, is Fawkes sent over to Sir William Stanley and Hugh Owen, and with letters from Garnet to Baldwin, the Legier Jesuit in Flanders. Sir William was absent, but, having first administered the oath of secrecy to Owen, he acquaints him with the plot; who promised to give his utmost assistance, and to dispose Sir William to it (whom he thought it not fit, for the present, to communicate it to, for fear he might be discovered, and fail in a design, that he was then about, in the court of England.)

To the twenty barrels of powder, laid in at first, they added, in July, twenty more with bars of iron and massy stones, and at the last made up the number thirty-six; over which they laid a thousand billets and five hundred faggots. And, at a meeting at the Bath of Percy and Catesby, it was agreed, that Catesby should take in whom he thought fit; who thereupon engaged Sir Everard Digby, that promised to advance fifteen hundred pounds towards it; and Mr. Francis Tresham, that gave him assurance of two thousand pounds.

All things thus being in a readiness, the parliament was again prorogued till the fifth of November; upon which they retired, with a promise of meeting about ten days before: at which time, Catesby being informed by Winter, at a house by Enfield-chace, that the prince was not likely to be present with the king, there was another plot laid to surprise him, if it should so happen.

The time drew very near, and they, that had passed so long without discovery, seemed now to be above the fear of it. All things had so happily concurred to further their design, and they had all approved themselves to be so trusty in it, that they were more concerned how to manage their success, than to fear it. But God, that had a reserve of favour for us, and that doth delight in catching the wise in their own craftiness, suffered them to proceed thus far in it, that the detection and overthrow of it might appear to be more from his, than man's providence. When Catesby first thought of this, the great difficulty, with him, was about the lawfulness of destroying the innocent with the guilty: for the blow would know no difference betwixt a Catholick and an Heretick, betwixt a friend or foe. When the nobles and the commons, those that were a part of that assembly, and those that came to be auditors and spectators only; those that were within, and those that were without the house; when no less than thirty thousand must perish at once by it (as Barclay saith it was computed) it must needs be, that many, whom they wished well to, and that also (if they knew it) would wish well to their cause, must be part of the sacrifice. What an havock would thirty-six barrels, or nine or ten thousand pounds, of

powder make, loaded thus with bars of iron, massy stones, and great pieces of timber? How would it tear the foundations of the strongest buildings, throw down all the tops of the neighbouring houses, and bury all within the ruins of both? What would become of their friends and allies, those that they had received much kindness from; and others, who neither did, nor knew how to do them an injury? How many families must they undo, by the loss of relations, estates, and records which were there deposited? This, and much more, was what they well foresaw, and what they could not foresee without some kind of horror, if they had but one spark of humanity left untouched by their unnatural religion. What must therefore be done? To whom should he resort for counsel, but to his fast friend, Father Garnet? To him he opens the case (as far as it was fit, and as far as the other was willing to know of it) after this manner:

"Whether, for the good and promotion of the Catholick cause (the "necessity of time and occasion so requiring) it be lawful, or not, "amongst many nocents, to destroy and take away some innocents also? To which the Jesuit replies: "That, if the advantage was greater, on "the side of the Catholicks, by the destruction of the innocent with the "nocent, than by the preservation of both, it was doubtless lawful;" further explaining himself by this comparison: "That if, at the taking "of a town possessed by the enemy, there happen to be seen friends, "they must undergo the fortune of war, and the general and common "destruction of the enemy."

With this answer Catesby was satisfied, and with this answer he satisfied others; telling them, that it was the resolution of the case given by the provincial.

But yet, though this did thus compose their minds, and what they were generally satisfied with, yet there wanted not one that, having a kindness for the Lord Monteagle, eldest son to the Lord Morley, sent this note to him, by the hands of one of his foot-boys, that was abroad in the evening of the Saturday was se'nnight before the appointed time for the meeting of the parliament.

My Lord,

"Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of "your preservation: therefore I would advise you, as you tender your "life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of "this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire "yourself into your own country, where you may expect the event in "safety: for, though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, "they shall receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall "not see who hurt them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger "is past, as soon as you shall have burned this letter; and I hope God "will give you the grace to make good use of it; to whose holy protection I commend you."

The letter was without date or subscription; and the hand, in which it was writ, was hardly legible, and the contents of it so perplexed, that the lord knew as little what to make of it, as whence it came: but yet,

however, since it respected more than himself, he thought not fit to conceal it, and presently repaired to Whitehall, and put it into the hands of the Earl of Salisbury, principal secretary of state. The earl commended the lord for his care and fidelity, and told him, that, though there seemed to be little in it, yet, because of the reports that he had received from abroad, that the Papists, this session of parliament, would be very busy and insolent in their demands for toleration, upon some prospect they had of being in a condition to command it; and also that, because nothing, that concerned the safety of his majesty, and peace of his government, ought to be slighted, he would advise with others of his majesty's council about it, Accordingly, he shewed it to the lord chamberlain (to whom it particularly belonged to visit all places, where his majesty either lived, or to which he did resort) to the lord high admiral, the Earls of Worcester and Northampton; who all were of the same mind with the secretary, and concluded it fit to deliver it to the king at his return from Royston, when he came from hunting, and from whence he was expected, the Thursday following.

On the next day after his return, the earl presented him with it, and told him how it came to his hands. After the reading of it, the king made a pause, and then, reading it again, said, that there seemed somewhat in it extraordinary, and what was by no means to be neglected. The earl replied, that it seemed to him to be written by a fool, or a madman; for who else could be guilty of saying, "The danger is "past, as soon as you have burned the letter?" For what danger could there be in that, which the burning of the letter would put an end to? But the king, considering the smartness of the stile, and, withal, what was said before, "That they should receive a terrible blow, and yet "should not see who hurt them," did conclude, as he was walking and musing in the gallery, that the danger must be sudden, and like the blowing up by gunpowder; for what else could the parliament be in danger of? Or, what rebellion and insurrection could there be, and yet there be no appearance of stir therein? Or, how could they be otherwise hurt, and not see who hurt them? And, as for the phrase, which the secretary particularly offered at, he said, to him it seemed to be of a quite different signification, and that thereby was to be understood the suddenness and quickness of it, which should as soon, or as quickly, be done, as that paper might be burnt. Doubtless this was the sense of it, and what he that wrote it did intend, who was no fool, as appears by the other parts of the letter; and yet the discovery of it was extraordinary, being against the common construction, far from what any other did apprehend by it; and therefore it is what even some of the adverse party have looked upon, as God's inspiration. So John Barclay intitles his little book, that he wrote about it, *Series patefacti divinitus Parricidii*, &c. And *Spondanus*, ann. 1605. §. 8. saith of the king, that *divinitus evasit.*

The secretary admired the king's great sagacity; and, though he seemed to differ from him, whilst in his presence, yet presently conferred with the lords about it, and on Saturday it was resolved, that the houses and rooms thereabouts should be searched. The care of this

was committed to the lord chamberlain, who was appointed on Monday to make the search; which he accordingly did, that evening, being accompanied with the Lord Monteagle, that was very desirous of seeing the event. Having viewed this house, they found, in a vault under ground, great store of billets, faggots, and coal, brought thither (as Mr. Whinyard told them) for the use of Mr. Percy, and espied Fawkes standing in a corner of the cellar, who said, that he was Mr. Percy's servant, and left there by him for the keeping of his house. Upon the naming of Percy, the Lord Monteagle told the Chamberlain, that he now vehemently suspected Mr. Percy to be the author of that letter, both from his inclination to the Romish religion, and the intimacy that had been betwixt them. How true that lord's conjecture was, I know not (for Bishop Goodman, in his answer to Sir Anthony Weldon's Court of King James, saith that Tresham sent it.) But that circumstance, with what they had discovered, so much increased the suspicion, that, when all was reported by the lord chamberlain to the king, in the presence of the lord admiral, lord treasurer, the Earls of Worcester, Northampton, and Salisbury, it was resolved, that further search should be made, what was under that great pile of fewel, in such a house, where Percy had so little occasion to reside. But, what for avoiding the report of too much credulity, and easiness to receive informations of that kind; what from the care of doing any thing that might redound to the blemish of the Earl of Northumberland, whose near relation and great confident this Thomas Percy was, it was resolved to do it under the pretence of making inquisition for some of the king's hangings, that were stolen out of Whinyard's custody. Sir Thomas Knevet, one of the king's privy-chamber, was employed in it, being a person in publick office, as a justice of peace, and of great prudence. At midnight he repaired thither, and found Fawkes standing at the door, booted and spurred, whom he presently apprehended. Then, proceeding, he first lighted upon one of the smaller, and after discovered the rest of the barrels: upon which, causing Fawkes to be searched, he found about him three matches, a tinder-box, and a dark lanthorn.

Being thus taken in the fact, he both confessed and defended it; adding, "That, if he had happened to be within the house, as he was "without, he would, by putting fire to the train, have put an end to "their enquiry." Sir Thomas, having had such happy success, immediately returns with joy to the palace, and acquaints the lord chamberlain and Earl of Salisbury with it, who went to the king's bed-chamber; and, with as much haste as joy, the chamberlain told the king, that all was discovered, and the traitor in safe custody. This was about four of the clock in the morning. As soon as the council met (who were immediately sent for) the prisoner was taken into examination, and, to the amazement of all, appeared no more dashed by their presence, or the questions put to him, or the condition that he was in, than if he had been altogether innocent; declaring, "That he was not at all sorry for "what he had designed, but only that he failed in the execution of it; "and that the devil, and not God, was the discoverer." So pertinacious and resolute was he, that he would not own any accomplices, but that he alone was the contriver, and should have been the sole executer

of it; and that he was induced to this for conscience-sake, as the king (being an heretick) was not his lawful sovereign, but an usurper. Thus stout and resolute did he continue, till he was brought to the tower, and shewed the rack; upon the sight of which he began to relent, and, after some days examination, disclosed the whole.

The news of this discovery flew like lightning, it was what rejoiced the heart of every good subject, and daunted that of the rebels; and therefore those of them, that were in town, no sooner heard of it, but they betook themselves to flight.

Catesby was gone the night before towards the place appointed for their rendezvous; and Percy set forward at four of the clock in the morning, much about the time that the discovery was made. But one of the Winters, and the two Wrights that staid behind, staid to hear of their defeat and disappointment; and so made all the haste they could to overtake and meet their confederates, that they might consult what was to be done in so great an exigence.

In the mean time, there was nothing wanting on their part, who were to contribute their endeavours in the country. Sir Everard Digby came to Dunchurch, according to appointment; and so confident were they of success above, that one Grant, a gentleman in those parts, on Monday night, much about the time that Fawkes was apprehended, with other of his associates, broke open the stables of one Benock, a rider of great horses, and took away all that he found for their own service; and with them they repaired to the rest. But all their hopes were soon blasted by the sad news, which they quickly received from those that had made their escape. Desperation begets resolution; and now they are lost, as well as their cause, if they do not speedily find out a remedy; and therefore, with all the haste they could, they dispatched some to call in others to their assistance, and to represent to them the greatness of the danger, that they, and their religion is in, unless they appear in its defence. This Tesmond (alias Greenwel) the Jesuit, did particularly concern himself in, exhorting all to take up arms, and to unite their forces; and for this purpose rode as far as Lancashire. This riding to and fro made a noise in the country, and awakened the people; the loss of Benock's horses came quickly to the ears of some of those gentlemen, that had put them into his hands to manage and fit them for their service. And, for one reason or another, the country was presently up in arms, and upon pursuit of them.

Some of them were taken prisoners, and others of them pursued, by Sir Richard Verney, sheriff of Warwickshire, to the borders of that county; but they kept on their course, till they came to Holbeach, in Staffordshire, the house of Stephen Littleton; thither Sir Richard Walsh, sheriff of Worcestershire, followed them, and, by his trumpeters, commanded them, in the king's name, to surrender; assuring them, that, upon their so doing, he would intercede with the king for them, and doubted not to obtain their pardon. But they, that were conscious to themselves of more than he understood (for the news had not yet spread so far, nor the king's proclamations, though sent after them, had not yet overtaken them) bid him defiance, and sent him word, that he must have a greater force, than what he had then the command of, to reduce

them. But, whilst the one was preparing for the assault, and the other for their defence, God himself seemed to decide the quarrel; for, by the same means, which they contrived to destroy others, they themselves came to suffer: for, having laid some powder to dry before the fire, a coal, upon the mending of it, flew into the pan, and set fire to the rest; thereby not only blowing up part of the roof, and a bag of powder of seventeen or eighteen pounds, that they underset the pan with, which was carried unfired into the court, but so wounding Catesby, Percy, Rockwood, and several of the conspirators, that they were unable to make any further defence. By this time also fire was set to the house, and their case grew so desperate, that they opened the doors, and exposed themselves to the weapons and fury of the people. The three principal of them, viz. Catesby, Percy, and Winter, joined back to back, and the two former of them were mortally wounded with one shot; Catesby dying upon the spot, and Percy not outliving him above two or three days. The two Wrights were slain at the same time; Digby, Rockwood, Thomas Winter, Grant, and Bates were taken prisoners, and sent up to London; Robert Winter and Littleton endeavoured to conceal themselves in the woods, but were afterwards taken, and committed to the tower. Tresham continued in London, and seemed ready to find out the traitors, and by that means thought at first to remain undiscovered; but, being suspected, he was afterwards searched for, and apprehended, and sent to the same place. Thus suddenly was that design discovered, which had been so long concealed; thus suddenly was it broken, which they had been some years in contriving; therein verifying that of the Psalmist: 'The ungodly are sunk down into the pit that they made: in the net, which they hid, is their own foot taken. The Lord is known by the judgment which he executeth, the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands.'

These persons thus apprehended were carefully examined (in the doing of which were spent twenty-three days) and from their several confessions was drawn sufficient matter not only for their own condemnation, but also for detection of others.

The most considerable of which was Garnet, the provincial of the Jesuits, Hall, Greenwel, Gerard, and Hammond, priests of the same order. The respect that Garnet had to the reputation of their society, and his own safety, had made him to act with so great caution, that he would willingly converse with none about this matter, but those that were of his own order; or Catesby his trusty friend. And, therefore, much of the evidence against him fell with that conspirator. But yet there appeared such presumptions by the acknowledgment of the rest that were taken, and letters that were found, that there was a proclamation issued out, for the apprehension of him and his brethren, declaring it treason for any to harbour and conceal them. Garnet, when the time drew near, and all things were ripe for their design, took a journey to Coulton, in Warwickshire, not far from the place of the general rendezvous, where he preached a sermon, and in which he exhorted his auditors to pray for the success of a great action, to be undertaken in the behalf of the Catholicks, at the beginning of the parliament, as is ac-

knowledged by his apologist*, and was confessed by Hall, alias Oldcorn. Whilst at that place he received a letter, November the sixth, from Catesby, to let him know that their design had miscarried, and to desire him that he would use his interest in stirring up the Catholicks in Wales, to arm and defend themselves. But the wary Jesuit provided for his own safety, and, sending Greenwel to them for their assistance and direction, he himself with Hall fled to Mr. Abington's house, at Henlip, in Worcestershire, where Hall had found a safe retreat for sixteen years together, as an author† of theirs informs us. There they lay concealed for some time, but at the last were discovered to be in that place by Littleton, one of the conspirators, as the same author relates, pag. 314, who further saith, that, though the help of carpenters and bricklayers was used, yet they were many days before they could find them out, being in a vault, the way to which was in an upper room, through the half-paee before the hearth, whose wooden border was made like a trap-door, to pluck up and down, and then the bricks were laid in their courses and order again, as we are told by an author of our own‡.

Hence they were brought to London, and committed to the tower.

On January the twenty-seventh, the other prisoners were brought to their tryal at Guildhall. The persons arraigned were Robert Winter, Esq; Thomas Winter, Gent. Guy Fawkes, Gent. John Grant, Esq. Ambrose Rockwood, Esq; Robert Keyes, Gent. and Thomas Bates, servant to Catesby. By another indictment was arraigned Sir Everard Digby.

They generally acknowledged the fact, and spake little in their own vindication. Rockwood pleaded 'That it was the intire affection he 'had for Mr. Catesby, which drew him in; and he hoped, as it was his 'first fact, some mercy would be shewed him.' Sir Everard said the same with respect to Catesby, and added, 'That he had undertaken it 'for the zeal which he had to the Catholick religion, which he was 'ready to sacrifice all for; and to prevent those calamities, which he 'understood that the parliament was prepared to bring upon them of his 'persuasion.' Keyes said, 'That his fortunes were sunk, and as good 'now as at another time, and for this cause rather than another.'

They seemed resolved to vindicate the Jesuits, or, at least, to say nothing against them; whether it were that they were not allowed to discourse of the plot with any but such and such particular persons, or whether it were that they thought it to be highly meritorious; and this last seems to be not unlikely. When Tresham, not above three hours before his death, in the tower, did declare upon his salvation, that he had not seen Garnet in sixteen years before: whereas it appeared, both by the confession of Garnet, and Mrs. Ann Vaux, Garnet's bosom-friend, that they had been frequently together the two last years past.

On the Thursday following, Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, John Grant, and Bates were, according to judgment, drawn, hanged, and quartered, at the west end of St. Paul's Church. And on the Friday,

* Eudem. Jeannis apologia pro Garneto. Page 265. † Hen. Mori Historia Missionis Anglicanæ. Page 333. ‡ Fowlis's Romish Treasons. Page 608.

the other four, viz. Thomas Winter, Keyes, Rockwood, and Fawkes, were executed in the palace-yard at Westminster.

Now were Garnet and Hall had in examination, and that several times, from the first of February to March the twenty-sixth. In all which Garnet shewed by the wiliness of his answers, and the confidence he maintained them with, that he deserved the place of provincial of the Jesuits, being so well versed in all the practices of his society, that few could exceed him.

The king from the first was resolved to forbear the severity of the rack, much practised in other countries, in the examination of notorious and perverse criminals. We indeed are told by a late confident author† of their own, that Garnet was kept waking six days and nights together to bring him by that new kind of torment (as he calls it) to a confession of his crime; and that Hall was put to extreme torture for fifteen hours space together in the tower, for the same reason. But‡ a greater than he, one of their§ own persuasion, doth assure us that the king, to avoid calumny, did purposely forbear any thing of that kind of rigour, and Garnet himself did publickly own at his tryal, that he had been used, whilst in prison, with great lenity. We know not what effect the rack might have had upon him, for that was a way of tryal he had not been exercised in; but that course which they took, by frequent and cross-examinations, by expostulations, and arguments, he was so much a master of, that, in all the twenty-three days spent in it, they would have gained but little information, had they not had some greater advantage. Had he been alone, and could not have been confronted by others, he had been much more secure, and they more at a loss. And, therefore, to prevent any misunderstanding bewixt him and others in custody, that their answers might not be inconsistent or repugnant, he writes both to Hall and Mrs. Vaux, to let them know after what manner he thought to excuse or defend himself, and what replies to make to some particular enquiries; as if he should be charged with his prayer for the good success of a great action, &c. he would say, it was for the prevention of those severe laws which those of their church expected would be made against them by that parliament. But it happened that these letters, that were writ by him, came into other hands than those he intended them for, and did him a worse injury than any account that his sworn friends could have likely given of the same actions, though disagreeing with his. And indeed herein his adversaries did outwit him, and worsted him at his own weapons. For, when they perceived that he obstinately persisted in the defence of his innocency, they took another course to find him out: first, a person was employed as a keeper, that should profess himself to be a Roman Catholick, and that should take a great liberty to complain of the king's severity, and of the sufferings their party were made to undergo. By these and the like crafty insinuations he grew to be a familiar of Garnet's, and at last was entrusted by him with a letter to one and to another. Which yet he did not so much venture upon, but that he wrote sparingly to one, and to the other nothing in appearance

† Historia Missionis Anglican. Page 315, 331, ‡ Thuanus An. 1606. § Not Jesuitical, but only Popish.

but what any one may see, filling up the void places with other more secret matters, written indeed, but written with the juice of a lemon. By this means they found out, that it was not so much his innocency, as the want of proof, that made him so confident. By this they came to understand, that Greenwel and he had conferred together about the plot.

There was also another calamity that befell him by the same contrivance; for now, thinking himself sure of his keeper, he let him know what a great desire he had of conferring with Hall. The decoy told him, that he would endeavour to find out a way for it. This was done, and they had that freedom; but at the same time there were placed within hearing two persons of such known credit, that Garnet, at his tryal, had nothing to object against them, who took notice of what was said, and made it known to the council. The next day commissioners came to examine them, and in discourse charged them severally with those things that passed betwixt them the day before. This Hall did acknowledge, being convinced by the particulars that they produced; but Garnet did deny it upon the word of a priest†, and with reiterated protestations. And when they told him, that Hall had confessed it, he said, 'Let him accuse himself falsly, if he will, I will not be guilty of 'that folly.' But, at the last, when he perceived that the evidence was not to be gainsaid, begged their pardon with no little confusion, and owned the particulars they charged him with; and, a little to save his reputation, told them, that as he denied all, because he knew none but Greenwel could accuse him; so he did deny what he knew to be true, by the help of equivocation.

Now they had gained good evidence against him; his letters first, then his discourse with Hall, and lastly, his own confession, were a sufficient ground for them to proceed and try him upon. And that they began to do within two days after, viz. March the twenty-eighth.

The great thing charged upon him, was, that he was privy to this conspiracy, that he held a correspondence with Catesby, and by him and Greenwel with the rest. And the chief part of his defence was: 'That 'what he did know of it was in confession, and what was told him, in 'that way, he was bound to conceal, notwithstanding any mischief that 'might follow it; he might dissuade persons from it, but, whether they 'would be persuaded by him or not, he was obliged not to divulge it.'

After a long time spent in his tryal, there was but little taken by the jury, to give their verdict, which was, that he was guilty of treason; and accordingly he received sentence, and was executed the third of May following, at the west-end of St. Paul's Church-yard.

This is the man whom the Jesuits extol to the clouds, and who is put into the catalogue of their martyrs, as it is to be found at the end of Alegambe's *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu.* This person, who was a perfect master of the art of dissimulation, that could by equivocation swear to what he knew to be false, is what one‡ of them bestows this character upon, that there was in him *morum simplicitas, et candor*

† An oath so sacred in the Church of Rome, that, whereas the laity are always sworn upon the holy Gospels, a priest is never required to give any other oath than upon the word of a priest, i. e. in verbo sacerdotis. Query, whether this sort of ecclesiastical affirmation did not give a hint for the Quakers form of affirmation instead of an oath?

‡ Hist. Mission. Angl. p. 311.

animi minime suspicacis. This man who had not the heart to die, and who at the time of his execution was so divided betwixt the hopes of a pardon, and the fear of death, that he could not attend to his own devotions, but one while cast his eyes this way, and another that; now at his prayers, and anon breaking off from them to answer to that discourse which he overheard. This man, I say, is said by Alegambe to go to his death *interritus et exporrecta fronte obtestans*, &c. without any fear, and protesting that he exceedingly rejoiced that he was now to suffer that death which would be an entrance to an immortal life.

The conclusion of all which is, that no Jesuit can be a traitor, and none suffer for treason but he must be a martyr.

The case of Hall was much the same with that of Garnet; he did confess, and it was also proved that they were both together at Caughton, and they were both found together afterwards. It appeared that he had afterwards defended the treason to Humphry Littleton. The excuses, the discourse, the confessions, were much one and the same, but only that Garnet was the more resolved, and the more obstinate of the two. Now, because as this treason was hatched, and to be executed in the main at London, so because part of it was also to be done in the country, and the chief of the conspirators were there taken, therefore six of them were sent to Worcester, and there executed, viz. Humphry Littleton, John Winter, and this Hall, with three others. Thither, I say, he was carried with them for that reason, and not because his adversaries were ashamed to have his cause heard at London, as a bold author† of theirs would have it.

It is no wonder to find these men so concerned to clear themselves of it, when all the world is against them; though this is no more to be done than to prove that one that kills a king is a good subject, and one, that stirs up his subjects in rebellion against him, is a friend to him.

These were the persons that were taken and suffered for this bloody treason. Others of them escaped beyond sea; of which one, when Dominicus Vicus, governor of Calais, 'assured them of the king's favour, and, tho' they lost their own country, they might be received 'there,' replied 'The loss of their country was the least part of their 'grief; but their sorrow was that they could not bring so brave a design 'to perfection.' At which the governor could hardly forbear casting him into the sea, as Thuanus relates from Vicus's own mouth. Others there were, whom the government had a great suspicion of, as Henry Lord Mordaunt, and Edward, Lord Stourton, who, not appearing upon the summons to the parliament, were supposed to absent themselves from some intelligence that they received, were fined in the star-chamber, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. The like sentence did Henry, Earl of Northumberland, undergo, for having admitted Thomas Percy, his kinsman, to be a gentleman pensioner without administering to him the oath of supremacy, when he knew him to be a recusant‡.

This was the end of that plot, and of the persons concerned in it. And it would be happy if they had left none of their principles or temper behind them, a generation whom no favour will oblige, nor kindness re-

† Eudæmon. Joannis Apologia pro Garneto. Page 272.

‡ Or Papist.

tain; whom nothing but supremacy will content, and the most absolute authority can gratify. Whom nothing can secure against, but a sufficient power, or great industry or constant watchfulness, and scarcely all. And therefore it is fit, not only as a branch of our thankfulness to God, but also as a caution to ourselves, that this deliverance should be celebrated, and the memory of it perpetuated. I shall end with what is said of a great person ‡ of our own, some years since.

Two great deliverances in the memory of many of us hath God in his singular mercy wrought for us of this nation, such as I think, take both together, no Christian age or land can parallel. One formerly from a foreign invasion ‖; another, since then, of an hellish conspiracy § at home. Both such, as we would have all thought, when they were done, should never be forgotten. And yet, as if this land were turned oblivious, the land where all things are forgotten, how doth the memory of them fade away, and they, by little and little, grow into forgetfulness? We have lived to see eighty-eight almost forgotten (God be blessed who hath graciously prevented what we feared therein) God grant that we nor ours ever live to see November the fifth forgotten, or the solemnity of it silenced.

THE FRENCH KING CONQUERED BY THE ENGLISH;

The King of France and his Son brought Prisoners into England

(Besides divers Earls, Lords, and above two Thousand Knights and Esquires)

BY THE VICTORIOUS EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE,

SON TO EDWARD THE THIRD.

Wherein is given an Account of several great Battles fought and wonderful Victories obtained over the French, when they had six to one against the English, to the Honour and Renown of England's unparalleled Valour, Conduct, and Resolution. Written by a Person of Quality. London, printed for William Birch, at the Sign of the Peacock, at the lower End of Cheapside, 1678. Octavo, containing thirty-one Pages.

The Life and Death of Edward, sirnamed, the Black Prince.

THIS Edward was the eldest son of that victorious prince, King Edward the third: his mother was the fair Philippa, daughter to William Earl of Hainault and Holland, who was delivered of this her first-born son at Woodstock, July 15, *Anno Christi* 1329, and in the

‡ Bishop Sanderson's Sermons, lib. i. *ad populum Serm.* v. p. 242. ‖ By the Spaniards in the Year 1588. § Viz. Of which this is the History.

third year of his father's reign. He was afterwards created Prince of Wales, Duke of Aquitain and Cornwall, and Earl of Chester. He was also Earl of Kent, in right of his wife Joan, the most admired beauty of that age, daughter of Edmund Earl of Kent, brother, by the father's side, to King Edward the second.

King Edward was very sollicitous in the education of this his son, and provided him choice tutors, to train him up both in arts and arms: and among others Walter Burley, a doctor of divinity, brought up in Merton-college in Oxford, who wrote many excellent treatises in natural and moral philosophy, for his great fame in learning, had the honour to be one of the instructers of this hopeful prince.

When he was but fifteen years old, his father King Edward, passing over into France, with a great and gallant army, took this his son along with him, making him a soldier, before he was grown to be a man: but, it seems, he longed to try what metal his son was made of in the bud; and haply he was loth to omit any thing that might give countenance and credit to this battle, wherein two kingdoms were laid at the stake.

Anno Christi 1345, our King Edward was upon the sea in a fleet of above a thousand sail, and landed in Normandy: his land-forces were about two thousand five hundred horse, and his foot thirty thousand, most of them archers. Making pitiful havock in Normandy, he marched up almost to the very walls of Paris. Philip, the French king, had not slept all this while, but had raised and brought together one of the bravest armies, that ever France had seen, consisting of about a hundred, or six score thousand fighting men.

King Edward, loaden and rich with spoils, seemed not unwilling to retreat. But they were now in the heart of their enemies country between the two good rivers of Seyne and Soame: and it was judged meet by our king to seek a passage out of these straits; and this enquiry was interpreted by the enemy to be a kind of flight, and King Edward was willing to nourish this conceit in them.

The river of Soame, between Abbeville and the sea, was at low water fordable, and gravelly ground, whereof our king was informed by a French prisoner, whom they had taken. But the French king, well acquainted with his own country, had set a guard upon that pass, of a thousand horse, and above six thousand foot, under the conduct of one Gundamar du Foy, a Norman lord of special note. King Edward, coming to this place, plunges into the ford, crying out, 'He that loves me, let him follow me,' as resolving either to pass or die. These words, and such a precedent, so inflamed his army, that the passage was won, and du Foy defeated almost before he was fought with, the incomparable courage and resolution of the English appaling him, and carried back to King Philip fewer by two thousand than he carried with him, besides the terror which his retreat brought along with it: and, if the English were before unappaled, now much more they resolved to live and die with such a sovereign.

Now was King Edward near unto Cressy, in the county of Ponthieu, lying between the rivers of Soame and Anthy, a place which unquestionably belonged to him, in the right of his mother, where he was careful to provide the best he could for his safety and defence. King Philip,

being inraged for the late defeat, precipitates to the battle, wherein the great and just God intended to scourge the pride and sins of France, being the rather induced thereto, by his confidence in his numerous and gallant army, who were ready to tread upon one anothers heels, till the view of the English colours and battle put them to a stand.

King Edward, having called upon God for his gracious aid and assistance, full of heroick assuredness, without the least perturbation, divided his army into three battalions. The first was disposed into the form of an hearse, where the archers stood in the front, and the men of arms stood in the bottom; and this was led by the young lion of Wales, our brave Prince Edward, to whose assistance the king joined some of his prime and most experienced captains; as Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, Godfrey of Harecourt; the Lords, Thomas Holland, Richard Stafford, John Chandois, Robert Nevil, La'ware, Bourchier, Clifford, Cobham, &c. And many other knights and gentlemen, to the number of eight hundred men at arms, two thousand archers, and a thousand Welch-men. In the second, were the Earls of Northampton and Arundel, the Lords Ross, Willoughby, Basset, St. Albine, &c. with eight hundred men at arms, and twelve hundred archers. In the third was the king himself, having about him seven hundred men at arms, and three thousand archers, with the residue of his nobles and people.

The battle thus ordered, our king mounted upon a white hobby, rode from rank to rank to view them, and with quickening words encouraged them, that bravely they should stand to, and fight for his right and honour. And he closed the battles at their backs, as if he meant to barricado up their way from flying, which he did by plashing and felling of trees, and placing his carriages there, and all his other impediments. He commanded all men also to dismount, and to leave their horses behind them, and thus all ways and means of flight being taken away, the necessity doubtless did double their courages.

The French king, Philip, had with him John of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia; the King of Majorca; the Duke of Alanson, his brother; Charles de Blois, the king's nephew; Ralph, Duke of Lorrain; the Duke of Savoy; the Earls of Flanders, Nevers, Sancerre, with many other dukes, earls, barons, and gentlemen bearing arms, and those not only French, but Almains, Dutch, and others. And, just the night before the battle, there came to the French army, Anne of Savoy, with a thousand men at arms, so that all things seemed to elate the pride of the French, and to fit them for destruction.

The French army was also divided into three battalions. The vanguard the king committed to his brother, the Duke of Alanson, and the King of Bohemia; the rear to the Duke of Savoy. And the main battle he led himself, being so impatient of all delays, that he would scarce permit time for a little counsel, to consider what was fittest to be done. He caused also the auriflamb to be erected, which was an hallowed banner of red silk, whereof the French had a wonderful high conceit, as of a thing sent them from heaven, as the Ephesians thought of their Diana. The King of Bohemia, though he was short-sighted, hearing in what good array the English attended their coming, said plainly (contrary to the proud conceits of the French, who thought them in a posture of

flight) 'Here will the English end their days or conquer.' He advised also that the army should take some repast, and that the infantry, consisting of the Genoese, who were about fifteen thousand cross-bows, and sure men, should make the first front, and the cavalry to follow, which was done accordingly.

A little before the fight began, God, to shew that he was Lord of Hosts, and the only giver of victory, caused the black clouds to pour down upon them plenty of water, like so many funeral tears, enarching the air with a spacious rain-bow; and discharged sundry peals of thunder. The sun also, which before had hid his face under a black dark cloud, now broke forth, shining full in the Frenchmen's faces, and on the backs of the English. At the same time also great flocks of ravens, and other baleful birds of prey, came flying over the French army.

The Duke of Alanson, contrary to his order, took it ill, that the Genoese were set in the front, and therefore in fury caused them to change place; which changed that seat of the army, and wrought that discontent also in these Italians, as irritated them more against the French than against their enemies.

The sign of battle, being given by King Philip, was entertained with clamours and shouts, all things shewing the dread and horror of war; drums and trumpets sounding to a charge, banners flying in the air, and every where the glittering weapons threatening death and destruction. The French calamities began at the Genoese, who, under Carolo Grimaldi, and Antonio Doria, their colonels, being all of them cross-bow men, were to open a way by their arrows for the French horse; but this was the success of their service: their bow-strings being wet with the late rain, their bodies weary with a long march, their ranks (after the English had received their first volley upon their targets) opened with innumerable gaps, occasioned by the fall of their slain fellows, who were overthrown by our home-drawn arrows, were at last most outrageously scattered, and trampled under foot by Charles, Duke of Alanson (by command of King Philip himself) who, bringing up the horse with a full carrier, cried out, 'On, on, let us make our way upon the bellies of these Genoese, who do but hinder us;' and instantly pricks on through the midst of them, followed by the Dukes of Lorrain and Savoy, never staying till he came up to the English battalion, wherein our gallant prince commanded. This fiery young count (contrary to good discipline) had also otherwise disobliged them, by disgraceful speeches even when they were ready to join battle.

These French gallants, being thus mingled amongst them, were very many of them overthrown and slain by the English arrows, which equally brought to destruction both French and Genoese, shooting thickest where the crowd and confusion was greatest. Some rascals also that followed the English army, as they saw opportunity, stepped in among them, and helped to cut their throats, sparing neither lord nor lozel.

The French men at arms, half out of breath with their post-haste, and terribly disordered by the perpetual storms of our whistling arrows, were now at handy strokes with the prince's battalion; neither was it long before the bright battle-axes, glittering swords, and lances, and such like other English weapons, had changed their hue, being covered

over with human gore, which, having thirstily drank out of the enemies wounds, let drop in bloody tears to the ground.

The fight was sharp and fierce, whilst each strove for victory. But here may not be forgotten the high resolution and valour of the King of Bohemia, who (as only seeking an honourable grave for his old age) thrust himself into the first ranks of his own horsemen, and, with full carrier charging the English, was slain with his sword in hand, the troop of his faithful followers, with their slaughtered bodies, covering him even in death; this was soon seen by the fall of the Bohemian standard, whereupon his son Charles (who was lately elected Emperor of Germany, whilst King Lewis was yet alive) wisely took care for his own safety, by a timely retreat, when he saw the case desperate.

Now was King Philip himself in person, with the full power of his army, come to the rescue of his brother and friends, who, while they had breath, were fighting hard for their hoped for victory; but, finding the English valour far beyond what they expected, they were beaten to the earth in great numbers, so that the carnage was very great. Yet was not our brave prince without danger, though now the second battalion of the English for the preservation of their prince, rushing in among their enemies, fought most courageously.

Our King Edward all this while was standing upon a windmill-hill, with his helmet on, which never came off till all was ended, judiciously watching, beholding the whole field, to see how all things went, and ready to bring down his army, which stood about him like a black hovering in a cloud, when just necessity should require it. The prince, in the mean time, being hard put to it, having the whole power of France against him, some of the nobles, sensible of his danger, sent to the king, requesting his presence for the aid of his son in this necessity. The king asked the messenger, whether his son was slain or hurt? And when they answered, no, but that he was like to be overpowered with the multitude of his enemies, "Well then, said the king, go back to them "that sent you, and tell them, that, so long as my son is alive, they "send no more to me, whatever happen; for I will that the honour of "this day shall be his, if God permit him to survive, and that he shall "either win his spurrs, or lose his life."

This message, though it carried not back men to assist, yet it inspired such new life and spirits into the English, that they fought like lions, as resolving either to conquer or die. On the other side, King Philip, whose kingdom lay at stake, performed the duty of a good general and gallant soldier, fighting so long in his own person, till his horse was killed under him, himself twice dismounted, and wounded both in the neck and thigh, and near being trodden to death, had not the Lord John of Hainault, Earl of Beaumont, rescued and remounted him; the French also about him, out of a loyal desire of his preservation, almost against his will, conveighed him out of the field, who rather seemed desirous to end his days in so noble company.

The king being departed out of the field, and the matter being divulged in both armies, it soon put a period to this bloody medly, wherein, as yet, none were taken to mercy, but all were put to the sword. The French king himself, with a small company, got to Bray

in the night, and approaching the walls, and the guard asking who was there? He answered, 'The Fortune of France.' By his voice he was known, and thereupon received into the town, with the tears and lamentations of his people. The rest of his army sought to save themselves by flight, whom the English, warily fighting upon the defensive, and loth to hazard so glorious a victory, by breaking their ranks to pursue the enemy too far in the night, which was now come on, suffered them to be followed only by their own fears, contenting themselves to make good their ground, by standing still upon their guard, according to the rules of true martial discipline, knowing that there were so many of the enemy escaped, as might yet serve to overwhelm their weary army with their multitude.

Our King Edward, seeing the coast for the present cleared of all his enemies, came down from the hill with his intire battalion towards his victorious son, and, most affectionately embracing and kissing him, said, "Fair son, God send you good perseverance to such prosperous begin-"nings; you have acquitted yourself right nobly, and are well worthy "to have a kingdom intrusted with your government for your valour." To which the most noble and magnanimous of princes replied with silence, most humbly falling on his knees at the feet of his triumphant father.

As for other things concerning this famous victory, I refer my reader to my narrative of it, in the Life and Death of King Edward the Third; contenting myself here only to describe it, so far forth as our noble prince was therein a prime actor, and without which I could not have given a just account of his life.

Immediately after this victory, our king marched with his army through France, and sat down before Calais. But, as the splendor of the sun darkens the stars, so did the presence of the father obscure the actions and virtues of the son, that I read no more of him till the year 1355. At which time our king was informed, that John, the now King of France, his father Philip being dead, had given the duchy of Aquitain to Charles the Dauphin; whereupon King Edward, being much incensed, conferred the same upon his own son, the Prince of Wales, commanding him to defend his right therein with the sword against his adversaries.

He was also appointed, by parliament, to go into Gascoigne with a thousand men at arms, two thousand archers, and a great number of Welchmen, who accompanied their prince. And in June following he set forward with three hundred sail of ships, attended with the Earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, and Oxford, and the Lords Chandois, Audley, Beaufort, Lisle, with Sir Robert Knowles, Sir Francis Hall, and many others.

With these arriving in Aquitain, he betook himself to do things worthy of his name and courage. He did wonders in France; for, with his victorious army, he recovered multitudes of towns and prisoners: he entered Guienne, passed over Languedoc to Tholouse, Narbonne, and Bruges, without any encounter, sacks, spoils and destroys where he goes, and loaden, with booties, returns to Bourdeaux. In the mean time, the French king gathered all the power he possibly could,

and the prince (the winter being spent) sets forth upon a new expedition.

He had in his army about eight thousand brave expert and well disciplined soldiers, and with them he advanced through Perigort and Limosin, into the bosom of France, even up to the very gates of Bruges in Berry, the terror of his name flying before, to his great advantage. Thus satisfied for the present, he wheeled about with purpose to return by Remorantine in Blasois, which town he took, and so through the country of Tourain, Poictou, and Xantoigne, to his chief city of Bourdeaux. But John, King of France, having assembled a great and compleat army, followed close, and about the city of Poictiers overtook our invincible prince.

When the armies, with the odds of six to one against the English, drew near each other, two cardinals, sent from Pope Clement, mediated, as they had done before, to take up the quarrel. But the French king, supposing that he had his enemy now at his mercy, would accept of no other conditions, but that the prince should deliver him four hostages, and, as vanquished, render up himself and his army to his discretion. The prince was content to restore unto him all the places which he had taken from him, but without prejudice to his honour, wherein, he said, he stood accountable to his father and his country. But the French king would abate nothing of his former demands, as being assured of the victory, as he supposed; and therefore was ready instantly to set upon the prince, who, seeing himself reduced to this strait, took what advantages he could of the ground, and by his diligence got the benefit of certain vines, shrubs, and bushes, upon that part where he was like to be assaulted, whereby to pester and entangle the French horse, which he saw was ready to come furiously upon him.

The success answered his expectation; for the cavalry of his enemy, in their full carrier, were so entangled and incumbered among the vines, that the prince's archers galled and annoyed them at their pleasure. For the French king, to give the honour of the day to his cavalry, made use of them only, without the help of his infantry; hence it was that, they being disordered, and put to rout, his whole army came to be utterly defeated. Here, if ever, the prince and his English gave full proof of their valour and undaunted courage, never giving over till they had wholly routed all the three French battalions, the least of which exceeded all the prince's numbers. The king himself, fighting valiantly, and Philip his youngest son, who by such his boldness and zeal defended his distressed father, as it purchased him the honourable surname of Hardy, were taken prisoners.

Those of the prince's side, whose valour and great deeds were most conspicuous, were the Earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, Oxford, and Stafford; the Lords Chandois, Cobham, Spencer, Audley, Berkley, Basset, &c. and of Gascoigne, subjects to the crown of England, the Capital de Beuf, the Lords Lumiere, Chaumont, with others of inferior title, but not of unequal valour; among others, James, Lord Audley, won immortal renown at this bloody battle, in which he received many wounds, and was rewarded by the noble prince with a gift of

five hundred marks, land in fee-simple in England, which he divided among his four esquires, who had stood by him in all the fury and brunt of the battle; hereupon the prince asked him, if he accepted not of his gift? He answered, that these men had deserved it as well as himself, and needed it more. With which reply the prince was so well pleased, that he gave five hundred marks more in the same kind. A rare example, where desert in the subject, and reward in the prince, strove which should be the greater. This Lord Audley, having vowed to be foremost in the fight, made good his words accordingly.

It was the misfortune, or rather the glory of the French nobles in these disasterous times, that the loss fell ever heavily upon them; for, in this great overthrow and carnage, by their own confession, there fell fifty-two lords, and about seventeen hundred knights, esquires, and gentlemen, that bore coats of arms; among the knights were fifty-two bannerets. The chief among the slain were Peter of Bourbon, Duke of Athens, the High-Constable of France; John de Clermont, marshal; Jeffery de Charmy, high-chamberlain; the Bishop of Chalons, the Lords of Landas, of Pons, and of Chambly. Sir Reginald Camian, who that day carried the auriflamb, was slain also, and as many others as made up the former number; and of the common soldiers there died about six thousand. So wonderfully did the great God of battles fight for the English in those days.

There escaped from this bloody battle three of the French king's sons, for he brought them all with him, Charles, Prince of Dauphin, Lewis, afterwards Duke of Anjou, and John, Duke of Berry; all of them great actors in the times following.

The French prisoners taken were John, King of France, and Philip, his son, afterwards Duke of Burgoine; the Archbishop of Sens; James of Bourbon, Earl of Ponthieu; John of Artois, Earl of Eu; Charles, his brother, Earl of Longueville; Charles, Earl of Vendosme; the Earls Tankerville, Salbruch, Nassaw, Dampmartin, La Roche; the Counts of Vaudemont, Estampes, and John de Ceintre, accounted the best knights of France, and many other great lords; and about two thousand knights, esquires, and gentlemen that bore coats of arms; and in this expedition the English took an hundred ensigns.

But here great contention arose between many, who should be the man that took King John prisoner. The prince wisely commanded them to forbear, till they came into England, where, the matter being heard, it was adjudged by King John's own testimony, that one Sir Denis Morbeck, of St. Omer's, had taken him prisoner; for which service the prince rewarded him with a thousand marks.

And now, though King John had the hard hap to fall into the hands of an enemy, yet he had the happiness to fall into the hands of a noble enemy. For Prince Edward, having conquered his person by force of battle, now strove to overcome his mind, by his humble deportment, expressing himself in a language so ponderous, humble, grave, and natural, and yet so stately, as none but the best soul, adorned with the best education, was able to have performed. And, the next day, causing the chaplains, and the other priests in the army, to celebrate divine service, he put off from himself the whole glory of victory, and

most devoutly gave it unto God; after which, in the sight and hearing of the prisoners, he highly commended and heartily thanked his soldiers, with speeches full of life and affection, sealing his words to every one with bountiful large fees as his present means would permit. Mr. May, in his Edward the Third, sets forth this battle excellently in these words:

——————— The first hot charge
The valiant lord, renowned Audley, gave;
Who, to perform a noble vow, in deeds
Almost the prowess of a man exceeds;
And, like the stroke of Jove's resistless thunder,
Shoots forth, and breaks the strongest ranks asunder.
Here, in the thickest throng of enemies,
Like Thracian Mars himself, Black Edward plies
Death's fatal task. Here noble Warwick gives
A furious onset; there brave Suffolk strives
T' out-go the foremost: emulation's fire
Is kindled now, and blazes high: desire
Of honour drowns all other passions there:
Not in the chiefs alone; each soldier
In that small army feels bright honour's flame,
And labours to maintain his proper fame.
Ne'er was a battle through all parts so fought,
Nor such high wonders by a handful wrought.
Bright victory, that soar'd above, beheld
How every English hand throughout the field
Was stain'd with blood, amaz'd to see the day,
And that so few should carry her away.
The fields no more their verdure can retain,
Enforced now to take their purple stain,
And be obscur'd with slaughter, while the wounds
Of France manure her own unhappy grounds;
Where, mixed with plebeian funerals,
Her greatest princes die: there Bourbon falls,
And Marshal Clermont welters in his gore;
There noble Charney's beaten down, that bore
The standard royal that sad day. here dies
Athens great duke; there valiant Eustace lies,
Who, as a badge of highest honour, wore
A chaplet of bright pearls, that had before
(Won by King Edward, in a skirmish, near
To Calais he was taken prisoner)
As testimony of his prowess shew'd,
Been by that royal enemy bestow'd.
Great are the French battalia's, and, in room
Of those that fall, so oft fresh soldiers come.
So oft the bloody fight's renew'd, that now
The English weary with subduing grow,
And 'gin to faint, oppress'd with odds so great;
When, lo! to make the victory compleat,

Six hundred bowmen (whom to that intent,
Before the battle, the brave prince had sent
Abroad well mounted) now come thund'ring o'er
The field, and charge the French behind so sore,
As with confusion did distract them quite;
And now an execution, not a fight
Ensues. All routed, that great army flies,
A prey to their pursuing enemies.
What his dishearten'd battle, Orleans
Forsakes the field; with him the heir of France,
Young Charles of Normandy, and thousands moe,
Not overthrown, but frighted by the foe.
Nor are the English, tho' enow to gain
The day, enow in number to maintain
So great a chace; and not so well suffice
To follow, as subdue their enemies.
Nor yet (which more declar'd the conquest sent
From heaven alone, to strike astonishment
In over-weening mortals, and to shew,
Without that help, how little man can do)
Are all the English, conquerors in the field,
Enow to take so many French as yield;
Nor to receive the prisoners, that come:
Tho' some in fields are ransom'd, and sent home,
Yet more from thence are captive borne away,
Than are the hands that won so great a day, &c.

And now, though King John had the unhappiness to fall into the hands of an enemy, yet that, which alleviated his affliction, was, that he fell into the hands of a noble enemy; for Prince Edward used him with such respect and observance, that he could not find much difference between his captivity and liberty. Mr. May gives us this narrative of it:

The chace together with the day was done,
And all return'd: in his pavilion
Brave Edward feasts his royal prisoner;
At which, as noble did the prince appear,
As erst in battle; and, by sweetness won
As great a conquest, as his sword had done.
No fair respect, or honour, that might chear
That king's afflicted breast, was wanting there.
No reverence, nor humble courtesy,
That might preserve his state and dignity,
But Edward shew'd at full; and, at the feast,
In person waited on his captive guest.
But what content, what object fit could fate
Present, to comfort such a changed state?
——————————— For him,
Whose state the morning sun had seen so high,
This night beholds in sad captivity;

His restless passions, rolling to and fro,
No calm admit: when thus his noble foe,
Prince Edward, spake: (great king, for such you are
In my thoughts still, whate'er the chance of war
Hath lately wrought against you here) forgive
Your humble kinsman's service, if I strive
To ease your sorrow, and presume to do,
What is too much for me, to counsel you.
Do not deject your princely thoughts, or think
The martial fame, that you have gain'd, can sink
In one successless field; or too much fear
Your nation's honour should be tainted here.
Men's strength and honours we most truly try,
Where fields are fought with most equality.
But God was pleas'd to make this day's success
The more miraculous, that we the less
Might challenge to ourselves, and humbly know,
That, in so great and strange an overthrow,
Some secret judgment of our God was wrought,
And that the sword of heaven, not England, fought, &c.
And, for yourself, great king, all history,
That shall hereafter to the world make known
Th' event of Poictiers battle, shall renown
Your personal prowess, which appear'd so high,
As justly seem'd to challenge victory,
Had not God's secret providence oppos'd,
But, though his will (great sir) hath thus dispos'd,
Your state remains; your person and your fame
Shall, in my humble thoughts, be still the same:
And, till my father see your face, to shew,
How he respects your worth and state, to you,
As to himself, were he in person here,
In all observance Edward shall appear.
The noble king, a while amaz'd to see
Victorious youth so full of courtesy,
At last replies: brave cousin, you have shown
Yourself a man built up for true renown;
And, as in action of the wars, to be
This age's Phœnix in humanity.
Why do you wrong me thus, as to enthrall
Me doubly? Not insulting o'er my fall,
You rob me, cousin, of that sole renown,
Which I, though vanquish'd, might have made my own,
To bear adversity. I might have shew'd,
Had you been proud, a passive fortitude;
And let the world, though I am fallen, see
What spirit I had in scorning misery.
But you have robb'd me of that honour now,
And I am bound in honour to allow

That noble theft, content (since such are you)
To be your captive, and your debtor too;
And, since my stars ordain'd a king of France,
Arm'd with such odds, so great a puissance,
Must in a fatal field be lost, to raise
So great a trophy to another's praise,
I am best pleas'd it should advance thy story,
And John's dishonour be Prince Edward's glory.

After the battle, which was fought on the nineteenth-day of September, anno Christi 1357, Prince Edward led King John and the captive nobles prisoners to Bourdeaux, the Archiepiscopal see and chief city of his dominions in France, where he retained them till the spring following; but sent present news of this victory to his father, who thereupon took speedy order, by Simon, Archbishop of Canterbury, that a thanksgiving should be celebrated all over England, for eight days together.

The prince, having sufficiently rested and refreshed his people, the May following set sail for England with his prisoners, and safely arrived at Plymouth, and was with great joy and acclamations received every where. At his coming to London, where, at that time, a magnificent citizen, Henry Picard (he who afterwards, at one time, so nobly feasted the four Kings of England, France, Scotland, and Cyprus) was lord mayor, who received him with all imaginable honour. And the multitude of people, that came to see the victorious prince, with the King of France, his son Philip, and the other prisoners, was so great, that they could hardly get to Westminster between three o'clock in the morning and twelve at noon. Great Edward, saving that he forgat not the majesty of a conqueror, and of a King of England, omitted no kind of noble courtesy towards the prisoners. King John and his son were lodged under a safeguard at the Savoy, which was then a goodly palace belonging unto Henry, duke of Lancaster; and the other prisoners in other places.

Some time after, Prince Edward, by dispensation, was married to the countess of Kent, daughter to Edmund, brother to King Edward the second, and his father invested him with the Duchy of Aquitain; so that he was now Prince of Wales, Duke of Aquitain, Duke of Cornwal, and Earl of Chester and Kent; and, not long after, he, with his beloved wife, passed over into France, and kept his court at Bourdeaux.

The prince of Wales was now grown famous over all the Christian world, and the man to whom all wronged princes seemed to appeal, and to fly for succour. For which end, there came at this time to his court James, King of Majorca, and Richard, King of Navarre, just when his beloved lady brought him a son, for whom these two kings undertook at his baptism, giving him the name of Richard.

The companies of soldiers, most of whose captains were English, either by birth or obedience, wanting employment, because the wars of Britain were quieted for the present, ranged tumultuously up and down France. But, about this time, Sir Bertram de Glequin (having paid his ransom) found employment for them, drawing the greatest part of that military pestilence into another coast: for, by the assistance of Peter, King of Arragon, and the power of Glequin, with his floating bands,

called The Companions, or Adventurers, Peter, King of Castile and Leon, a cruel tyrant, was driven out of his kingdom, his bastard brother, Henry, being chosen in his room, and crowned King of Spain at Burgos.

This Peter was son to Alphonsus the eleventh, King of Castile, and had to wife a French lady, called Blanch, daughter to Peter, duke of Bourbon, who was father also of Joan, the French king's wife. His tyrannical cruelties were so many and so foul, that the Spanish stories scarce suffer Nero, or Caligula, to go beyond him; for which, by his subjects he was deposed, and his brother Henry (as is said before) was substituted and crowned in his room.

Peter, thus driven out of his kingdom, by the aid of the French, applied himself to Prince Edward, craving his assistance for his restitution, making many and large promises to him upon the accomplishment thereof. And the prince, partly out of charity to succour a distressed prince, and partly out of policy to keep his soldiers in exercise, having first sent to his father, and gotten his leave, marched with a gallant army of thirty-thousand men (burning with desire of renown) upon confidence of good pay for his men, and other commodities, when Peter should be re-established upon his throne.

He made his way through the famous streights of Rouncevallux, in Navarre, by permission of the king thereof, who yet suffered himself to be taken prisoner, and carried into Castile, that he might not seem to cross the French king's designs, who favoured Henry, the usurper.

Our prince had in his company, besides most of all the principal captains of the English, two kings, Peter of Castile, whose the quarrel was, and the King of Majorca: as also John, Duke of Lancaster, who, some while after Don Pedro's death, having married his eldest daughter, wrote himself King of Castile and Leon.

On the other side, King Henry, for the defence of his new kingdom, had amassed together a very great army, consisting partly of French, under Glequin, their famous captain, and of Castilians and others, both Christians and Saracens, to the number of about an hundred thousand: and, upon the borders of Castile, it came to a bloody battle, wherein the valiant Prince of Wales obtained a very great victory, having slain many thousands of his enemies. Henry himself, fighting valiantly, was wounded in the groin, but yet escaped. There were taken prisoners the Earl of Dene, Bertram de Glequin (who yet shortly after, by paying a great ransom, was set at liberty) the Mashal Dandrehen, and many others. Neither was this victory less worth to Peter, than a kingdom; for our most noble prince left him not, till at Burgos he had set him upon his throne again.

But this unworthy king's falshood and ingratitude were odious and monstrous. For the prince, notwithstanding his so great goodness extended to him, was forced to return to Bourdeaux, without money, wherewith to pay his army; which was the cause of exceeding great mischiefs to himself, and the English dominions beyond the seas, as if God had been displeased with his succouring such a tyrant. The prince himself, though he came back with victory, yet he brought back with him such a craziness, and indisposition of body, that he was never thoroughly well after. And no marvel, considering the country, the

season, and the action itself; and it may be more marvelled, that his soldiers came home so well, than that he came home so ill.

Being now returned, there was presently, to his indisposition of body, added discontentment of mind. For, not having money wherewith to pay his soldiers, he was forced to wink at that which he could not choose but see, and seeing to grieve at. For they preyed upon the country, for which the country murmured against him. And, now to stop this murmuring, his chancellor, the Bishop of Rhodes, devised a new imposition of levying a frank for every chimney, and this to continue for five years, to pay the prince's debts.

But this imposition, though granted in parliament, made the murmuring to be increased. For, though some part of his dominions, as the Poictorians, the Xantoigns, and the Limosins, in a sort consented to it, yet the court of Armigniac, the Count of Cominges, the Viscount of Carmain, and divers others, so much distasted it, that they complained thereof to the King of France, as unto their supreme lord: pretending that the prince was to answer before King Charles, as before his superior lord, of whom, they said, he held by homage and fealty; whereas King Edward and his heirs, by the treaty at Bretagne, were absolutely freed from all manner of service for any of their dominions in France; King Charles did openly entertain this complaint, and hoping to regain, by surprize and policy, what the English had won by dint of sword, and true manhood, he proceeded to summon the Prince of Wales to Paris, there to answer to such complaints as his subjects made against him.

Our stout prince returned for answer, 'That, if he must needs appear, he would bring threescore-thousand men in arms to appear with him.' And now began the peace, between England and France, to be unsettled and wavering. For, while our King Edward rejoiced in the excellent virtues and actions of his sons and people, Charles, the French King, warned by so many calamities as his dominions had sustained by the English in fair war, and withal earnestly coveting to recover the honour of his nation, betook himself wholly to secret practices and designs: never adventuring his own person in the field, but executing all by his deputies and lieutenants, especially by the valour and service of Bertram de Glequin, constable of France, who, from a low estate, was raised to this height, for his prudent and magnanimous conduct in war. And our truly noble king, without suspicion of craft, reposing himself upon the rules of virtue and magnanimity, did not reap the stable effects of so great and important victories, nor of the peace so ceremoniously made, that, in the world's opinion, it could not be broken, without the manifest violation, upon one side, of all bonds both divine and human.

The Prince of Wales by letters advised his father not to trust to any fair words, or overtures of further amity, made by the French, because, as he said, they entertained practices underhand in every place against him: but his counsel was not hearkened to, because he was judged to write thus out of a restless humour, delighting in war, though the event shewed that his words were true. For now King Charles having, by quick payments, and by one means or other, gotten home all the hostages which had been pledged for the performance of the articles of peace, set all his wits on work to abuse the King of England's credulity. He

courted him with loving letters and presents, while in the mean time his plots were ripened abroad, and he surprised the county of Ponthieu, our king's undeniable inheritance, before King Edward heard thereof.

King Edward hereupon calls a parliament, declares the breach, craves aid, and hath it granted; and then again claims the crown of France, and sent over his son John, Duke of Lancaster, and Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, with a great army to Calais to invade France.

Among the states and towns made over to the English at the treaty of Bretagne, which had revolted to the French, was the city of Limosin: thither did the Prince march, and sat down with his army before it: and, not long after, came unto him, out of England, his two brethren, the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Cambridge, with a fresh supply of valiant captains and soldiers. The city stood it out to the uttermost, and was at last taken by storm, where no mercy was shewed by the inraged soldiers, but the sword and fire laid all desolate: after this service, the prince's health failing him more and more, he left his brethren in Aquitain to prosecute the wars, and himself, taking ship, came over to his father in England, his eldest son, Edward, being dead a little before at Bourdeaux, and brought over with him his wife and his other son Richard.

The prince having left France, his dominions were either taken away, or fell away faster than they were gotten; Gueschlin entered Poictou, took Montmorillon, Chauvigny, Lussack, and Moncontour. Soon after followed the country of Aulnis, of Xantoigne, and the rest of Poictou: then St. Maxent, Neel, Aulnay: then Benaon, Marant, Surgers, Fontency, and at last they came to Thouras, where the most part of the lords of Poictou, that held with the prince, were assembled. At this time the king, Prince Edward, the Duke of Lancaster, and all the great lords of England set forward for their relief: but, being driven back by a tempest, and succour not coming, Thouras was yielded up upon composition. In fine, all Poictou was lost, and then Aquitain, all, but only Bourdeaux and Bayonne. And not long after Prince Edward died, and with him the fortune of England. He was a prince so full of virtues as were scarce matchable by others. He died at Canterbury upon Trinity-Sunday, June 8, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the forty-ninth of his father's reign, and was buried in Christ's-Church there, Anno Christi, 1376.

Among all the gallant men of that age, this our prince was so worthily the first, that,

Longe erit a primo quisque secundus erit.

He had a sumptuous monument erected for him, upon which this Epitaph was engraven in brass, in French thus Englished:

'Here lieth the noble Prince Monsieur Edward, the eldest son of the 'thrice noble King Edward the Third, in former time, Prince of 'Aquitain, and of Wales, Duke of Cornwal, and Earl of Chester, who 'died on the feast of the Trinity, which was the eight of June, in the 'year of grace, 1376. To the soul of whom, God grant mercy. Amen.'

After which were added these verses in French, thus translated, according to the homely poetry of those times:

Who so thou art that passest by,
Where these corpse entombed lie:
Understand what I shall say,
As, at this time, speak I may.
Such as thou art, sometime was I:
Such as I am, such shalt thou be.
I little thought on th' hour of death,
So long as I enjoyed breath.
Great riches here I did possess,
Whereof I made great nobleness.
I had gold, silver, wardrobes, and
Great treasures, horses, houses, land.
But now a caitiff poor am I,
Deep in the ground, lo here I lie:
My beauty great is all quite gone,
My flesh is wasted to the bone:
My house is narrow now, and throng;
Nothing but truth comes from my tongue.
And, if you should see me this day,
I do not think but ye would say,
That I had never been a man,
So much altered now I am.
For God's sake, pray to the heavenly king†,
That he my soul to heaven would bring.
All they that pray and make accord
For me unto my God and Lord;
God place them in his paradise,
Wherein no wretched caitiff lies.

The death of this prince, saith Daniel in his History of England, was a heavy loss to the state, being a prince of whom we never heard no ill, never received any other note but of goodness, and the noblest performance that magnanimity and wisdom could ever shew, insomuch as what praise could be given to virtue, is due to him.

† See the ignorance and superstition of those times, and bless God for our clearer light.

FOUR FOR A PENNY:

OR,

POOR ROBIN'S CHARACTER OF AN UNCONSCIONABLE PAWN-BROKER,

And Ear-mark of an oppressing Tally-Man:

WITH A FRIENDLY DESCRIPTION OF A

BUM-BAILEY, AND HIS MERCILESS SETTING-CUR, OR FOLLOWER. WITH ALLOWANCE.

London, printed for L. C. 1678. Quarto, containing eight pages.

WE here present you, gentlemen, with a parcel of beasts of prey, worse than ever Africk bred; and more unclean than any that entered into Noah's ark; yet cloven footed in imitation of their sire; and all so superlative in their kinds, that each may dispute for precedency: only, for method-sake, we shall begin with the most sly and dangerous.

An unconscionable pawn-broker (for there are conscionable dealers in that way, that are a relief and comfort to the poor; and those are not concerned in this character:) an unconscionable pawn-broker, I say, is Pluto's factor, old Nick's warehouse-keeper, an English Jew that lives and grows fat on fraud and oppression, as toads, on filth and venom; whose practice outvies usury, as much as incest simple fornication; and to call him, a tradesman, must be by the same figure, that pickpockets stile their legerdemain, an art and mystery. His shop, like hell gates, is always open, where he sits at the receipt of custom, like Cacus in his den, ready to devour all that is brought him; and, having gotten your spoils, hangs them up in rank and file, as so many trophies of victory. Hither all sorts of garments resort in pilgrimage, whilst he, playing the pimp, lodges the tabby-petticoat and russet-breeches together in the same bed of lavender.

He is the treasurer of the thieves exchequer, the common fender of all bulkers and shop-lifts in the town. To this purpose, he keeps a private warehouse, and ships away the ill gotten goods by wholesale: dreading nothing so much, as that a convict should honestly confess how he disposed the moveables. He is a kind of disease quite contrary to the gout; for, as that haunts the rich, so this mainly torments the poor, and scarce leaves them so much as a primitive fig-leaf to cover their nakedness. Mrs. Joan, when she is minded to see her sweet-heart, and Gammar Blue blottle going to a christening, muster up the pence, on the Saturday night to redeem their best riggings out of captivity; but, on Monday morning, infallibly bring them back (like thieves that had only made an escape) to the old Limbus; and this so often, till, at last,

they know the way, and can go to pawn alone by themselves. Thus they are forced to purchase the same cloaths seven times over; and, for want of a chest to keep them in at home, it costs thrice as much as they are worth for their lodging in his custody. When they come in, like other prisoners, they first pay garnish, the two-pences for entrance-money; after this, six-pence a month for every twenty shillings lent, which yet indeed is but nineteen shillings and six-pence; that is, according to their reckoning of thirteen months to the year, six shillings and six-pence interest, for one pound for a year; which makes thirty-three pounds, six shillings, and eight-pence in the hundred, viz. One third part of the principal, and just twenty-seven pounds, six shillings, and eight-pence more than the statute allows; besides twelve-pence for a bill of sale, if the matter be considerable. So that, since they never lend half the value on any thing that is brought them, if a pawn-broker lay out a hundred pounds, he first makes near forty pounds, per annum, advantage certain, as aforesaid: and then considering how many thieves, &c. (their chief customers that bring the lumping bargains) never intend to redeem, and how many poor are not able, especially since, as soon as the year and day expire, they presently dispose their pawns, or pretend to do so; we may reasonably conclude that these horse-leeches make cent. per cent. at least of their money in a year: and all this by a course tending only to the encouragement of thieves, and ruin of those that are honest, but indigent.

Near of kin to these caterpillars is the unconscionable tally-man, but a little more adventurous, and dealing so much in wood, that it is supposed his deserts may entitle him to die on a leafless tree. He is one that eateth up the poor, to use a sacred phrase, even as bread, and yet under a charitable pretence of serving and accommodating them: for he lets them have ten shillings worth of sorry commodities, or scarce so much, on security given to pay him twenty shillings by twelve-pence a week. Then his wandering Mephistophilus, with the bundle of rattles, whom we may call the devil's rent-gatherer, haunts them more diligently, than a revengeful ghost does a murderer, or a tormenting conscience, a traytor: and, if they happen to fail the first or second week, snaps them or their security, and makes them, forthwith, pay the utmost farthing; alledging, now their former agreement was void. We have nothing to do with those, that deal according to conscience.

There is yet another pack of the charitable vermin, that make it their business to lend money by the week. This crafty extortioner commonly keeps a blind ale-house; and you must first, besides a world of compliments, spend two or three shillings at several times, before he be at leisure, or money comes in, or that you can persuade him to like your security; at least you get but eighteen shillings, for every twenty shillings; but must give bond (and him twelve-pence for making it) to repay full twenty shillings at two shillings per week: who, in case of failure, takes the first advantage to be as kind to you, as the last gentleman. And so by these subtleties, and continual returns, they likewise make much more than double of their money in a year's time, as by exact calculation may appear.

These are the Nimrods, the private hunters, in this vast forest of chim-

nies, that draw the poor into their nets, and pick them to the very bone. But the bandogs, that they make use of, are the bum-bailey and his setting-cur: the first, a kind of excrescence of the law, like our nails, made only to scratch and claw; a sort of birdlime, where he lays hold, he hangs; a raven that pecks not out men's eyes, as others do, but all his spite is at their shoulders; and you had better have the night-mare ride you, than this incubus. He is one of Deucalion's by-blows, begotten of a stone, and has taken an oath never to pity widow or orphan. His first business is to bait you for money for his confounded civility; next, to call for drink, as fast as men for buckets of water in a conflagration: after which, becoming grave and serious, he advises you, in revenge, to arrest the plaintiff, and offers to do it, with, or without cause; it is all one to him, if he perceive you have money. His follower is an hanger, that he wears by his side; a false dye of the same bale, but not the same cut; for it runs somewhat higher, inflames the reckoning, and so does more mischief. He is a tumbler that drives in the conies; but is yet but a bungler, and knows not how to cut up a man, without tearing, unless by a pattern. This is the hook, that hangs under water to choak the fish, and his officer the quill above, which pops down as soon as ever the bait is swallowed. Though differing in degree, they are both much of a complexion, only the teeth of this latter are more sharp, and he more hungry, because he does but snap, and hath not his full half-share of the booty. A main part of his office is to swear and bluster at their trembling prisoners, and cry, 'Confound us, why do we wait? Let us shop him;' whilst the other meekly replies, 'Jack, be patient, it is a civil gentleman, and I know, will consider us;' which species of wheedling, in terms of their art, is called sweeten and pinch. The eyes of these wolves are as quick in their head, as a cutpurse's in a throng; and as nimble are they at their business, as an hangman at an execution. They will court a broken pate to heal it with a plaister of green-wax. and suck more silver out of a wound, than a surgeon. Yet, as these eels are generally bred out of the mud of a bankrupt, so they commonly die with their guts ripped up, or are decently run through the lungs; and, as they lived hated, die unpitied. We speak here of those only that abuse the intentions of the law, and act oppression under the colour of serving common justice.

THE

GRAND DESIGNS OF THE PAPISTS,

IN THE

REIGN OF OUR LATE SOVEREIGN CHARLES THE FIRST,

And now carried on against

His present Majesty, his Government, and the Protestant Religion.

Imprimatur. Guil. Jane, Nov. 2, 1678.

London, printed by Henry Hills, anno 1678. Quarto, containing forty pages.

TO THE READER.

He must needs be a man of very slender observation and acquaintance in the world, who is surprised and startled at the news of plots and conspiracies against princes, contrived and managed by the restless emissaries of the church of Rome. 'There is no new thing under the sun,' says the wise man. And, as to the present case, we may defy the greatest villain of the whole order of Jesuits to form any design, however black and execrable, barbarous and inhuman, which shall be any other than the unavoidable result of their avowed principles, which we may gather from their writings, and the repetition of their known practices, which stand upon record in the histories of former ages. This truth has been convincingly demonstrated by our Protestant writers in both the parts of it; insomuch that the Romish factors, instead of denying the charge, have begun to save us all further trouble, by giving fresh proof of it themselves: and, by a late traiterous design against his majesty's person and government, have endeavoured to confirm our assertions, by a sad and direful experience: as thinking, perhaps, that new massacres are the most effectual course to stop the cry of the old, and that the readiest way to silence their adversaries, is, to make them instances of the truth of the accusation.

It is not the design of these papers, to give an account of the discovery of the late plot, but only to present the reader with the narrative of another against his majesty's royal father, of blessed memory, so exactly resembling this, which now lies under examination, that it can hardly be called another, being nothing else but the same thing acted over again, only with the necessary alteration of the circumstances of time, place, and persons.

I will not here undertake to make out the parallel, which is so obvious to be discerned, in almost all the circumstances of the story. The only use, I shall at present make of it, is briefly this, viz. from hence to understand, who were the chief promoters of the late troubles, and the most pernicious enemies to that royal martyr. The Sectaries, indeed, were the most visible and notorious, but they were neither the only, nor the principal actors in the conspiracy; the Jesuits can never sit out, when such great transactions, as rebellions and regicide, are going forward. And, however the Papist and Fanatick are of contrary factions, interests, and inclinations, yet it is natural enough, that they may both conspire, though with a different intent, to promote and carry on the very same design.

We have here a full discovery made to us where our danger lies; nor are the Roman practices ever the less mischievous, though usually managed in a way more secret and undiscerned. What is now secretly practised, in colleges and corners, shall, whenever opportunity serves them, be openly acted in the face of the sun. What has been once done, may be done again. And let us not flatter ourselves, that we can have any security from that sort of men, who can readily break through all obligations of gratitude or religion, for propagating their cause, though by a massacre, or a powder-plot, by the murder of a king, or the subversion of a kingdom. The Lord, in his mercy, awaken us to see our danger, and, in his good time, make us a way to escape it; and grant, that we may all, in this our day, know the things that belong unto our peace, before they be hid from our eyes.

WHO, and what the author of this discovery was; who the chief active instruments in the plot; when, and where they assembled; in what vigorous manner they daily prosecuted it; how effectually they proceeded in it; how difficult it is to dissolve, or counter-work it, without special diligence, the relation itself will best discover; whose verity, if any question, these reasons will inforce belief:

First, That the discoverer was a chief actor in this plot, sent hither from Rome by Cardinal Barbarino, to assist Con, the pope's legate, in the pursuit of it, and privy to all the particulars therein discovered.

Secondly, That the horror, and reality of the conspiracy, so troubled his conscience, as it engaged him to disclose it, yea, to renounce that

bloody church and religion which contrived it, though bred up in, preferred by it, and promised greater advancements for his diligence in this design.

Thirdly, That he discovered it under an oath of secrecy, and offered to confirm every particular by solemn oath.

Fourthly, That he discovers the persons principally employed in this plot, the places and times of their secret conventions, their manner and diligence in the pursuit of it, with all other circumstances, so punctually, as leaves no place for doubt.

Fifthly, The principal conspirators, nominated by him, are notoriously known to be fit instruments for such a wicked design.

Sixthly, Many particulars therein have immediate relation to the king and archbishop, to whom he imparted this discovery, and durst not reveal any thing for truth, which they could disprove on their own knowledge.

Seventhly, Sir William Boswel, and the archbishop, if not the king himself, were fully satisfied that it was real, and most important.

Eighthly, Some particulars are ratified by the archbishop's testimony, in the memorials of his own life, written with his own hand some years before; and others so apparent, that most intelligent men in court, or city, were acquainted with them whilst they were acting, though ignorant of the plot.

The first overture and larger relation of the plot itself were both writ in Latin, as they are here printed, and faithfully translated word for word, as near as the dialect will permit. All which premised, the letters and plot here follow in order.

Sir William Boswel's first Letter to the Archbishop concerning the Plot.

May it please your GRACE,

THE offers (whereof your grace will find a copy here inclosed) towards a further and more particular discovery, were first made unto me at the second hand, and in speech, by a friend of good quality and worth in this place. But soon after, as soon as they could be put into order, were avowed by the principal party, and delivered me in writing by both together; upon promise and oath, which I was required to give, and gave accordingly, not to reveal the same to any other man living but your grace, and, by your grace's hand, unto his majesty.

In like manner they have tied themselves not to declare these things unto any other but myself, until they should know how his majesty and your grace would dispose thereof: the principal giving me withal to know, that he puts himself, and this secret, into your grace's power, as well, because it concerns your grace so nearly, after his majesty, as, that he knows your wisdom to guide the same aright; and is assured of your grace's fidelity to his majesty's person, to our state, and to our church.

First, your grace is humbly and earnestly prayed to signify his majesty's pleasure, with all possible speed, together with your grace's disposition herein, and purpose to carry all with silence from all, but his majesty, until due time.

Secondly, when your grace shall think fit to shew these things unto his majesty, to do it immediately, not trusting to letters, or permitting any other person to be by, or in hearing; and to intreat and counsel his majesty, as in a case of conscience, to keep the same wholly and solely in his own bosom, from the knowledge of all other creatures living, but your grace, until the business shall be clear, and sufficiently in his majesty's, and your grace's hands, to effect.

Thirdly, not to inquire, or demand, the names of the parties from whom these overtures do come, or any further discoveries and advertisements in pursuit of them which shall come hereafter, until due satisfaction shall be given in every part of them; nor to bewray unto any person, but his majesty, in any measure or kind, that any thing of this nature, or of any great importance, is come from me.

For, as I may believe these overtures are verifiable in the way they will be laid, and that the parties will not shrink; so I make account, that, if never so little a glimpse or shadow of these informations shall appear by his majesty's, or your grace's speech, or carriage, unto others, the means, whereby the business may be brought best unto trial, will be utterly disappointed: and the parties who have in conscience towards God, and devotion to his majesty, affection to your grace, and compassion of our country, disclosed these things, will run a present and extreme hazard of their persons and lives. So easily it will be conjectured (upon the least occasion given upon his majesty's, or your grace's parts) who is the discoverer: by what means, and how he knows so much of these things, and where he is; these are the points, which, together with the offers, they have pressed me especially to represent most seriously unto your grace.

For my own particular, having most humbly craved pardon of any error or omissions, that have befallen me in the managing of this business, I do beseech your grace to let me know:

First, whether, and in what order I shall proceed hereafter with the parties?

Secondly, what points of these offers I shall chiefly and first put them to inlarge and clear?

Thirdly, what other points and inquiries I shall propose unto them? And in what manner?

Fourthly, how far further I shall suffer myself to hear and know these things?

Fifthly, whether I shall not rather take the parties answers, and discoveries, sealed up by themselves, and having likewise put my own seal upon them, without questioning or seeing what they contain, so to transmit them to his majesty or your grace?

Sixthly, whether I may not insinuate upon some fair occasion, that there will be a due regard held of them, and their service, by his majesty and your grace: when all particulars undertaken in these general offers, and necessary for perfecting the discovery and work intended, shall be effectually delivered to his majesty or your grace?

Upon these heads, and such others, as his majesty, or your grace, shall think proper in the business, I must, with all humility, beseech your grace to furnish me with instructions, and warrant for my proceed-

ings, under his majesty's hand, with your grace's attestation, as by his majesty's goodness, and royal disposition, is usual in like cases.

May it please your grace to entertain a cypher with me upon this occasion; I have sent the counterpart of one here inclosed; in the vacant spaces whereof, your grace may insert such names more, with numbers to them, as you think requisite.

If these overtures happily sort with his majesty's and your grace's mind, and shall accordingly prove effectual in their operation, I shall think myself a most happy man, to have had my oblation in so pious a work for my most gracious sovereign and master: more particularly, in that your grace, under his majesty, shall be, *opifex rerum, & mundi melioris origo.* Which I shall incessantly beg in my prayers at his hands, who is the giver of all good things, and will never forsake, or fail them, who do not first fail, and fall from him: the God of mercy and peace. With which I remain evermore

Your Grace's
most dutiful and obliged servant,
WILLIAM BOSWEL.

I have not dared to trust this business, without a cypher, but by a sure hand, for which I have sent this bearer, my secretary, express; but he knoweth nothing of the contents hereof.

Hague, in Holland, Sept. 9,
1640. *Sti. loci.*

Sir William Boswel's indorsement.

For your Grace.

The archbishop's indorsement with his own hand:

Rec. Sept. 10, 1640. Sir William Boswel about the plot against the king, &c.

Andreas ab Habernfeld's Letter to the Archbishop, concerning the Plot revealed to him.

Illustrissime ac Reverendissime Domine,

'CONCUTIUNTUR omnes sensus mei, quoties præsens 'negotium mecum revolvo; nec 'intellectus sufficit, quænam aura 'tam horrenda attulerit, ut per 'me apricum videant; præter 'spem enim bonus iste vir mihi 'innotuit: qui, cum me discurrentem de turbis istis Scoticis 'audisset, ignorare me inquit nervum rei, superficialia esse ista 'quæ vulgo sparguntur. Ab ista 'hora, indies mihi fiebat familiarior; qui, dexteritate mea agnita, pleno pectore cordis sui

Most Illustrious and most Reverend Lord,

ALL my senses are shaken together, as often as I revolve the present business; neither doth my understanding suffice to conceive what wind hath brought such horrid things, that they should see the sun-shine by me; for, besides expectation, this good man became known unto me; who, when he had heard me discoursing of these Scottish stirs, said, that I knew not the nerve of the business; that those things, which are commonly scattered abroad, are commonly superficial. From that hour he be-

‘ onera in sinum meum effudit,
‘ deposuisse se gravamen consci-
‘ entiæ, quo premebatur, ratus.
‘ Hinc factiones Jesuitarum, qui-
‘ bus totus terrenus intentatur or-
‘ bis, mihi enarravit; depastas-
‘ que, ipsorum per virus, Bohe-
‘ miam & Germaniam ut adspi-
‘ cerem, ostendit, sauciam utram-
‘ que partem vulnere irreparabili;
‘ eandem pestem per Angliæ Sco-
‘ tiæque repere regna; cujus ma-
‘ teriam scripto adjacenti revela-
‘ tam me edocuit. Quibus audi-
‘ tis, viscera mea convellebantur;
‘ tremebant horrore artus tot ani-
‘ marum millibus infestam para-
‘ tam esse voraginem: verbis con-
‘ scientiam moventibus, animum
‘ hominis accendi; vix horam
‘ unam monita coxerat, abdita
‘ omnia aperuit, liberumque de-
‘ dit, agerem, ut iis, quorum in-
‘ terest, innotescerent. Non tar-
‘ dandum cum rebus censui; ea
‘ ipsa hora, Dominum Bosuelium,
‘ residentem regium Hagæ comi-
‘ tum, adii; juramento silentii mi-
‘ hi obstricto rem communicavi;
‘ ponderaret ista ad trutinam, mo-
‘ nui, neque deferret ei, quin age-
‘ ret ut periclitantibus succurratur
‘ propere. Is, ut virum honestum
‘ condecet, officii memor, propius-
‘ que introspecto negotio, monita
‘ recusare non quievit. Quinimo
‘ egit e vestigio, ut expressus ex-
‘ pediretur, retulitque iterum,
‘ quam acceptissimum regi tuæque
‘ reverentiæ fuisse oblatum; de quo
‘ ex corde gavisi sumus, judica-
‘ vimusque actutum favorabile sese
‘ interposuisse in hoc negotio Nu-
‘ men, quo servaremini.

came more familiar to me; who, acknowledging my dexterity herein, with a full breast poured forth the burdens of his heart into my bosom, supposing that he had discharged a burden of conscience, wherewith he was pressed. Hence he related to me the factions of the Jesuits, with which the whole earthly world was assaulted, and shewed, that I might behold how, through their poison, Bohemia and Germany were devoured, and both of them maimed with an irreparable wound. That the same plague did creep through the realms of England and Scotland, the matter whereof, revealed in the adjacent writing, he discovered to me. Which things having heard, my bowels were contracted together, my loins trembled with horror, that a pernicious gulf should be prepared for so many thousands of souls; which words moving the conscience, I inflamed the mind of the man: he had scarce one hour concocted my admonitions, but he disclosed all the secrets, and gave free liberty, that I should treat with those whom it concerned, that they might be informed thereof. I thought no delay was to be made about the things. The same hour, I went to Mr. Boswel, the king's leger at the Hague, who being tied with an oath of secrecy to me, I communicated the business to him; I admonished him to weigh these things by the balance, neither to defer, but act, that those who were in danger might be speedily succoured. He, as becomes an honest man, mindful of his duty, and having more nearly looked into the business, refused not to obey the monitions. Moreover, he forthwith caused that an express should be dispatched, and sent word back again, what a most acceptable ob-

'Ut vero rerum enarratarum con-
'firmetur veritas, studio primaria
'nonnulla conjurationis capita sunt
'præterita, ut notitia eorum ab cir-
'cumventa conjurationis societate
'extorqueatur.

'Promovebitur res cito tutoque
'in actum, si caute procedetur
'Bruxellis. Meo consilio, obser-
'vandum esse eam diem qua fasci-
'culi literarum expediuntur, qui
'sub titulo, "Al Monsignor Stra-
"rio, Archidiacono di Cambray,"
'una coperta ligati, præfecto ta-
'belliorum traduntur, ab ipso talis
'fasciculus tacite poterit repeti,
'inutilis tamen erit, quia omnes in-
'clusæ characteristice scriptæ sunt.
'Alter quoque fasciculus hebdoma-
'datim Roma veniens, qui, sub in-
'scriptione, "Al illustrissimo Sig-
"nor Conte Rossetti, pro tempore
"Legato," adportatur, non neg-
'ligendus: cui similiter charactere
'eodem conscriptæ includuntur li-
'teræ; ut intelligantur, Reda con-
'sulendus erit. Supranominata
'dies expeditionis expectabitur.
'Ædibus Redæ adcumulata con-
'gregatio circumvenietur; quo suc-
'cedente, tuæ reverentiæ erit ne-
'gotium disponere. Detecto tan-
'dem per Dei gratiam intestino
'hoste, omnis amaritudo animo-
'rum, quæ ab utraque parte cau-
'sata est, aboleatur, oblivioni tra-
'datur, deleatur, & consopiatur,
'utrique parti insidiari hostis. Ita
'rex, amicusque regis, & regnum
'utrumque discrimini vicinum, ser-
'vabitur, eripietur imminenti pe-
'riculo.

lation this had been to the king and your grace; for which we rejoiced from the heart; and we judged, that a safe and favourable Deity had interposed itself in this business, whereby you might be preserved.

Now, that the verity of the things related might be confirmed, some principal heads of the conspiracy were purposely pretermitted, that the knowledge of them might be extorted from the circumvented society of the conspirators.

Now the things will be speedily and safely promoted into act, if they be warily proceeded in at Brussels. By my advice, that day should be observed, wherein the pacquet of letters are dispatched, which, under the title of 'To 'Monsieur Strario, Archdeacon of 'Cambray,' tied with one cover, are delivered to the post-master: such a pacquet may be secretly brought back from him, yet it will be unprofitable, because all the inclosed letters are written characteristically. Likewise, another pacquet coming weekly from Rome, which is brought under this inscription: 'To the most Illustrious Lord, 'Count Rossetti, Legate for the 'Time;' these are not to be neglected. To whom likewise letters writ in the same character are included; that they may be understood, Read is to be consulted with. The forenamed day of dispatch shall be expected; in Read's house an accumulated congregation may be circumvented, which succeeding, it will be your grace's part to order the business. The intestine enemy being at length detected, by God's grace, all bitterness of mind, which is caused on either side, may be abolished, delivered to oblivion, deleted, and quieted, and the enemy be invaded on both parts. Thus

'Hæc penes etiam reverentia 'tua injunctum sibi habeat, si alias 'consultum sibi optime volet, "Ne "pursuivantibus suis nimium fi- "dat, vivunt enim eorum nonnulli "sub stipendio partis Pontificiæ." 'Quot scopuli, quot Scyllæ, 'quotque infensæ obsultant T. R. 'Charybdes, quam periculoso mari 'agitatur vita T. R. cymbula 'naufragio proxima, ipse judicet; 'pellenda ad portam prora pro- 'pere.

the king, and the king's friend, and both kingdoms, near to danger, shall be preserved, and delivered from imminent danger.

Your grace likewise may have this injunction by you, if you desire to have the best advice given you by others, 'That you trust 'not over-much to your pur- 'suivants, for some of them live 'under the stipend of the Popish 'party.' How many rocks, how many Scylla's, how many displeased Charybdes appear before your grace; in what a dangerous sea the cock-boat of your grace's life, next to shipwreck, is tossed, youself may judge; the fore-deck of the ship is speedily to be driven to the harbour.

'Hæc omnia tuæ reverentiæ in 'aurem; scio enim juramento si- 'lentii obligatam, ideo aperto 'nomine præsentibus reverentiæ 'tuæ innotescere volui, mansurus.'

All these things (I whisper) into your grace's ear, for I know it bound with an oath of secrecy. Therefore by open name I would by these presents become known to your grace.

Sept. 14, S. N. 1640.

Observantissimus, et Officiocissimus,

ANDREAS AB HABERNFELD.

Hague, 14 Sept. S. N. 1640.

Your Grace's Most observant, and Most officious,

ANDREW HABERNFELD.

Andreas ab Habernfeld, Doctor in Physick (as some affirm) to the Queen of Bohemia, his indorsement thereon.

Illustrissimo ac Reverendissimo Dom. Domino Gulielmo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Primati et Metropolitano totius Regni Angliæ, Dom. meo.

The Archbishop's Indorsement with his own hand.

Rece. October 14, 1640, Andreas ab Habernfeld's letters sent by Sir William Boswel, about the discovery of the treason. I conceive by the English Latin herein, that he must needs be an Englishman, with a concealed and changed name. And yet, it may be this kind of Latin may relate to the Italian; or else he lived some good time in England. The declaration of this treason I have, by his majesty's special command, sent to Sir William Boswel, that he may there see what proof can be made of any particulars.

THE GENERAL OVERTURE & DISCOVERY OF THE PLOT,

SENT WITH

SIR WILLIAM BOSWEL's FIRST LETTER.

'Regiæ Majestati et Dom. Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi insinuandum per literas.'

'1. REGIAM majestatem, et dom. archiepiscopum, utrumque in magno discrimine vitæ constitutum.

'2. Totam rempublicam hoc nomine periclitari, nisi propere occurratur malo.

'3. Turbas istas Scoticas in eum finem esse concitatas, ut sub isto prætextu rex et dominus archiepiscopus perimerentur.

'4. Dari medium, quo utrique hac in parte bene consuli, et tumultus iste cito componi possit.

'5. Compositis etiam turbis istis Scoticis, nihilo minus periclitari regem; esse plurima media quibus regi et domino archiepiscopo machinatur exitium.

'6. Conspirasse certam societatem, quæ regi et dom. archiepiscopo molitur necem, totiusque regni convulsionem.

'7. Eandem societatem singulis septimanis, explorationis octiduæ suum quemque quod nundinatus est, ad præsidem societatis deponere, et in unum fasciculum conferre: qui hebdomadatim ad directorem negotii expeditur.

'8. Nominari quidem posse omnes per capita dictæ conspirationis conjuratos: at quia alio medio innotescent, differre in posterum placuit.

The King's Majesty and Lord Archbishop of Canterbury are to be secretly informed by letters.

1. THAT the king's majesty, and the lord archbishop, are both of them in great danger of their lives.

2. That the whole commonwealth is, by this means, endangered, unless the mischief be speedily prevented.

3. That these Scottish troubles are raised to the end, that under this pretext the king and archbishop might be destroyed.

4. That there is a means to be prescribed, whereby both of them, in this case, may be preserved, and this tumult speedily composed.

5. That, although these Scottish tumults be speedily composed, yet that the king is endangered; and that there are many ways, by which destruction is plotted to the king and lord archbishop.

6. That a certain society hath conspired, which attempts the death of the king, and lord archbishop, and convulsion of the whole realm.

7. That the same society every week deposits, with the president of the society, what intelligence every of them hath purchased in eight days search, and then confer all into one pacquet, which is weekly sent to the director of the business,

8. That all the confederates in the said conspiracy may verily be named by the poll: but because they may be made known by other means, it is thought meet to defer it till hereafter.

'9. Medium esse in promptu, 'quo uno momento detegi poterit 'scelus: conspiratores præcipui 'circumveniri, membraque pri- 'maria conjurationis in ipso actu 'apprehendi.

'10. Astantes regi plurimos qui 'pro fidelissimis et intimis censen- 'tur, quibus etiam secretiora fi- 'duntur, proditores regis esse, 'peregrina pensione corruptos, qui 'secreta quæque majoris, vel 'exigui momenti, ad exteram po- 'testatem deferunt.

'11. Hæc et alia secretissima, 'quæ scitu ad securitatem regis 'erunt necessaria: quod si hæc 'accepta dom. archiepiscopo fue- 'rint, revelari poterunt.

'12. Interim, si regia majestas 'sua et dominus archiepiscopus 'bene sibi consultum volunt, hæc 'superficialiter quidem tantum ipsis 'communicata, sub profundo si- 'lentio et secretissime, servabunt, 'ne quidem iis quos sibi fidelissimos 'judicant, communicaturi, ante- 'quam de nomine acceperint, qui- 'bus fidendum sit: ab nullo enim 'latere alias tuti sunt.

'13. Sint etiam certi, quicquid 'hic proponitur, nulla figmenta, 'nec fabulas, aut inania somnia 'esse; sed in rei veritate ita con- 'stituta, quæ omnibus momentis 'demonstrari poterunt: qui enim 'se immiscent huic negotio, viri 'honesti sunt: quibus nullus quæs- 'tus in animo: sed ipse Christianæ 'charitatis fervor ista facere non 'sinit: ab utroque tamen, sua 'majestate, tum domino archiepis- 'copo, gratitudinis exemplar tale 'quale expectabitur.

'Hæc omnia antecedentia sub 'bona fide et juramenti sacra-

9. That there is a ready means, whereby the villainy may be discovered in one moment, the chief conspirators circumvented, and the primary members of the conjuration apprehended in the very act.

10. That very many about the king, who are accounted most faithful and intimate, to whom likewise the more secret things are entrusted, are traytors to the king, corrupted with a foreign pension, who communicate all secrets of greater or lesser moment to a foreign power.

11. These, and other most secret things, which shall be necessary to be known for the security of the king, may be revealed, if these things shall be acceptable to the lord archbishop.

12. In the mean time, if his royal majesty and the lord archbishop desire to consult well to themselves, they shall keep these things, only superficially communicated unto them, most secretly under deep silence, not communicating them so much as to those whom they judge most faithful to them, before they shall receive by name, in whom they may confide; for, else, they are safe on no side.

13. Likewise they may be assured, that whatsoever things are here proposed, are no figments, nor fables, nor vain dreams, but such real verities which may be demonstrated in every small tittle: for those, who thrust themselves into this business, are such men, who mind no gain, but the very zeal of Christian charity suffers them not to conceal these things; yet both from his majesty, and the lord archbishop, some small exemplar of gratitude will be expected.

All these premisses have been communicated under good faith,

'mento, dom. residenti regis 'Magnæ Britanniæ Hagæ comitum, communicata esse, ne ulli 'mortalium, præter regem et dom. 'archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, 'immediate ista fideret, vel com-'municaret.'

and the sacrament of an oath, to Mr. Leger, ambassador of the king of Great Britain, at the Hague, that he should not immediately trust or communicate these things to any mortal, besides the king and the lord archbishop of Canterbury.

Præsentes, &c Subscripta, &c. Present, &c. Subscribed, &c.

Hagæ Com. 6 Sept. 1640, St. loci. Hague, 6 Sept. 1640, in the stile of the place.

Detectio, &c. offerenda Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Britanniæ, et Dom. Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, &c. 6 Sept. 1640.

The Archbishop's own Indorsement. Rece. Sept. 10, 1640. The plot against the king.

THE* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY'S LETTER TO THE KING, CONCERNING THE PLOT,

With the king's directions, written with his own hand.

May it please your MAJESTY,

AS great as the secret is, which comes herewith, yet I chuse rather to send it in this silent covert way, and I hope safe, than to come thither, and bring it myself†. First, because I am no way able to make haste enough with it. Secondly, because, should I come at this time, and antedate the meeting of the twenty-fourth of September, there would be more jealousy of the business, and more enquiry after it; especially, if I, being once there, should return again before that day, as I must, if this be followed, as is most fit.

The danger, it seems, is imminent, and laid by God knows whom, but to be executed by them, which are very near about you. (For the great honour which I have to be in danger with you, or for you, I pass not, so your sacred person and the state may be safe.) Now, may it please your majesty, this information is either true, or there is some mistake in it‡. If it be true, the persons which make the discovery will deserve thanks and reward. If there should be any mistake in it, your majesty can lose nothing but a little silence.

‖ The business, if it be, is extreme foul. The discovery, thus by God's providence offered, seems fair. I do hereby humbly beg it, upon my knees, of your majesty, that you would conceal this business from every creature, and his name that sends this to me. And I send his letters to me to your majesty, that you may see his sense, both of the business, and the secrecy. And such instructions, as you think fit to give him, I beseech you let them be in your own hand, for his warrant, without imparting them to any. And if your majesty leave it to his discretion, to follow it there, in the best way he can, that in your own hand will be instruction and warrant enough for him. And, if you

*I beseech your majesty read these letters, as they are indorsed by figures, 1, 2, 2, &c.

† Ye had reason so to do.

‡ It is an unanswerable dilemma.

‖ I concur totally with you in opinion, assuring you, that nobody doth or shall know of this business; and, to shew my care to conceal it, I received this but this afternoon, and now I make this dispatch, before I sleep. Herewith, I send his warrant, as you advise, which, indeed, I judge, to be the better way.

please to return it herewith presently to me, I will send an express away with it presently.

* In the mean time, I have, by this express, returned him this answer, that I think he shall do well, to hold on the treaty with these men, with all care and secrecy, and drive on to the discovery, so soon as the business is ripe for it; that he may assure himself and them, they shall not want reward, if they do the service. That, for my part, he shall be sure of secrecy; and that I am most confident, that your majesty will not impart it to any: that he have a special eye to the eighth and ninth propositions.

‡ Sir, for God's sake, and your own safety, secrecy in this business: and I beseech you, send me back his letter, and all that comes with it, speedily and secretly, and trust not your own pockets with them. I shall not eat nor sleep in quiet, till I receive them. And, so soon as I have them again, and your majesty's warrant to proceed, no diligence shall be wanting in me to help on the discovery.

‖ This is the greatest business, that ever was put to me; and if I have herein proposed, or done any thing amiss, I most humbly crave your majesty's pardon. But I am willing to hope I have not herein erred in judgment, and, in fidelity, I never will.

These letters came to me, on Thursday the tenth of September, at night; and I sent these away, according to the date hereof, being extremely wearied with writing this letter, copying out these other, which come with this, and dispatching my letters back to him, that sent these, all in my own hand. Once again, secrecy for God's sake, and your own. To his most blessed protection, I commend your majesty, and all your affairs; and am

§ York, 13. Your Majesty's
Lambeth, Sept. 11, 1640. most humble, faithful servant,
W. CANT.

‡‡ As I had ended these, whether with the labour, or indignation, or both, I fell into an extreme faint sweat; I pray God keep me from a fever, of which, three are down in my family at Croyden.

These letters came late to me, the express being beaten back by the wind.

The Archbishop's Indorsement, with his own hand.

Received from the king, Sept. 16, 1640, for your sacred majesty, yours apostyled, the king's answer to the plot against him, &c.

Sir William Boswell's second Letter to the Archbishop.

May it please your GRACE,

THIS evening late I have received your grace's dispatch, with the inclosed from his majesty, by my secretary Oveart, and shall give due account, with all speed, of the same, according to his majesty's and your grace's commands; praying heartily that my endeavours,

* I like your answer extreme well, and do promise not to deceive your confidence, nor make you break your word.

‡ I have sent all back; I think these apostyles will be warrant enough for you to proceed, especially when I expresly command you to do so.

‖ In this, I am as far from condemning your judgment, as suspecting your fidelity. C. R

§ The king's hand and date.

‡‡ The archbishop's postscript.

which shall be most faithful, may also prove effectual to his majesty's and your grace's content; with which I do most humbly take my leave, being always

Your Grace's

Hague, Sept. 24, 1640. Stylo Angliæ. most dutiful and most humble servant, WILLIAM BOSWEL.

The Archbishop's Indorsement:

Received, Sept. 30, 1640. Sir William Boswel's acknowledgment, that he hath received the king's directions, and my letters.

Sir William Boswel's third Letter to the Archbishop, sent with the larger Discovery of the Plot.

May it please your GRACE,

UPON receipt of his majesty's commands, with your grace's letters of the 9th and 18th of September last, I dealt with the party to make good his offers formerly put in my hand, and transmitted to your grace: this he hopes to have done by the inclosed, so far as will be needful for his majesty's satisfaction; yet, if any more particular explanation or discovery shall be required by his majesty, or your grace, he hath promised to add thereunto whatsoever he can remember and knows of truth. And, for better assurance and verification of his integrity, he professeth himself, if required, to make oath of what he hath already declared, or shall hereafter declare in the business.

His name he conjures me still to conceal, though he thinks his majesty and your grace, by the character he gives of himself, will easily imagine who he is, having been known so generally through court and city, as he was, for three or four years, and the quality and employment he acknowledgeth (by his declaration inclosed) himself to have held.

Hereupon, he doth also redouble his most humble and earnest suit unto his majesty, and your grace, to be most secret and circumspect in the business, that he may not be suspected to have discovered, or had a hand in the same.

I shall here humbly beseech your grace, to let me know what I may further do for his majesty's service, or for your grace's particular behoof, that I may accordingly endeavour to approve myself, as I am,

Your Grace's

Hague, Oct. 15, 1640. most dutiful and obliged servant, WILLIAM BOSWEL.

The Archbishop's Indorsement:

Received, October 14, 1640. Sir William Boswel, in prosecution of the great business. If any thing come to him in cyphers, to send it to him.

The large particular Discovery of the Plot and Treason against the King, Kingdom, and Protestant Religion; and to raise the Scottish Wars.

'Illustrissime ac Reverendissime DOMINE,

'ACCEPTA suæ regiæ majestati, simulac reverentiæ tuæ,

Most Illustrious and Reverend LORD,

WE have willingly and cordially perceived, that our offers

'fuisse offerta nostra, lubentes et 'ex animo percepimus. Adesse 'vobis benignitatem numinis, hoc 'unicum nobis index est, quo sti- 'mulus datur, ut tanto alacrius 'liberaliusque illa quibus vitæ dis- 'crimen utriusque, statusque regni 'Angliæ, tum Scotiæ, eximinæ ma- 'jestatis sede deturbatio intendatur, 'effundamus, detegamus. Ne au- 'tem ambagibus superfluis dilate- 'tur oratio, nonnulla, quæ tantum 'ad rem necessaria, præmittemus.

have been acceptable both to his royal majesty, and likewise to your grace. This is the only index to us, 'That the blessing of God is present with you, whereby a spur is given, that we should so much the more chearfully and freely utter and detect those things, whereby the hazard of both your lives, the subversion of the realm and state, both of England and Scotland, the tumbling down of his excellent majesty from his throne, is intended.' Now, lest the discourse should be inlarged with superfluous circumstances, we will only premise some things which are merely necessary to the business.

'Sciant primo, bonum istum 'virum per quem sequentia dete- 'guntur, in pulvere isto Pontificio 'esse natum et educatum, qui in 'dignitatibus ecclesiasticis ætates 'consumpsit; tandem præsentis 'negotii expeditioni par inventus, 'consilio et mandato Domini Car- 'dinalis Barbarini, ad auxilium 'Domino Cuneo adjunctus est: 'penes quem in officio ita diligens 'ac sedulus inventus, ut spes mag- 'næ promotionis ipsi data fuerit: 'ipse vero, boni spiritus ductus in- 'stinctu, ut ut dulcia promissa con- 'tempsit; agnitisque religionis Pon- 'tificiæ vanitatibus (quarum alias 'defensor fuerat severissimus) ma- 'litia etiam sub vexillo Papali mi- 'litantium notata, gravari consci- 'entiam suam senserat; quod onus 'ut deponeret, ad Orthodoxam 'religionem animum convertit: 'mox ut conscientiam suam exo- 'neraret, machinatum in tot inno- 'centes animas scelus, revelandum 'censuit, levamen se percepturum, 'si in sinum amici talia effundat. 'Quo facto ab eodem amico serio 'commonitus, veræ conversionis 'charitatisque exemplar ostenderet: 'liberaret ab imminenti discrimine

They may, first of all, know, that this good man, by whom the ensuing things are detected, was born and bred in the Popish religion, who spent many years in ecclesiastical dignities. At length, being found fit for the expedition of the present design, by the counsel and mandate of the Lord Cardinal Barbarino, he was adjoined to the assistance of Mr. Cuneus (Cun) by whom he was found so diligent and sedulous in his office, that hope of great promotion was given to him. Yet he, led by the instinct of the good spirit, hath, howsoever it be, contemned sweet promises, and, having known the vanities of the Pontifician religion (of which he had sometime been a most severe defender) having, likewise, noted the malice of those who fight under the Popish banner, felt his conscience to be burdened; which burden, that he might ease himself of, he converted his mind to the Orthodox religion. Soon after, that he might exonerate his conscience, he thought fit, that a desperate treason, machinated against so many souls, was to be revealed, and that he should receive

'innocentes tot animas; in cujus 'monita lubens consenserat, cala- 'moque sequentia excipiendum de- 'derat, ex quibus articuli non ita 'pridem tuæ reverentiæ oblati, 'luculenter explicari et demonstrari 'poterunt.

ease, if he vented such things into the bosom of a friend; which done, he was seriously admonished by the said friend, that he should shew an example of his conversion and charity, and free so many innocent souls from imminent danger. To whose monitions he willingly consented, and delivered the following things to be put in writing, out of which the articles, not long since tendered to your grace, may be clearly explicated and demonstrated.

'1. Ante omnia, ut cardo rei 'recipiatur, sciendum est, omnes 'istas, quibus tota Christianitas 'hodie concutitur, factiones, exo- 'riri ab Jesuitica ista Chamea so- 'bole, cujus quatuor per orbem 'luxuriant ordines.

1. First of all, that the hinge of the business may be rightly discerned, it is to be known, that all those factions with which all Christendom is, at this day, shaken, do arise from the Jesuitical offspring of Cham, of which four orders abound throughout the world.

'Primi ordinis sunt Ecclesiastici, 'quorum religionis promotoria est 'curare.

Of the first order are Ecclesiasticks, whose office it is to take care of things promoting religion.

'Secundi ordinis sunt Politici, 'quorum officium est, statum regno- 'rum, rerumque publicarum, quo- 'quomodo intentare, turbare, re- 'formare.

Of the second order are Politicians, whose office it is, by any means, to shake, trouble, reform the state of kingdoms and republicks.

'Tertii ordinis sunt Seculares, 'quorum proprium est, regibus, 'principibusque, ad officia sese ob- 'trudere, insinuare, immiscere se 'rebus forensibus, emptionibus, 'venditionibusque, et quæ civilia 'sunt occupari.

Of the third order are Seculars, whose property it is to obtrude themselves into offices with kings and princes, to insinuate and immix themselves in court businesses, bargains, and sales, and to be busied in civil affairs.

'Quarti ordinis Exploratores 'sunt, sortis inferioris homines, qui 'servitiis magnatum, principum, 'baronum, nobilium, civium, sese 'submittunt, animis dominorum 'imposituri.

Of the fourth order are Intelligencers, or Spies, men of inferior condition, who submit themselves to the services of great men, princes, barons, noblemen, citizens, to deceive, or corrupt the minds of their masters.

'2. Tot ordinum societatem reg- 'num Anglicanum alit: vix enim 'tota Hispania, Gallia et Italia 'tantam multitudinem Jesuitarum, 'quantam unicum Londinum, ex- 'hibere posset: ubi plus 50 Scoti

2. A society of so many orders the kingdom of England nourisheth; for scarce all Spain, France, and Italy can yield so great a multitude of Jesuits, as London alone, where are found more than fifty

'Jesuitæ reperiuntur. Ibi sedem 'iniquitatis dicta societas sibi elegit, 'conspiravitque in regem, regique 'fidelissimos, imprimis vero Domi- 'num Archiepiscopum Cantuarien- 'sem, etiam in regnum utrumque.

'3. Certo certius enim est, de- 'terminasse societatem nominatam, 'reformatione universali regnum 'Angliæ tum Scotiæ adficere; de- 'terminatio ergo finis infert neces- 'sario determinationem mediorum 'ad finem.

'4. Ad promovendum ergo sus- 'ceptum scelus, titulo, "Congre- 'gationis Fidei propagandæ," dic- 'ta societas sese insignivit: quæ 'caput collegii Pontificem Roma- 'num, substitutum, et executo- 'rem, Cardinalem Barbarinum, 'agnoscit.

'5. Patronus societatis prima- 'rius, Londini, est legatus ponti- 'ficius, qui curam negotii gerit; in 'cujus sinum, fæx illa proditorum 'omnia explorata hebdomadatim 'deponit: impetrata autem est resi- 'dentia legationis istius Londini 'Pontificis Romani nomine, quo 'mediante, Cardinali Barbarino, 'agere in regem regnumque tanto 'tutius faciliusque liceret; nullus 'enim alias tam libere ambire re- 'gem posset, quam ille qui ponti- 'ficia auctoritate palliatus sit.

'6. Fungebatur tum temporis 'officio legati pontificii Dominus 'Cuneus conjuratæ societatis in- 'strumentum universale, et serius 'negotii promotor; cujus secreta 'ut et aliorum exploratorum om- 'nium, præsens vir bonus, com- 'municator horum, excipiebat, ex- 'pediebatque quo res postulabat.

Scottish Jesuits. There the said society hath elected to itself a seat of iniquity, and hath conspired against the king, and the most faithful to the king, especially the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and likewise against both kingdoms.

3. For it is more certain than certainty itself, that the aforenamed society hath determined to affect a universal reformation of the kingdom of England and Scotland. Therefore the determination of the end necessarily infers a determination of means to the end.

4. Therefore, to promote the undertaken villainy, the said society dubbed itself with the title of, 'The Congregation of propagating the Faith;' which acknowledgeth the Pope of Rome the head of the college, and Cardinal Barbarino his substitute and executor.

5. The chief patron of the society at London is the pope's legate, who takes care of the business; into whose bosom, these dregs of traytors weekly deposit all their intelligences. Now the residence of this legation was obtained at London, in the name of the Roman Pontiff, by whose mediation it might be lawful for Cardinal Barbarino, to work so much the more easily and safely upon the king and kingdom. For none else could so freely circumvent the king, as he who should be palliated with the pope's authority.

6. Master Cuneus did at that time enjoy the office of the pope's legate, a universal instrument of the conjured society, and a serious promoter of the business; whose secrets, as likewise those of all the other intelligencers, the present good man, the communicator of all these things, did receive and expedite whither the business required.

'Adoriebatur Cuneus primaria 'regni capita, nihilque intenta- 'tum sivit, quomodo singula cor- 'rumperet et ad partem Pontifi- 'ciam inclinaret; variis incita- 'mentis plurimos alliciebat, etiam 'regem ipsum donationibus pictu- 'rarum, antiquitatum, idolorum, 'aliarumque vanitatum Roma al- 'latarum, deludendum quærebat, 'quæ tamen apud regem nihil pro- 'ficerent.

'Familiaritate inita cum rege, 'rogatur sæpius Hantocurti, etiam 'Londini, Palatini causam ageret, 'interponeretque auctoritatem su- 'am, intercessione Legato Coloni- 'ensi persuaderet, ut Palatinus in 'conditiones, proximis comitiis de 'pace acturis, insereretur, quod 'quidem pollicitus est; contrarium 'vero præstitit; scripsit quidem, 'rogatum sed de talibus ab rege 'fuisse, non consulere tamen, ut 'consentiatur, ne ab Hispanis for- 'tasse dicatur, Pontificem Roma- 'num principi hæretico patrocina- 'tum fuisse.

Cuneus set upon the chief men of the kingdom, and left nothing unattempted, by what means he might corrupt them all, and incline them to the Pontifician party: he enticed many with various incitements; yea, he sought to delude the king himself with gifts of pictures, antiquities, idols, and of other vanities brought from Rome; which yet would prevail nothing with the king.

Having entered familiarity with the king, he is often requested at Hampton-Court, likewise at London, to undertake the cause of the Palatine, and that he would interpose his authority, and by his intercession persuade the Legate of Cologne, that the Palatine, in the next dyet to treat of peace, might be inserted into the conditions; which verily he promised, but performed the contrary. He wrote indeed, that he had been so desired by the king concerning such things; yet he advised not that they should be consented to, lest peradventure it might be said by the Spaniard, that the Pope of Rome had patronised an heretical prince.

'Subolfecit interim Cuneus, ab 'domino archiepiscopo regi fidelis- 'simo, totum animum regium esse 'pendulum: omnem se moturum 'lapidem, nervosque adplicaturum 'statuerat, ut ad partem suam lu- 'crari possit: paratum se habere 'medium certo confisus; manda- 'tum enim habebat, pileum car- 'dinalem, nomine Pontificis Ro- 'mani, Domino Archiepiscopo of- 'ferret, lactaretque pollicitis etiam 'sublimioribus, ut animum since- 'rum corrumperet: commoda ta- 'men occasio nunquam dabatur, 'qua domino archiepiscopo sese 'insinuare posset (quærebat enim 'scorpium ovum) per Comitem et 'Comitissam Arondelianam, etiam

In the mean time, Cuneus smelling from the archbishop, most trusty to the king, that the king's mind was wholly pendulous, or doubtful, resolved, that he would move every stone, and apply his forces, that he might gain him to his party; certainly confiding, that he had a means prepared. For he had a command to offer a cardinal's cap to the Lord Archbishop, in the name of the Pope of Rome, and that he should allure him also with higher promises, that he might corrupt his sincere mind. Yet a fitting occasion was never given, whereby he might insinuate himself into the Lord Archbishop, (for the scorpion sought an egg:) free

'per Secretarium Windebankum, 'liber accessus impetrari debebat. 'Quorum omnium intercessioni- 'bus neglectis, societatem vel fa- 'miliaritatem Cunei peste pejus fu- 'giebat; persuadebatur etiam ab 'aliis non infimis, ipsi bene notis, 'nec tamen commovebatur.

access was to be impetrated by the Earl and Countess of Arundel, likewise by Secretary Windebank. The intercession of all which being neglected, he did fly the company or familiarity of Cuneus worse than the plague. He was likewise persuaded by others, of no mean rank, well known to him, neither yet was he moved.

'7. Quærebatur et alius qui ad 'facinus detestandum accessum 'impediebat, Secretarius Cook; 'erat is osor Jesuitarum infensis- 'simus, quibus aditum ad regem 'intercipiebat, excipiebat pluri- 'mos pro meritis, in illorum facti- 'ones sedulo inquirebat; quo no- 'mine incitamentum omne, vim 'magneticam ad partem Pontifi- 'ciam spirans, erat apud ipsum 'inefficax, nihil enim tam carum 'erat quod ipsum ad pravum in- 'clinasset: hinc, conjurationis pa- 'tronis exosus factus, periclitaba- 'tur de officio ut exueretur, labo- 'rabatur per triennium, quod ulti- 'mo impetratum.

7. Another also was assayed, who hindered access to the detestable wickedness, Secretary Cook; he was a most bitter hater of the Jesuits, from whom he intercepted access to the king; he entertained many of them, according to their deserts, he diligently enquired into their factions; by which means, every incitement, breathing a magnetical, attractive, power to the Popish party, was ineffectual with him; for nothing was so dear unto him that might incline him to wickedness. Hereupon being made odious to the patrons of the conspiracy, he was endangered to be discharged from his office; it was laboured for three years space, and at last obtained.

'Mansit nihilominus ab parte 'regis nodus solutu difficilis; Do- 'minus Archiepiscopus enim, con- 'stantia sua, sicuti durissimum se- 'se interposuit saxum.

Yet notwithstanding there remained on the king's part a knot hard to be untied; for the Lord Archbishop, by his constancy, interposed himself as a most hard rock.

'Laborasse se incassum, ab 'parte Domini Archiepiscopi Cu- 'neus cum intellexisset, efferbuit 'malitia ipsius, totiusque societa- 'tis; mox insidiæ parari cœperunt 'quibus Dominus Archiepiscopus 'una cum rege caperetur.

When Cuneus had understood, from the Lord Archbishop's part, that he had laboured in vain, his malice, and the whole society's, waxed boiling hot. Soon after ambushes began to be prepared, wherewith the Lord Archbishop, together with the king, should be taken.

'In regem quoque, cujus gratia 'totum istud disponitur negotium, 'a quo quia nihil quod promo- 'vendæ religioni Papisticæ inser-

Likewise a sentence is passed against the king, for whose sake all this business is disposed, because nothing is hoped from him, which

'viret speratur, imprimis vero, 'cum animum suum aperuerit, se 'ejus opinionis esse, quemvis in 'religione sua, dummodo vir pro- 'bus et pius sit, salvari posse, sen- 'tentia lata est.

might seem to promote the Popish religion (but especially, when he had opened his mind, that he was of this opinion, that every one might be saved in his own religion, so as he be an honest and pious man.)

'8. Ad perpetrandum suscep- 'tum facinus, executio criminalis 'Westmonasterii, per scripta non- 'nulla Puritanorum causata, primi 'incendii ansam dedit; quæ res 'ab Papistis apud Puritanos in 'tantum exacerbatur, exagge- 'rabaturque, ut, si inulta maneret, 'religioni ipsis duceretur; cujus 'incendii, subsequens tandem liber 'precum, flammas auxit.

8. To perpetuate the treason undertaken, the criminal execution at Westminster, caused by some writings of Puritans, gave occasion of the first fire; which thing was so much exasperated and exaggerated by the Papists to the Puritans, that if it remained unrevenged, it would be thought a blemish to their religion: the flames of which fire the subsequent book of prayers increases.

'9. In isto fervore expeditus 'fuit ad Scotos ab parte pontificia 'comes quidam Scotus Masfield, 'ni fallor nomine, cum quo duo 'alii comites Scoti, Papistæ, cor- 'respondebant. Is commovere de- 'bebat plebem, injuriamque refri- 'care ut animos accenderet, ad 'arma præcipitaret, quibus noxius 'libertatis Scoticæ perimeretur 'turbator.

9. In this heat, a certain Scottish earl, called Maxfield, if I mistake not, was expedited to the Scots, by the Popish party; with whom two other Scottish earls, Papists, held correspondence; he ought to stir up the people to commotion, and rub over the injury a-fresh, that he might inflame their minds, precipitate them to arms, by which the hurtful disturber of the Scottish liberty might be slain.

'10. Ibi una opera parati in 'regem casses, eo enim directum 'esse præsens negotium ut Anglo- 'rum complurimi sese adglutina- 'rent Scotis; rex armis maneret 'inferior, qui ab Papistis auxilia 'petere cogeretur, quæ tamen non 'impetraret, nisi in conditiones 'descenderet, quibus libertatem 'universalem exercitii religionis 'Pontificiæ permitteret; ita enim 'res Papistarum ad nutum suc- 'cederent. Quo consensu si diffi- 'ciliorem sese exhibuerit, reme- 'dium erit in promptu: adoles- 'cente enim cum primum regio 'filio, quia a teneris, ut parti pon- 'tificiæ adsuescat, educatur, de 'rege actum est: nux quippe In-

10. There, by one labour, snares are prepared for the king; for this purpose the present business was so ordered, that very many of the English should adhere to the Scots; that the king should remain inferior in arms, who, thereupon, should be compelled to crave assistance from the Papists; which yet he should not obtain, unless he would descend into conditions, by which he should permit universal liberty of the exercise of the Popish religion; for so the affairs of the Papists would succeed according to their desire. To which consent, if he should shew himself more difficult, there should be a present remedy at hand: for the king's

'dica acutissimo veneno referta in 'societate servatur, quam Cuneus 'tum temporis gloriabundus mihi 'ostentabat, quo regi, exemplo 'patris, parabatur pharmacum.

son growing now very fast to his youthful age (who is educated from his tender age, that he might accustom himself to the Popish party) the king is to be dispatched: for an Indian nut, stuffed with most sharp poison, is kept in the society (which Cuneus at that time shewed often to me in a boasting manner) wherein a poison was prepared for the king, after the example of his father.

'11. In ista commotione Scotica 'Marquissa a Hamilton sæpius 'regis nomine ad Scotos ablegatur, 'regiam auctoritatem interponeret, 'qua æstus animorum mitigaretur, 'sine fructu tamen, reque infecta 'toties reversus. Ipsius concionator tum temporis nos adiit, qui 'cum Cuneo secrete nonnulla communicavit; interrogatus a me, 'joco, Num etiam Judæi cum Samaritanis convenirent? Ad quæ 'Cuneus respondit, Utinam omnes 'ministri tales ut ipse esset; 'conjiciatur hinc quidcunque.

11. In this Scottish commotion, the Marquis of Hamilton was often dispatched to the Scots in the name of the king, to interpose the royal authority, whereby the heat of minds might be mitigated, returned notwithstanding as often without fruit, and without ending the business. His chaplain at that time repaired to us, who communicated some things secretly with Cuneus. Being demanded of me in jest, whether the Jews agreed with the Samaritans? Cuneus thereunto answered, Would to God all ministers were such as he; what you will may be hence conjectured.

'12. Rebus sic stantibus, ab 'Cardinali Richelieu, Dominus 'Thomas Camerarius, sacellanus 'et eleemosynarius ipsius, natione 'Scotus, Londinum adpulit; qui 'collegio societatis conjuratæ adsidere debebat, remque serio 'agere, nihil intentatum relinquere, 'quo primus exasperaretur fervor. 'Quo officio honorarium episcopatus erat ipsi pollicitum. Con'habitabat et societate per quatuor 'menses, nec prius discedendum 'licebat, donec, rebus ex voto cedentibus, cum bonis novis redux 'fieri possit.

12. Things standing thus, there arrived at London, from Cardinal Richelieu, Mr. Thomas Chamberlain, his chaplain and almoner, a Scot by nation, who ought to assist the college of the confederated society, and seriously to set forward the business, to leave nothing unattempted, whereby the first heat might be exasperated. For which service he was promised the reward of a bishoprick. He cohabited with the society four months space; neither was it lawful for him first to depart, until, things succeeding according to his wish, he might be able to return back again with good news.

'13. Cavalliero Tobias Mathei, 'sacerdos Jesuita, ordinis politi'corum, e capitibus primariis homo 'vigilantissimus, cui nunquam tam

13. Sir Toby Matthew, a Jesuited priest, of the order of politicians, a most vigilant man of the chief heads, to whom a bed was never so dear,

'charum cubile, quo caput re-
'clinet; ad sellam tantum, hora
'una, atque altera, somno corpus
'reficit; nec diei nec nocti ma-
'chinamentis parcit, vir summe
'noxius et ipsa regis regnique An-
'gliæ pestis; homo impudentissi-
'mus, qui per omnia convivia,
'epulasque, vocatus, volitat; nun-
'quam quietus, semper in actione,
'motuque perpetuo, singulis con-
'versationibus superiorum immis-
'cuit; urget familiarie colloquia,
'ut animos hominum expiscaretur:
'quicquid inde ad partes conjura-
'torum commodi vel incommodi
'concernere advertit, legato Pontifi-
'cio communicat, secretiora ipse
'ad Pontificem vel Cardinalem
'Barbarinum perscribit. In sum-
'ma, cuivis societati sese adgluti-
'nat, nullum verbum effari post,
'quod ipse non arripiat et ad partes
'suas accommodet. Quicquid in-
'terea temporis expiscatus, in cata-
'logum redigit, et quavis æstate ad
'consistorium generale Jesuitarum
'politicorum quod in provincia
'Vallensi secreto concurrit, hospes
'acceptus defert. Ibi tacite con-
'silia cuduntur quæ ad convul-
'sionem status ecclesiastici, tum
'politici, regni utriusque sunt ap-
'tissima.

that he would rest his head thereon, refreshing his body with sleep in a chair, for an hour or two, neither day nor night spared his machinations; a man principally noxious, and himself the plague of the king and kingdom of England; a most impudent man, who flies to all banquets and feasts, called or not called; never quiet, always in action and perpetual motion, thrusting himself into all conversations of superiors; he urgeth conferences familiarly, that he may fish out the minds of men; whatever he observeth thence, which may bring any commodity or discommodity to the part of the conspirators, he communicates to the Pope's Legate: the more secret things he himself writes to the Pope, or to Cardinal Barbarino. In sum, he adjoins himself to any man's company; no word can be spoken, that he will not lay hold on, and accommodate to his party. In the mean time, whatever he hath fished out, he reduceth into a catalogue, and every summer carrieth it to the general consistory of the Jesuits politicks, which secretly meets together in the province of Wales, where he is an acceptable guest. The counsels are secretly hammered, which are most meet for the convulsion of the ecclesiastick and politick estate of both kingdoms.

'14. Capitaneus Reda, Scotus,
'habitans in platea Longaker,
'prope Tabernam Angeli, Jesuita
'secularis, qui ob detestandum
'officium præstitum (quo Minis-
'trum quendam Ecclesiæ, incita-
'mentis dulcibus ad religionem
'Papisticam, tota cum familia ip-
'sius perverterat, filia ipsius in
'uxorem ducta) pro repensa ob-
'tinuit reditus vel vectigal butyra-
'ceum, quod rustici sibi præstare
'tenentur, adquisitum ipsi ab rege,

14. Captain Read, a Scot, dwelling in Long-acre-street, near the Angel Tavern, a secular Jesuit, who for his detestable office performed (whereby he had perverted a certain minister of the church, with secret incitements, to the Popish religion, with all his family, taking his daughter to wife) for a recompence, obtained a rent or impost upon butter, which the country people are bound to render to him, procured for him from

'per non nullos societatis præci-
'puos; cui stimulus nunquam
'deficit, quo in officio constans
'detineatur. In ipsius ædibus rei
'totius peragitur negotium, ubi
'societas quæ in regem, et domi-
'num archiepiscopum, regnumque
'utrumque conjuravit, plerumque
'diebus singulis concurrit; die vero
'expeditionis tabellarii, quæ ordina-
'rie est dies Veneris, tanto frequen-
'tiores, tum enim omnes exploratores
'conveniunt, quæ quisque ea heb-
'domada expiscatus est, in com-
'mune conferunt; qui, ut extra
'suspicionem sint, secreta sua
'per Tobiam Matthei vel ipsum
'Redam, ad Legatum Pontificium
'amandant; ipse fasciculum com-
'pactum, quem ab exploratoribus
'nundinatus est, Romam transmit-
'tit.

the king, by some chief men of the society, who never want a spur, whereby he may be constantly detained in his office. In his house the business of the whole plot is concluded, where the society which hath conspired against the king, the lord archbishop, and both kingdoms, meet together, for the most part every day; but on the day of the carriers, or posts, dispatch, which is ordinarily Friday, they meet in greater numbers; for then all the intelligencers assemble, and confer in common, what things every of them hath fished out that week, who, that they may be without suspicion, send their secrets by Toby Matthew, or Read himself, to the Pope's Legate; he transmits the compacted pacquet, which he hath purchased from the intelligencers, to Rome.

'Apud eundem Redam depo-
'nuntur literæ Roma illatæ, sub
'titulis et nominibus fictis, quæ
'per ipsum singulis ad quos spec-
'tant traduntur; illorum enim
'omnium et singulorum nomina
'ipsi sunt cognita.

With the same Read, the letters brought from Rome are deposited, under feigned titles and names, which by him are delivered to all to whom they appertain; for all and every of their names are known to him.

'Eadem ipsa occasione adfe-
'runtur etiam literæ, sub coperta
'Partis Philippi (ipso tamen rerum
'nescio) a quo conjuratis distri-
'buuntur.

Upon the very same occasion, letters also are brought hither under the covert of Father Philip (he notwithstanding being ignorant of things) from whom they are distributed to the conspirators.

'Habetur in illis ipsis ædibus
'sacellum publicum, quo Jesuita
'ordinarius consecrat, ibidemque
'habitat. In dicto sacello missæ
'celebrantur quotidie a Jesuitis;
'baptismoque liberis domesticis et
'nonnullorum conjuratorum in-
'servitur.

There is in that very house a publick chapel, wherein an ordinary Jesuit consecrates, and dwells there. In the said chapel masses are daily celebrated by the Jesuits; and it serves for the baptising of the children of the house, and of some of the conspirators.

'Qui in nominatis ædibus con-
'currunt, rhedis vel equis, fre-
'quenter habitu politico, magnoque
'comitatu, quo palliantur ne in-
'notescant; Jesuitæ tamen sunt, et
'membra societatis conjurata.

Those, who assemble in the forenamed house, come frequently in coaches, or on horseback in laymen's habit, and with a great train, wherewith they are disguised, that they may not be known; yet they

'15. Huic cœtui contribuitur 'ab omnibus Papistis Angliæ, ne 'quidquam ad promovendum sus- 'ceptum negotium deficiat; in 'quem fiscum unica vidua, pro- 'prietaria olim ædium quas modo 'Secretarius Windebank inhabitat, 'ante triennium defuncta, 400,000 'librarum Anglicarum contulit; 'sic et alii etiam citra vires faciunt, 'modo ad optatum finem pro- 'moveatur negotium.

15. All the Papists of England contribute to this assembly, lest any thing should be wanting to promote the undertaken design; upon whose treasury one widow, owner of the houses wherein Secretary Windebank now dwelleth, dead above three years since, bestowed four hundred thousand English pounds; so likewise others contributed above their abilities, so as the business may be promoted unto its desired end.

'16. Præter nominatas ædes, 'etiam per alia loca secretiora 'fiunt conventicula, de quibus ne 'inter se quidem fidunt, metu ne 'dispertiantur. Convocantur pri- 'mo ad certa diversoria singuli '(alter alterius inscius) hinc per 'exploratores ad locum, ubi con- 'venire debent, singuli deducuntur, 'ignari alias ubi conventuri sint, 'ne forte insperato obruantur.

16. Besides the foresaid houses, there are also conventicles kept in other more secret places, of which verily they confide not even among themselves, for fear lest they should be discovered. First, every of them are called to certain inns, one not knowing of the other: hence they are severally led by spies to the place where they ought to meet, otherwise ignorant where they ought to assemble, lest peradventure they should be surprised at unawares.

'17. Comitissa d'Arundel, 'strenua Pontificiæ religionis pro- 'pugnatrix, ad reformationem uni- 'versalem omnes nervos intendit; 'quicquid ad aulam regis, secrete 'vel aperte, verbis vel factis geritur, 'Legato Pontificio insinuat, cum 'quo ad minimum ter de die, modo 'in ædibus Arundelianis, jam ad 'aulam, vel Tarthalæ, cum ipso 'congreditur. Ex ungue talia vix 'exsugit.

17. The Countess of Arundel, a strenuous she-champion of the Popish religion, bends all her nerves to the universal reformation; whatsoever she hears at the king's court, that is done secretly or openly, in words or deeds, she presently imparts to the Pope's Legate, with whom she meets thrice a day, sometimes in Arundel-house, now at the court, or at Tart-hall. He scarce sucks such things by the claw.

'Ipse comes, vocatus jam a 'triennio, hoc anno ire debebat 'Romam, acturus ibi dubio pro- 'cul de seriis negotium concernen- 'tibus.

The earl himself, called now about three years since, this year ought to go to Rome, without doubt, to consult there of serious things concerning the design.

'Donis dictionibusque suis, 'Jesuitæ missis invigilant.

With gifts and speeches, the Jesuits watch diligently to their masses.

'Grinvici, impensis comitis, 'schola fœminea sustentatur, quæ 'alias monasterium monialium est; 'adultæ enim inibi juvenculæ hinc 'inde per extera transmarina mo- 'nasteria emittuntur.

'18. Dominus Porter, cubicu- 'larius regius, Pontificiæ religioni 'addictissimus, regis infensus hos- 'tis. Is ipsius secretissima quæ- 'que legato pontificio aperit; 'quamvis rarissime cum ipso con- 'veniat, uxor tanto sæpius, quæ 'ab marito informata, legato se- 'creta confidit. In omnibus suis 'actionibus Tobiæ Matthæi nihil 'cedit; effari non potest qualiter 'negotio invigilet.

'Filii ipsius in religione Pontifi- 'cia occulte informantur, aperte 'reformatam profitentur. Major 'natu officium patris suscepturus, 'sub rege futuro; alteri, si nego- 'tium bene successerit, pileus car- 'dinalis paratus est.

'Ante triennium, ablegari debe- 'bat dictus Dominus Porter a rege 'Morocum; prohibitus fuit ab socie- 'tate, ne moram pateretur negо- 'tium.

'Patronus est Jesuitarum, qui- 'bus, ad exercitium religionis, sa- 'cella domi forisque subministrat.

'19. Secretarius Windebank, 'Papista acerrimus, regi omnium 'infidelissimus, qui non solum se- 'cretissima etiam quæque regia 'prodit & revelat, sed etiam con- 'silia, quibus optime negotio con- 'suleretur, communicat. Ipse, ad 'minimum ter in hebdomada, per 'nocturna conventicula cum legato 'conversatur, injungitque quæ sci- 'tu digna cogitat: cujus causa, 'ædes vicinas legati domo conduxit,

At Greenwich, at the earl's costs, a feminine school is maintained, which otherwise is a monastery of nuns; for the young girls therein are sent forth hither and thither into foreign monasteries beyond the seas.

18. Mr. Porter, of the king's bed-chamber, most addicted to the Popish religion, is a bitter enemy of the king. He reveals all his greatest secrets to the pope's legate; although he very rarely meets with him, yet his wife meets him so much the oftener, who, being informed by her husband, conveys secrets to the legate. In all his actions he is nothing inferior to Toby Matthew; it cannot be uttered how diligently he watcheth on the business.

His sons are secretly instructed in the Popish religion, openly they profess the reformed. The eldest is now to receive his father's office, under the king which shall be; a cardinal's hat is provided for the other, if the design shall succeed well.

About three years past, the said Mr. Porter was to be sent away by the king to Morocco; but he was prohibited by the society, lest the business should suffer delay thereby.

He is a patron of the Jesuits, for whom, for the exercise of religion, he provides chapels both at home and abroad.

19. Secretary Windebank, a most fierce Papist, is the most unfaithful to the king of all men; who not only betrays and reveals even the king's greatest secrets, but likewise communicates counsels, by which the design may be advanced. He, at least thrice every week, converseth with the legate in nocturnal conventicles, and reveals those things which he thinks fit to be known; for which end he hired a

'quem sæpius per portam horti
'adit; hac enim vicinitate facili-
'tatur congressus.

'Dictus secretarius ad partem
'societatis conjuratæ muneribus
'emptus est, quibus sustentatur, ut
'magis serio officium peragat.

'Filium suum expresse Romam
'misit, qui Romano pontifici sese
'insinuare debebit.

'20. Cavalliero Digby, Caval-
'liero Winter, Dominus Mountagu
'junior, qui Romæ fuit; Mi-lord
'Sterling, cognatus Comitis d'Arun-
'del, eques; Comitissa de Neu-
'port, Ducissa Buckingham, & ple-
'rique alii qui in conspirationem
'hanc jurarunt, omnes in opere
'sunt vigilantissimi. Horum alii,
'Aulicorum, alii politicorum offi-
'ciorum spe inescantur: alii ad
'sexdecim pileos cardinalium va-
'cantes attendunt, qui ideo ab ali-
'quot annis otiosi detinentur, ut
'spem vanam expectantibus impo-
'nant.

'21. Præses nominatæ societatis
'erat Mi-lord Gage, sacerdos Je-
'suita, ante triennium defunctus.
'Habebat is palatium lascivis pic-
'turis exornatum, quæ profanita-
'tem in ædibus mentiebantur: pal-
'liabatur vero illis monasterium,
'quo quadraginta moniales susten-
'tabantur, tanto palatio occultatæ;
'situm est in Platea Reginæ, quam
'statua Reginæ aurea decorat. Is-
'tam plateam totam Jesuitæ secu-
'lares emerunt, redegeruntque in
'quadratum, ubi tacite Collegium
'Jesuiticum exstruitur, ea spe, ut
'quam primum, reformatione uni-
'versali incepta, aperte elaborari
'possit.

'Legatus pontificius triplici cha-
'ractere sive cifra utitur: uno,
'quo cum omnibus nunciis com-

house near to the legate's house, whom he often resorts to through the garden-door, for by this vicinity the meeting is facilitated.

The said secretary is bribed with gifts to the party of that conjured society, by whom he is sustained, that he may the more seriously execute his office.

He sent his son expresly to Rome, who ought to insinuate himself into the Roman pontiff.

20. Sir Digby, Sir Winter, Mr. Mountagu the younger, who hath been at Rome; my Lord Sterling, a cousin of the Earl of Arundel's, a knight; the Countess of Newport, the Duchess of Buckingham, and many others, who have sworn unto this conspiracy, are all most vigilant in the design. Some of these are inticed with the hope of court, others of political offices; others attend to the sixteen cardinals caps that are vacant, which are detained idle, for some years, that they may impose a vain hope on those who expect them.

21. The president of the aforesaid society was my Lord Gage, a Jesuit priest, dead above three years since. He had a palace adorned with lascivious pictures, which counterfeited profaneness in his house; but with them was palliated a monastery, wherein forty nuns were maintained, hid in so great a palace. It is situated in Queen-street, which the statue of a golden queen adorns. The secular Jesuits have bought all this street, and have reduced it into a quadrangle, where a Jesuitical College is tacitly built, with this hope, that it might be openly finished, as soon as the universal reformation was begun.

The pope's legate useth a threefold character, or cypher; one wherewith he communicates with

'municat: altero cum solo Cardi-
'nale Barbarino: tertio, quo se-
'cretiora nonnulla communicanda
'occultat.

'Quæcunque per hebdomadam
'ab societate aliis exploratoribus
'excepit, illa uno fasciculo consar-
'cinat, sub inscriptione, "Al Mon-
'signor Stravio Archidiacono di
'Cambray," dedicat: ab quo tan-
'dem promoventur Romæ.

'His ita constitutis, si singula ad
'trutinam ponantur, satisfiet in
'specie omnibus articulis propo-
'sitis.

all the nuncio's; another with Cardinal Barbarino only; a third, wherewith he covers some greater secrets to be communicated.

Whatsoever things he either receiveth from the society, or other spies, those he packs up together in the bundle, dedicated under this inscription: "To Monsieur Stravio, Archdeacon of Cambray:" from whom, at last, they are promoted to Rome.

These things being thus ordered, if every thing be laid to the balance, it will satisfy, in special, all the articles propounded.

QUIBUS,

1.

'CONJURATIO in regem & 'dominum archiepiscopum de-
'tegitur; media, quibus exitium
'utrique minatur, demonstrantur.

'2. Pericula regno utrique im-
'minentia recensentur.

'3. Exortus incendii illius Sco-
'tici et progressus enarratur.

'4. Media, quibus turbæ istæ
'Scoticæ sedari possint, suggerun-
'tur; postquam enim resciverint
'Scoti, a quibus et in quem finem
'animi ipsorum accendantur, con-
'sulent sibi propere; neque utrius-
'que partis vires succumbere si-
'nent; ne medius sese interponat
'qui utramque quærit.

'5. Quo ense regis petatur ju-
'gulum, etiam turbis istis sopitis,
'Cunei confessio, oculataque de-
'monstratio, docet.

'6. Locus congregationis in ædi-
'bus Capitanei Redæ nominatur.

'7. Dies expeditionis octiduæ
'per Redam et legatum injungitur.

WHEREIN,

1.

THE conspiracy against the king, and lord archbishop, is detected, and the means, whereby ruin is threatened to both, demonstrated.

2. The imminent dangers to both kingdoms are rehearsed,

3. The rise and progress of that Scottish fire is related.

4. Means, whereby these Scottish troubles may be appeased, are suggested: for, after the Scots shall know by whom, and to what end their minds are incensed, they will speedily look to themselves, neither will they suffer the forces of both parts to be subdued, lest a middle party interpose, which seeks the ruin of both.

5. With what sword the king's throat is assaulted, even when these stirs shall be ended, Cuneus's confession, and a visible demonstration, sheweth.

6. The place of the assembly in the house of Capt. Read is nominated.

7. The day of the eight days dispatch by Read, and the legate, is prescribed.

'8. Quomodo nomina conjura-
'torum innotescere possent.

'9. Ubi tota ista congregatio
'possit circumveniri.

'10. Infideles nonnulli ab parte
'regis præcipuorum de nomine
'notificantur; plures, quorum no-
'mina non occurrunt, habitationes
'tamen notæ sunt; de nomine
'facile ab Reda extorqueri poterunt.

'Si caute in his procedatur,
'nervus totius negotii in apricum
'prodibit; ita sagitta prævisa, ef-
'fugietur periculo, quod ut suc-
'cedat prospere, Creator omnipo-
'tens faxit.

8. How the names of the conspirators may be known.

9. Where this whole congregation may be circumvented.

10. Some of the principal unfaithful ones of the king's party are notified by name; many of whose names occur not, yet their habitations are known; their names may be easily extorted from Read.

If these things be warily proceeded in, the strength of the whole business will be brought to light; so, the arrow being foreseen, the danger shall be avoided; which, that it may prosperously succeed, the Omnipotent Creator grant.

The Archbishop's Indorsement with his own hand.

Received, October 14, 1640. The narration of the great treason, concerning which he promised to Sir William Boswel to discover, against the king and state.

THE

ACT OF PARLIAMENT OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH OF QUEEN ELISABETH,

TO PRESERVE

The Queen's Person, the Protestant Religion, and Government,

FROM THE ATTEMPTS OF THE PAPISTS,

THEN BIG WITH THE HOPES OF A POPISH SUCCESSOR:

With the association the Protestants then entered into, to the ends aforesaid, till the parliament could meet, and provide for their necessary preservations. Together, with some sober and seasonable queries upon the same. By a sincere Protestant, and true friend to his country.

ECCLES. iii. 15.—*That which hath been, is now; and that which is to be, hath already been; and God requireth that which is past.*

REV. xviii. 24.—*And in her was found the blood of Prophets, and of Saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth.*

[From a folio, containing six pages, printed in the year 1679.]

ANNO XXVII.

An act for provision to be made for the surety of the Queen's Majesty's most royal person, and the continuance of the realm in peace.

FORASMUCH as the good felicity and comfort of the whole estate of this realm consisteth (only next under God) in the surety and

preservation of the Queen's most excellent Majesty: and for that it hath manifestly appeared, that sundry wicked plots, and means, have of late been devised and laid as well in foreign parts, beyond the seas, as also within this realm, to the great indangering of her highness's most royal person, and to the utter ruin of the whole commonweal, if, by God's merciful providence, the same had not been revealed: therefore, for preventing of such great perils as might hereafter otherwise grow, by the like detestable and devilish practices, at the humble suit and earnest petition and desire of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same parliament, be it enacted and ordained, if, at any time after the end of this present session of parliament, any open invasion or rebellion shall be had or made, into or within any of her majesty's realms or dominions, or any act attempted, tending to the hurt of her majesty's most royal person, by, or for any person, that shall, or may pretend any title to the crown of this realm, after her majesty's decease; or if any thing shall be compassed or imagined, tending to the hurt of her majesty's royal person, by any person, or with the privity of any person, that shall, or may, pretend title to the crown of this realm; that then by her majesty's commission, under her great seal, the lords, and other of her highness's privy council, and such other lords of parliament, to be named by her majesty, as, with the said privy council, shall make up the number of four and twenty at the least, having with them, for their assistance in that behalf, such of the judges of the courts of record at Westminster as her highness shall for that purpose assign and appoint, or the more part of the same council, lords, and judges, shall, by virtue of this act, have authority to examine all and every the offences aforesaid, and all circumstances thereof, and thereupon to give sentence or judgment, as, upon good proof, the matter shall appear unto them; and that after such sentence or judgment given, and declaration thereof made, and published by her majesty's proclamation, under the great seal of England, all persons, against whom such sentence or judgment shall be so given and published, shall be excluded and disabled for ever to have or claim, or to pretend to have or claim the crown of this realm, or of any of her majesty's dominions, any former law or statute whatsoever, to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding: and that thereupon all her highness's subjects shall, and may lawfully, by virtue of this act, and her majesty's direction in that behalf, by forceable and possible means, pursue to death every such wicked person, by whom, or by whose means, assent or privity, any such invasion or rebellion shall be, in form aforesaid, denounced to have been made, or such wicked act attempted, or other thing compassed or imagined against her majesty's person, and all their aiders, comforters, and abettors.

And if any such detestable act shall be executed against her highness's most royal person, whereby her majesty's life shall be taken away (which God of his great mercy forbid) that then every such person, by, or for whom any such act shall be executed, and their issues being any wise assenting, or privy to the same, shall, by virtue of this act, be excluded and disabled for ever to have, or claim, or to pretend to have, or claim, the said crown of this realm, or of any other of her highness's dominions,

any former law or statute whatsoever, to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding. And that all the subjects of this realm, and all other her majesty's dominions, shall and may lawfully, by virtue of this act, by all forcible and possible means, pursue to death every such wicked person, by whom, or by whose means, any such detestable fact shall be, in form hereafter expressed, denounced to have been committed, and also their issues being any way assenting or privy to the same, and all their aiders, comforters, and abettors, in that behalf.

And to the end that the intention of this law may be effectually executed, if her majesty's life should be taken away, by any violent or unnatural means (which God defend): be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the lords and others, which shall be of her majesty's privy council, at the time of such her decease, or the more part of the same council, joining unto them, for their better assistance, five other earls, and seven other lords of parliament at least (forseeing that none of the said earls, lords, or council, be known to be persons, that may make any title to the crown) those persons which were chief justices of either bench, master of the rolls, and chief baron of the exchequer, at the time of her majesty's death, or, in default of the said justices, master of the rolls, and chief baron, some other of those which were justices of some of the courts of records at Westminster, at the time of her highness's decease, to supply their places, or any four and twenty or more of them, whereof eight to be lords of the parliament, not being of the privy council, shall to the uttermost of their power and skill examine the cause and manner of such her majesty's death, and what persons shall be any way guilty thereof, and all circumstances concerning the same, according to the true meaning of this act, and thereupon shall by open proclamation publish the same, and without any delay, by all forcible and possible means, prosecute to death all such as shall be found to be offenders therein, and all their aiders and abettors; and for the doing thereof, and for the withstanding and suppressing of all such power and force, as shall any way be levied or stirred in disturbance of the due execution of this law, shall, by virtue of this act, have power and authority not only to raise and use such forces, as shall in that behalf be needful and convenient, but also to use all other means and things possible and necessary for the maintenance of the same forces, and prosecution of the said offenders. And if any such power and force shall be levied or stirred, in disturbance of the due execution of this law, by any person, that shall, or may pretend any title to the crown of this realm, whereby this law may not in all things be fully executed, according to the effect and true meaning of the same; that then every such person shall, by virtue of this act, be therefore excluded and disabled, for ever, to have, or claim, or to pretend to have, or claim, the crown of this realm, or of any other her highness's dominions, any former law or statute whatsoever, to the contrary, notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the subjects of all her majesty's realms and dominions shall, to the uttermost of their power, aid and assist the said council and all other the lords, and other persons, to be adjoined unto them for assistance, as is aforesaid, in all things, to be done and executed according

to the effect and intention of this law; and that no subject of this realm shall in any wise be impeached in body, lands, or goods, at any time hereafter, for any thing to be done or executed according to the tenor of this law, any law or statute, heretofore made to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.

And whereas, of late, many of her majesty's good and faithful subjects have, in the name of God, and with the testimonies of good consciences, by one uniform manner of writing under their hands and seals, and by their several oaths voluntarily taken, joined themselves together in one bond and association, to withstand and revenge to the uttermost all such malicious actions and attempts, against her majesty's most royal person; now for the full explaining of all such ambiguities and questions as otherwise might happen to grow, by reason of any sinister or wrong construction or interpretation, to be made or inferred of, or upon the words, or meaning thereof, be it declared and enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that the same association and every article and sentence therein contained, as well concerning the disallowing, excluding, or disabling any person, that may or shall pretend any title to come to the crown of this realm, as also for the pursuing and taking revenge of any person, for any such wicked act or attempt, as is mentioned in the same association, shall, and ought to be in all things expounded and adjudged, according to the true intent and meaning of this act, and not otherwise, nor against any other person or persons.

IN CONSIDERATION OF THE SAID ACT, MAY IT NOT BE QUERIED.

First, respecting the imminent danger, that England was in at that time, by the Papists, who in expectation of a Popish successor (Mary, Queen of Scots) designed to murder the queen, and subvert the government, and Protestant religion, by their hellish plots, both at home and abroad.

Query I. Whether it is not a direct parallel case to our own, at this very time, wherein the Papists, in hopes of a Popish successor, (the Duke of York) have so long, and by so many ways, designed to murder the king, and subvert the government, and Protestant religion, by their hellish plots, both at home and abroad; as the manifold and still renewed discoveries of the plot, the reiterated proclamations, publick fasts, legal proceedings, and repeated parliament votes upon it, doth so fully appear? some of which votes are these, viz.

Die Martis, 25 March, 1679.

Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, by the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament assembled, that they do declare, that they are fully satisfied by the proofs they have heard, there now is, and for divers years last past hath been, a horrid and treasonable plot and conspiracy, contrived and carried on by those of the Popish religion, for the murdering of his majesty's sacred person, and for the subverting the Protestant religion, and the antient and established government of this kingdom.

Sunday, April 27th, 1679.

Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the Duke of York being a Papist, and the hopes of his coming such to the crown, hath given the greatest encouragement and countenance to the present conspiracies and designs of the Papists, against the king and Protestant religion.

And again in the intended act: 'do declare, that the Duke of York having openly departed from the Church of England, and publickly professed and owned the Popish religion, hath notoriously given birth and life to the most damnable and hellish plot (by the most gracious providence of God brought to light)' &c.

Secondly, as to the remedies then applied, and so effectually (by God's blessing) for the preservation of her majesty's person, Protestant religion, and government; as,

1. By that famous association, entered into by the people, in the interval of parliament.

2. The wholesome laws made by the parliament at their meeting.

First, As to the association of the people in that extraordinary case.

Query II. Whether the good people of England (now in a like case) in sense of their most imminent danger, are not loudly called upon, in this interval of parliament, to be in a preparedness to enter into such a solemn association, to preserve the king's person, Protestant religion, and government, with their lives and fortunes; and to be ready to revenge upon the Papists any violence by them offered in the mean time to his majesty's person; and to prevent any Popish successor, till the parliament may meet and provide for the necessary preservation of king and kingdom. And whether, from the circumstances of danger that appears to king and kingdom now, there is not the same reason to suppose, it may be as acceptable to his majesty now, as to the queen then, and to be as well approved by the approaching parliament now, as by that parliament then? especially since the late parliament's votes are so leading and obliging thereto, viz.

Sunday, May 11, 1679.

Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that in defence of the king's person, and the Protestant religion, this house doth declare, that they will stand by his majesty with their lives and fortunes; and that if his majesty should come by any violent death (which God forbid) they will revenge it to the utmost on the Papists.

And in their address to the king upon it, May 11, 1679, do further say, viz.

And further to obviate, by the best means we can, all wicked practices against your majesty's person and Protestant religion, whilst any such laws are in preparation and bringing to perfection, we will stand by your majesty with our lives and fortunes, and shall be ready to revenge upon the Papists any violence offered by them to your sacred person: in which we hope your majesty will graciously please to be more assured, as we ourselves are the more encouraged, in that the hearts of all your majesty's Protestant subjects, with the most sincere affection and zeal, join with us herein.

And for which the king gave them his thanks, assuring them he would do what in him lay, to preserve the Protestant religion, and to do all such things as may tend to the good and benefit of the subject.

Secondly, as to the good laws made the twenty-seventh of Queen Elisabeth, to the preservation of the queen, Protestant religion, and government.

Query III. Whether we may not hopefully expect that the parliament, at their meeting (as the parliament then did) will make such good laws as may tend to preserve the king's person, the government, and Protestant religion, and may secure us against a Popish successor, and punish the Popish traytors and delinquents; as this parliament and other parliaments of this queen did, and as was in the hearts and endeavours of the last worthy parliament to effect, not only by the good acts they had prepared against the Papists, and resolutions to try the delinquents, but in that famous act to exclude the Duke of York from the succession, in pursuance of their vote, viz.

Sunday, May 11, 1679.

Ordered,

That a bill be brought in to disable the Duke of York to inherit the imperial crown of this realm.

Which bill was brought in accordingly, being read, and passed, and ordered to be engrossed, and was as followeth:

A COPY OF THE BILL CONCERNING THE DUKE OF YORK.

Forasmuch as these kingdoms of England and Ireland, by the wonderful providence of almighty God, many years since, have been delivered from the slavery and superstition of Popery, which had despoiled the king of his sovereign power, for that it did and doth advance the Pope of Rome to a power over sovereign princes, and makes him monarch of the universe, and doth withdraw the subjects from their allegiance, by pretended absolutions from all former oaths and obligations to their lawful sovereign, and by many superstitions and immoralities hath quite subverted the ends of the Christian religion; but notwithstanding that Popery hath been long since condemned, by the laws and statutes of this realm, for the detestable doctrines and trayterous attempts of its adherents, against the lives of their lawful sovereigns, kings, and queens of these realms, yet the emissaries, priests, and agents for the Pope of Rome, resorting into this kingdom of England in great numbers, contrary to the known laws thereof, have, for several years last past, as well by their own devilish acts and policies, as by counsels and assistances of foreign princes and prelates, known enemies to these nations, contrived and carried on a most horrid and execrable conspiracy to destroy and murder the person of his sacred majesty, and to subvert the antient government of these realms, and to extirpate the Protestant religion, and massacre the true professors thereof; and for the better effecting their wicked designs and encouraging their villainous

accomplices, they have trayterously seduced James, Duke of York, presumptive heir to these crowns, to the communion of the Church of Rome, and have induced him to enter into several negotiations with the pope, his cardinals, and nuncio's, for promoting the Romish Church and interest, and by his means and procurement have advanced the power and greatness of the French king to the manifest hazard of these kingdoms, that, by the descent of these crowns upon a Papist, and by foreign alliances and assistance, they may be able to succeed in their wicked and villainous designs. And forasmuch as the parliament of England, according to the laws and statutes thereof, have heretofore, for great and weighty reasons of state, and for the publick good and common interest of this kingdom, directed and limited the succession of the crown in other manner than of course it would otherwise have gone; but never had such important and urgent reasons, as at this time press and require their using of their said extraordinary power in that behalf. Be it therefore enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by, and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, in this parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same. And it is hereby enacted accordingly, that James, Duke of York, Albany, and Ulster (having departed openly from the Church of England, and having publickly professed and owned the Popish religion, which hath notoriously given birth and life to the most damnable and hellish plot, by the most gracious providence of God lately brought to light) shall be excluded and disabled, and is hereby excluded and disabled for ever, from possessing, having, holding, inheriting, or enjoying the imperial crowns and governments of this realm and these kingdoms, and of all territories, countries, and dominions now, or which shall hereafter be under his majesty's subjection, and of and from all titles, rights, prerogatives, and revenues, with the said crowns, now, or hereafter to be enjoyed; and that upon the demise or death of his majesty, without heirs of his body (whom God long preserve) the crowns and governments of these kingdoms, and all territories, countries, and dominions now, or which shall hereafter be under his majesty's subjection, with all the rights, prerogatives, and revenues therewith, of right enjoyed, and to be enjoyed, shall devolve and come upon such person who shall be next lawful heir of the same, and who shall have always been truly and professedly of the Protestant religion now established by law within this kingdom, as if the said Duke of York were actually dead; and that whatever acts of sovereign power the said Duke of York shall at any time exert or exercise, shall be taken, deemed, and adjudged, and are hereby declared and enacted high-treason and to be punished accordingly.

And forasmuch as the peace, safety, and well-being of these kingdoms do so intirely depend upon the due execution of, and obedience to this law, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person shall in any wise, at any time, during the king's life (which God preserve) or after his demise or decease, aid, assist, counsel, or hold correspondence with the said Duke of York, who is and ought to be esteemed a perpetual enemy to these kingdoms and governments, either within these kingdoms or out of them; or shall endeavour or contrive

his return into either of them, or into any of the territories or dominions of the same; or shall, during the king's life, publish or declare him to be the lawful, or rightful successor apparent, presumptive, or other heir to the crown of England; or shall, after the demise or decease of the king that now is, proclaim, publish, or declare the said Duke of York to be king, or to have right or title to the crown or government of England or Ireland; or shall, by word, writing, or printing, maintain or assert that he hath any manner of right or title to the crown or government of these kingdoms, and shall be therefore convict upon the evidence of two or more lawful and credible witnesses, shall be adjudged guilty of high-treason, and shall suffer and forfeit as in cases of high-treason.

And forasmuch as the said duke's return, or coming into any of the aforesaid kingdoms, countries, territories, or dominions, will naturally conduce to bring vast mischiefs, and all the evil hereby provided against upon them, in war and slaughter, and unspeakable calamities, which therefore the said duke must be presumed to design by such his return, or coming into any of the aforesaid kingdoms, countries, territories, or dominions; be it therefore likewise enacted, and it is hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid, that, if the duke do at any time hereafter return or come into any of the aforesaid kingdoms, countries, territories, or dominions, he shall be and is hereby, thereupon and for so doing, attainted of high-treason; and all manner of persons whatsoever are hereby authorised and required, to apprehend, secure, and imprison his person; and, in case of resistance made by him, or any of his accomplices, to subdue, or imprison him, or them, by force of arms.

Query IV. Whether the Protestants of England have not cause, by sad experience, to be made sensible what a horrid detestable thing the Popish religion is, or rather, what a faction and confederacy it is against all mankind, that submit not their bodies and souls to that tyrannous Romish yoke; who by principle (to accomplish their cursed ends and designs) can violate faith, say, swear, forswear any thing, yea at the very point of death, [witness their own books, and late tryals and executions] kill and murder kings, [as their own writings and practices in all ages, and particularly their designs and attempts upon Queen Elisabeth, King James, and his majesty that now is, so fully evidence] massacre their neighbours, friends, and nearest relations, [witness Paris, Piedmont, the 300,000 in Ireland, and the late never to be forgotten hellish butchery of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey] fry and burn our persons, [as Smithfield, &c. witnesseth] fire and lay waste our cities, [which London in chief can never forget, and who had their hands in chief therein] buy and sell (at the devotion of foreigners) the prorogations and dissolutions of our parliaments [as Coleman's and the treasurer's Letters can at large tell you]. How brutishly cruel and barbarous to their native country [by their late designing not only to raise an army within us to inslave us, but to bring upon us that army of foreigners, the Spanish crusado or pilgrims, under the pope's banner, those devils incarnate as they appeared to the Waldenses of old.] How restless and unwearied in their conspiracies and attempts, notwithstanding their many frustrations [just as it was in Queen Elisabeth's

time, when though sixty-seven priests and Jesuits were then executed, and fifty-three banished, discovered and defeated in every enterprise; yet no sooner was one design made abortive, but they presently hatched and attempted another, and so went on all her days; and how good they have been at it since, through the three succeeding kings reigns to this very day, the St. Omer's Records, Kalendar of Newgate, and Parliament Rolls can fully tell you.] And with what horrid impudence [as in the Powder Treason, Paris and Irish massacres] they can out-face the fullest and clearest discoveries (though brought as now so undeniably out of their own bowels and so multiplied upon them, [witness their atheistical, astonishing, lying deaths, and those swarms of insolent and audacious papers, daily, like their fire-balls, flung amongst us, and which, like wild-fire, take place with some persons, as in their houses formerly] sometimes as though a Protestant plot to destroy them. And again, so hellishly and jesuitically subtle in managing their designs [that, when the bare-faced Papist cannot do it, the Protestant in masquerade shall] the stratagem of this very day and above all to be watched against.) As, Coleman's declaration for the church of England, at that very time when they so designed its extirpation; being, as you will also find, the very devilism of Savage and other priests in Queen Elisabeth's time; who, the better to lull in security, and to cover Babington's treasons in killing the queen, which they had engaged him and others at that time to perpetrate, do at the same time write a book, exhorting the Papists in England to attempt nothing against their prince, and to use only the Christian weapons of tears, prayers, watching, and fasting. And, at another time, the better to divert the stroke so unavoidably coming upon them, they fall upon their old method to divide the Protestants among themselves; and therefore, putting on a vizard of conformity, cry loudly out against the Presbyterians, as being only a plot of their devising, who, under pretence of suppressing of Popery, have no other design than to cast down the mitre and the crown (being poor hearts so tender of heretical kings and bishops); so villainous are these miscreants, who, with their father the devil, can transform themselves into any shape to accomplish their ends, and accommodate their mischievous purposes.

Therefore, whether all true-hearted English Protestants, though of different forms and persuasions, as they value their bodies, souls, estates, posterities, religion, peace and prosperity of king and country, are not thoroughly engaged by all ways and means to preserve and deliver themselves from such a hellish and intolerable yoke and bondage; and in order thereto to preserve peace and union amongst themselves, so eminently struck at in this very juncture; without which it is not to be attained, and which the common enemy knows right well.

Query V. Whether for any pretending protestantism (after such undeniable demonstrations of their hellish and damnable plottings and actings, as before) having seen our cities and boroughs so often fired and refired, Sir Edmondbury Godfrey butchered, Coleman's and the treasurer's letters (so signally brought to light), two parliaments repeated votes, the kings reiterated proclamations, the publick fasts, and bishops prayers; who can now at last be made so drunk with the

cup of their fornications, and bewitched with their lying inchantments and forgeries; (so as giving the lye to king and parliament, and their own senses) to defraud and invalidate the witnesses, mince or deny the plot; and call it with them a Protestant or Presbyterian project, pleading for a Popish successor; ought to be esteemed others than betrayers of their king and country, runagadoes from their religion (if ever Protestants at all) and the worst of Papists; and that, whatever otherwise they might pretend, yet to be so marked and dealt with in city and country.

Query VI. Whether the Protestant interest in these nations, in the feeling sense of their most imminent danger, would, as one man, petition and beseech his majesty, as he tenders his own life and safety, the preservation of the Protestant religion, the lives and liberties of his people, security and peace of his kingdoms and governments; and to be secured not only from the restless attempts of such an inveterate, implacable enemy within us, but from the present threats, and great preparations, of a successful potent enemy without us: That he be not prevailed with by any, either to retard the parliament's sitting, or when sat, to hinder the passing of such good laws as may naturally tend to the common safety of these nations, and therein of his own person and Protestant religion.

Query VII. Whether it may not well become the wisdom of the parliament, at their next meeting (the better to secure the Protestant cause and interest, so eminently struck at in this juncture both at home and abroad) to petition his majesty not only for a right ordering of a Protestant league and association within ourselves in these three kingdoms, but to further and promote the same amongst all the Protestant princes and countries, as well within themselves, as one with another; as the most hopeful way to frustrate the usurping attempts not only of the old Pretender, but the new rampant designer to the universal monarchy, the better to inslave the bodies and souls of the nations.

THE

ANTIQUITY and DIGNITY of PARLIAMENTS.

WRITTEN BY SIR ROBERT COTTON.

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That the Kings of England have been pleased, usually, to consult in the great Council of Marriage, Peace and War, with their Peers and Commons in Parliament.

TO search so high as the Norman conquest, that is necessary to lay down the form and government of those times, wherein state affairs were led in another form of publick councils: for the people wrought, under the sword of the first William and his followers, to a

subjected vassalage, and could not possess, in such assemblies, the right of their former liberties, division and power having mastered them, and none of their own nobility and heads being left, either of credit or fortunes.

What he retained not in providence (as the demesnes of the crown) or reserved in piety (as the maintainance of the church) he parted to those strangers that sailed along with him, in that bark of his adventure; leaving the natives for the most part (as appeareth in his survey) in no better condition than villanage: he moulded their customs to the nature of his own country, and forbare to grant the laws of holy Edward, so often called for.*

To supply his occasions of men, money, and provision, he ordered,† that all those, that enjoyed any fruit of his conquest, should hold their lands proportionable by so many knights fees of the crown, admitting them to enfeoff their followers, with such parts as they pleased of their own portions; which, to ease their charge, they did in his and his son's times,‡ by two enfeoffments, the one *de novo*, the other *de veteri*.

This course provided him the body of the war; the money and provision was by headage assessed on the common people, at the consent of the lords,‖ who held in all their seigniories such right of regality, that to their vassals, as Paris § saith, *quot domini, tot tyranni*, and proved to the king so great a curb, and restraint of power, that nothing fell into the care of his majesty after, more than to retrench the force of his aristocoited, that was in time like to strangle the monarchy.¶

Though others foresaw the mischiefs betimes, yet none attempted the remedy, until King John, whose over-hasty undertaking brought in these broils of the barons wars.

There needed not before this care, to advise with the commons in any publick assembly, when every man in England, by tenure, held himself to his great lord's will, whose presence was ever recognised in those great councils, and in whose assent his dependent tenant's consent was ever included.

Before this king's time then, we seek in vain for any commons called; they were ever called for making of laws, but not to consult touching war or peace: he first, as may be gathered (though darkly by the records) used their counsels and assents, in the sixth year of his reign.(*a*)

Here is the first summons on record to the peers or barons: *tractatur de magnis et arduis negotiis:* it was about a war of defence against the French, and at that time the commons were admitted. At this time that may fitly be gathered by this ordinance, *provisum est communi assensu archiepiscoporum communium, baronium, et omnium fidelium nostrorum Angliæ quod novem milites per Angliam inveniend. de communi re.*(*b*) And this was directed to all the sheriffs in England, the ancient use in publick laws.

* Doomsday Book. Admerus, Huntington. † Ex libro Fœderis in Scaccio. ‡ Hen. IV. Statut. ‖ Ex libro Rubro Scaccio. § Chronicon de Dunstable. ¶ Benedict. Monard. in Vita Hen. II. (*a*) Claus. 6. in Dorso. (*b*) Paris 6. Ro. 9. in Dorso.

From this there is a break, until 18 Hen. III. where the next summons extant is in a plea-roll of that year, but the ordinances are lost; from thence the record affords no light, until the 49th of the same king *, where then the summons to bishops, lords, knights and burgesses are much in manner, tho' not in matter, alike to the use of our times. This parliament was called to advise with the king, *pro pace asseveranda & firmanda*, they are the words; and where advice is required, consultation must be admitted.

To this king succeeds Edward I. his son, a wise, a just, and a fortunate prince: In his reign we have no light of any publick counsel in this kind, and so along to the fourth of his grandchild's reign, but what we borrow in the rolls of summons, wherein the form stood various according to the occasions †, until that grew constant in the form that is now about the entering of Rich. II; the journal-rolls being spoiled by the injury of time, or private ends.

The king, in the fifth of his reign, called a parliament, and therein advised with his lords and commons, for the suppressing Lluellin, Prince of Wales ‡; and, hearing that the French King intended to some pieces of his inheritance in France, summoned a parliament, *ad tractandum, ordinandum, & favendum cum prælatis, proceribus, & aliis incolis regni quælibet hujusmodi periculis, & excogitatis militiis sic abjurand.* ||, inserting in the writ, that that was *lex justissima provida circumspectione stabilita;* that that which *omnes tangit ab omnibus approbetur*, in the thirty-fourth of his reign, *super ordinatione & stabilimento regni Scotiæ*, he made the like convention §.

His son, the second Edward, *pro solemnitate sponsalium & coronationis*, consulted with his people in his first year; in his sixth year, *super diversis negotiis Statum Regni & expeditione Guerram Scotiæ specialiter tangentibus*, he assembled the state to advise; the like he did in his eighth year (*a*).

The French King having invaded Gascoigne, in the thirteenth year, the parliament was called, *super ordinis negotiis statum Ducatus Gasconiæ tangentibus;* and in the sixteenth to consult, *ad refrænandum Scotorum obstinantiam & malitiam* (*b*).

Before Edward the Third would resolve in his first year, whether peace or war should be with the Scots King, he summoned the peers and commons, *super præmissis tractare et consilium impendere* (*c*).

The chancellor, *Anno* 5, declareth from the king the cause of that assembly, and that was to consult and resolve, whether the king should proceed with France, for the recovery of his seigniories, by alliance of marriage or by war; and whether, to redress the disobedience of the Irish, he should go thither in person or no (*d*).

The year following he re-assembled his lords and commons, and required their advice, whether he should undertake the holy expedition (*e*) with the French King or no; the bishops and protectors of the clergy would not be present, as forbidden by the commons such coun-

* Claus. 49. Hen. III. in Dorso. † Ex Rot. Parl. in Archivis London. ‡ Claus. 5. Edw. I. in Dorso. || Claus. 7. Edw. I. m. 3. in Dorso. § Claus. 34. Edw. I. in Dorso. (*a*) Edw. II. Claus. 1. 19. m. Claus. 6. 3. m. Claus. 8. 3. m. Claus 13. m. 13. in Dorso. (*b*) Claus. 16. m. 27. (*c*) Edw. III. Claus. 1. (*d*) Rot. Parl. 5. (*e*) To fight the Turks, and recover the Holy Land.

sels; the peers and commons consult, applauding the religious and princely forwardness of their sovereign to this hard enterprise; but humbly advise forbearance this year, for urgent reasons *.

The same year (though another sessions) the king demanded the advice of his people, whether he should pass into France, to an interview, as was desired, for the expediting the treaty of marriage. The prelates by themselves, and the earls and barons by themselves, and the knights of the shires by themselves, consult a-part (for so is the records†) and in the end resolved, that, to prevent some dangers likely to arise from the north, it would please the king to forbear his journey, and to draw towards those parts where the perils were feared, his presence being the best prevention; which advice he followed.

In the following parliament at York, the king sheweth, how, by their former advice, he had drawn himself towards the north-parts, and now again he had assembled them, to advise further for his proceedings. To which the lords and commons, having consulted a-part, pray further time to resolve, until a full assembly of the state; to which the king granting, adjourneth that sessions.

At their next meeting, they are charged upon their allegiance and faith, to give the king their best advice ‡. The peers and commons (consulting a-part) delivered their opinions, and so that parliament ended.

In the thirteenth year, the grandees and commons are called to consult and advise, how the domestick quiet may be perserved, the marshes of Scotland defended, and the sea scoured from enemies; the peers and commons (having a-part consulted) the commons, desiring not to be charged to counsel in things, *des queux ils neut pas Cognisaux*, answer, that the guardians of the shire, assisted by the knights, may effect the first (if pardons of felony be not granted) the care of the marshes they humbly leave to the king and council; and, for the safeguard of the seas, they wish that the Cinqueports and maritime-towns (discharged, for the most part, from many burthens of inland-parts) may have that left to their charge and care; and that such, as have lands near the sea-coasts, be commanded to reside in those possessions.

The parliament is the same year re-assembled to advise, *De expeditione Guerræ in partibus transmarinis* ||. At this assembly ordinances are made for provision of ships, arraigning men for the marshes, and defence of the isle of Jersey, naming such in the record, as they conceived for the employments.

The next year, De la Poole accounteth the expences of the war; a new aid is granted, and by several committees (in which divers were named that were not peers of parliament) the safeguard of the seas, and defence of the borders, are consulted of §.

In the fifteenth year, *Assensu prælatorum, procerum, & aliorum de consilio*, the king's passage into France is resolved of (*a*).

In *Anno* 17, Badlesmore, in the place of the chancellor, declareth

* Parl. 6. Edw. III. † Rot. Parl. 6. Edw. III. Sess. 2. m. 6. ‡ Rot. 7. Edw. III. Sess. 2. Parl. 7. Edw. III. m. 6. || Rot. Parl. 13 Edw. III. Sess. 2. § Parl. 14 Edw. III. Parl. 15 Edw. III. (*a*) Parl. 17. Edw. III.

to the peers and commons, That, whereas by their assents the king had undertaken the wars with France, and that by the mediation of the pope a truce was offered, which then their sovereign forbare to entertain, without their well allowance.

The lords a-part consult; and also the commons, returning by Sir William Trussel, in answer to their advice and desire to compose the quarrel, approve the truce, and the pope's mediation.

The pope's undertaking proving fruitless, and delays to the French advantage, who in the mean space (with Scotland and others) practised to root out the English nation in France; the king again assembled his parliament the year following: In which the peers and commons, after many days of deliberation, resolve to end that, either by battle or peace, and no more to trust to the mediation of his holiness.

In the twelfth the chief justice Thorpe declaring to the peers and commons, that the French wars began by their advice *.

First, The truce, after by their assents accepted, and now ended, the king's pleasure was to have their counsels in these prosecutions: The commons being commanded, *Y ils se devoirent ensemble & si ils assent le devoirent nostre au Roy & all Grandees de son Counsel*, who, after four days consulting, humbly desire of the king, that he would be advised herein by his lords, and others of more experience than themselves in such affairs.

To advise the king the best for his French employments, a parliament was summoned, *Anno* 25. Wherein the king, by a more publick dispatch, willeth the commons to elect twenty-four, or thirty, of their house, to consult with the lords; these to relate to their fellows, and the conclusion in general, by the lords to the king†.

In the twenty-seventh, a great council is assembled, many of the lay-peers, few of the clergy, and of the knights of the shires, and burgesses, but one a-piece ‡. This was for the prosecution of the French wars, when honourable; and, in the year following, a truce being offered, the king forbare his peers and commons, which they in parliament accorded unto, before the pope's notary, by publick instinct.

The dallying of the French King, in conclusion of peace, and || the falling off of the Duke of Bretagne (having wrought his end with France by reputation of the English succour) is the year following declared in parliament, and their advice and aid required for the king's proceedings.

In the thirty-sixth year, he calleth his parliament to consult, whether war or peace (by David King of Scots then offered) should be accepted §.

In the fortieth year, the pope demanding the tribute of King John, the parliament assembled, when, after consultation a-part, the prelates, lords, and commons advise the denial, although it be by dint of sword (*a*).

In the forty-third, the king declared to the peers and commons, that

* Parl. 21 Edw. III. † Parl. 25 Edw. III ‡ Parl. Edw. III. || Parl. 29 Edw. III.
§ Parl. 36 Edw. III. (*a*) Parl. 40 Edw. III.

the French, against the articles of the truce, refused payment of the monies, and delivery of the towns, summoning La Brett, and others of the king's subjects in Gascoigne, to make at Paris their appeals, and had foraged his country of Poictiers, requiring (in their breach) whether he might not regain his stile of France *.

The lords and commons had a-part consulted; they advised the king to both, which he approving, altered the inscription and figure of his stile.

Two years after †, it was declared to the peers and commons, that, by their advice, he had again resumed the stile and quarrel of France, and therefore called their advice, for the defence of the realm against the French, securing of the seas, and pursuing of the wars; of which they consult and resolve to give the king an aid.

The like counsel and supply was the very next following ‡.

In the fiftieth, a parliament to the purpose of the former two was summoned ||; and the year following the king in parliament, declaring how the French had combined under-hand against him with Spain and Scotland, required their advice how peace at home, territories abroad, security of the seas, and charge of the war might be maintained.

I have the longer insisted in observing the carriage of those times, so good and so glorious; after ages having not left the journal entries of parliament so full, which with a lighter hand I will pass through.

Richard the Second his grand-child succeeded to the crown and troubles, having nothing worthy his great fortunes but his birth: The first of his reign he pursued the steps of his wise grandfather, advising with his peers and commons how best to resist his enemies that had lately wronged many of his subjects on the sea coasts §.

In the second year he again consulted (*a*) with his people how to withstand the Scots, who then had combined with the French to break the truce.

In the third year, he calleth the advice of his parliament (*b*) how to maintain the regality impaired by (*c*) the pope's provisions; how to resist France, Spain, and Scotland, that had raised wars against him; how to suppress his rebels in Guzen and Ireland, and to defend the seas.

In the fourth year of his reign he calleth the like (*d*) at Windsor; the year following in a great council the king, having proposed a voyage royal into France, now called his parliament to determine further of that: and it is worth observation, that, for the most part, before any proposition of war or peace was vented to the commons, a debate thereof proceedeth in the great council to shape that fitter for popular advice.

The quarrel with Spain continuing, the Duke of Lancaster offereth a voyage against them, so the state would lend him money; after consultation (*e*) they grant an aid, but not to bind them to any continuance of war with Spain.

* Parl. 43 Edw. III. † Parl. 45 Edw. III. ‡ Parl. 46 Edw. III. || Parl. 46 Edw. III. § Rich. II. Parl. 1. m. 5. a. 6. (*a*) Parl. 2 Rich. II. m. 1. (*b*) Parl. 3 Rich. II. m. 4, 5. (*c*) Urban VI. (*d*) Parl. 4 Rich. II. m. 2, 3. (*e*) Parl. 5 Rich. II. Sess. 2, 3.

In the sixth, the parliament was called to consult about the defence of the borders, the king's possessions beyond the seas, Ireland and Gascoigne, and his subjects in Portugal.*

The lords approve the duke's intention for Portugal, and the commons advise that the Bishop of Norwich, having the croycery, should invade France.

The same year the state was re-assembled, † to consult whether the king should go in person to rescue Gaunt, or to send his army. The commons, after two days debate, crave a conference with the lords; the effect is not entered in the roll, only they, by Sir Thomas Puckering, their speaker, protest, that counsels of war did aptly belong to the king and his lords, yet, since the commons were commanded to give their advice, they humbly wish a voyage royal by the king; if not, that the Bishop of Norwich might, with the advantage of the pope's croycery, be used in that service, who accepted the charge with ill success.

Here further the commons pray, that the king's uncle should not be spared out of the realm, before some peace was settled with the Scots, and that the Lord Delaspar, sent with provisions of peace from Spain, might first be heard.

The chancellor, in the seventh year, in the name of the king, wiileth the lords a-part; and so the commons do consult, whether peace or war with Scotland, or whether to resist or to assail the king's adversaries of Spain, France, or Flanders‡.

Their opinions are not entered in the rolls, (an omission usually by the clerk's neglect) only their petition is recorded, that the Bishop of Norwich may account in parliament the expence of the money, and be punished for his faults, in the service he undertook, both which are granted.

At the next sessions, the same year, the commons are willed to advise, upon view of the articles of peace with the French, whether war, or such amity, should be accepted.

They modestly excuse themselves, as too weak to counsel in so weighty causes: But, charged again, as they did tender the honour and right of the king, they make this answer, *Vils intrudont que astimis services terres y mesne lour leige anecoit ore per testarior in Guyen, si serront tenus del Roy Francois per tril sernior la villa de Callis & auter terres acquise & conquise des Francois, per les fore neue verroit la Commen y aniuse Aiust fait si autrement preroit bien faire*, given their opinions rather for peace than war.

Peace with France not succeeding, the eighth year, the body of the state was called to advise, whether the king in his own person, or the sending of forces against the French, Spaniards, Flanders, and Scotland should proceed.

The king having assembled at Oxon his great council ||, to advise whether he should pass the seas or no with an army royal; and, they not daring to assent without a greater council, a parliament, the tenth year, was called to have the advice of the commons as well as

* Parl. 6 Rich. II. Sess. 1. † Parl. 6 Rich. II. Sess. 1. 2. ‡ Parl. 7. Rich. II. Sess. 4.
|| Claus. 9. Rich. II.

the lords, how the realm should be governed in their sovereign's absence*.

The truce with France now near expired, the parliament† was called in the thirteenth year, to advise upon what conditions it should be renewed, otherwise how the charge of war should be sustained. At this assembly, and by consent of all, the Duke of Lancaster is created Duke of Aquitain; the statutes of provisions are now passed‡; the commons are named partly in the letter to the pope‖.

The year succeeding, a parliament is called, for that the king would have the advice of his lords and commons for the war with Scotland, and would not, without their counsel, conclude a final peace with France§.

The like assembly, for the likes causes, was the year ensuing.

The commons humbly desire the king, to use a moderation in the law of provision, so that the statutes upon their dislike may again be exempted; and that, to negotiate the peace with France, the Duke of Aquitain may rather than another be employed.

To consult of the treaty with France for peace, the king in the seventeenth year calleth a parliament (*a*); the answer of the lords is left unentered in the rolls.

The commons, upon their faith and allegiance charged, advise, that, with good moderation, provision may be made for Guienne, an appendage of the French crown, so it intrench not to involve the other pieces of the English conquest. Their answer is large, modest, and worthy to mark.

Now succeeded a man that first studied a popularity, as needing all to support his titles: he in the fifth year calleth a parliament (*b*), to repress the malice of the Duke of Orleans, and to advise for the wars in Ireland and Scotland; neither counsels nor supplies are entered into roll; and, to resist an invasion intended by France and Britain, he assembleth the state again (*c*).

The like was the two years following for France (*d*). In this the commons confer with the lords for guard of the sea, and make many ordinances, to which the king assented: the peace with the merchants of Prussia, and the Hanse-Towns, is debated, and a proclamation published, as they resolved by the speaker. The commons (*e*) complain of ninety-six pieces of ordnance lost in Guyenne the year before; the need of the defence of the borders, and guard of the sea-costs, to suppress the rebellion in Wales, and disloyalty of the Earl of Northumberland: they humbly desire, that the prince may be dispatched into those parts with speed, and that the castle of , the key of three realms, might be left to the care of the English, not to Charles Navarre, a stranger, and to have a diligent eye of the Scottish prisoners.

In the tenth year a parliament is called, and the commons commanded to give their advice about the truce of Scotland, and preparation against the malice of the French (*f*).

His son (*g*), the wise and happy undertaker, consulteth with the par-

* Claus. 10. Rich. II. † Parl. 13. Rich. II. ‡ Rot. Claus. 13. Rich. II.
‖ Boniface IX. § Parl. 14 Rich. II. (*a*) Parl. 17. Rich. II. (*b*) Hen. IV. Parl. 5.
(*c*) Parl. 6. Hen. IV. (*d*) Parl. 7. Hen. IV. n. 49. 20. (*e*) Claus. 7. Hen. IV. n. 39.
(*f*) Parl. 10. Hen. IV. (*g*) Hen. V.

liament in his first year, how to cherish his allies, and restrain his enemies. For this there was a select committee of the commons, appointed to confer with the lords; the matter being entered into schedule touching Ireland, Wales, Scotland, Calais, Guienne, shipping, guard of the seas, and wary provision to repulse the enemy.

In the second he openeth to the parliament* his title to France, a quarrel he would present to death, if they allowed and aided; death in this assembly enacted to all, that either break the truce, or the king's safe conduct.

The year following, peace being offered by the French king, and the King of the Romans, armed to effect the work; the king refused any conclusion, until he had had thereunto the advice and assent of his lords and commons; for which occasion the chancellor declareth it to that assembly†.

In the fourth and fifth years, no peace concluded with France, he calleth the state together to consult about the war, concluding a treaty of amity with Sigismond, King of the Romans, by the allowance of the three estates, and entereth the articles in the journal roll‡.

The same year, by the Duke of Bedford, in the king's absence, a parliament‖ was called to the former purpose, as appeareth by the summons, though in the roll omitted.

The like in the seventh year§.

The treaty with France is by the prelates, nobles, and commons of the kingdom perused and ratified, in the tenth of this king *(a)*.

This son *(b)* more holy than happy, succeeded; advised in the second year with the lords and commons, for the well keeping of the peace with France; consulteth with them about the delivery of the Scottish king, and the conclusion of it is confirmed by common assent.

And in the third year they are called to advise and consent to a new article in the league with Scotland for charge of hostages *(c)*.

And in the ninth year conclude by name certain persons to treat a peace with the dauphin of France *(d)*.

The treaty of Arras (whither the Pope *(e)* had sent, as mediators, two cardinals) not succeeding, the king in parliament (in anno 1436) sheweth, that he must either lose his title and kingdom of France, or else defend it by force; the best means for prevention whereof, he willeth them to advise him.

He summoneth again the next year *(f)* the council, how the realm might be best defended, and the sea kept safe against the enemies.

In the twentieth, the commons *(g)* exhibit a bill for guard of the sea; a certain number of ships assess wages, and dispose of prizes, if any fortune; to which the king accordeth. And that the Gronowayes may be declared enemies, for assisting the Turk in the spoil of the Rhodes knights: and that the privilege of the Prince and Hance towns may be suspended, till composition be made to the English for wrongs they have done them; to which in part the king accordeth.

* Parl. 2. Hen. V. † Parl. 3. Hen. V. ‡ Parl. 4 and 5. Hen. V. ‖ Parl. 5. Hen. V.
§ Parl. 7. Hen. V.
(a) Rot. Parl. 10. Hen. V. (b) Hen. VI. Rot. Parl. 2. Hen. VI.
(c) Rot. Parl. 3. Hen. VI. (d) 9 Hen. VI. (e) Eugenius IV. (f) Parl. 15. Hen. VI.
(g) Parl. 20. Hen. VI.

The king by the chancellor declareth in parliament*, that the marriage with Margaret, the King of Sicily's daughter, was contracted for inducing the peace made with the French, to which the lords (not by their advice effected) make protestation, and enter it upon the roll.

The king intending† to pass in person into France, then to treat of peace with the king, advises with his lords and commons in parliament; and letters of mart are granted against the Britons for spoils done to the English merchants.

The Lord Hastings and the Abbot of Gloucester declared in parliament‡ the preparation of the French, the breach by them of the peace, the weak defence of Normandy, and expiration shortly of the truce; requiring speedy advice and remedy.

It was injoined the parliament‖ to provide for the defence of the sea and land against the French.

It was commanded by the king to the states assembled§, to advise for the well ordering of his house, payment of his soldiers at Calais, guard of the seas, raising of the siege at Berwick made by the Scots against the truce, disposing of the thirteen thousand soldiers arrayed the last parliament, according of differences amongst the lords, restraining transportation of gold and silver, and acquitting the disorders in Wales; of all which committees are appointed to frame bills.

Edward the Fourth, by the chancellor, declareth to the lords and commons *(a)*, that having peace with the Scots, entered league with Spain and Denmark, contracted with Burgundy and Britain for their aid, in recovery of his right in France; he had now assembled them to give their advice and counsel therein proceeding, with a charge in a second session again pressed them.

The like was at another parliament *(b)*.

After this time, the journals of parliaments have been either not well preserved, or not carefully entered; for I can find of this nature no record, until the first of Henry the Seventh, wherein the commons, by Thomas Lovel, their speaker, petitioned the king to take to wife Elisabeth, the daughter of Edward the Fourth, to which at their request he agreeth.

The next is the third of Henry the Eighth *(c)*, in which, from the king, the chancellor delivereth to the three estates the cause of their assembly. The first to advise a course for resisting the invasion of the Scots; next how to acquit the quarrel between the king and the Castiles, and the Duke of Guilders.

Lastly, for assisting the Pope (*d*) against Lewis of France, whose bull, expressing the injuries done to the apostolick see, was read by the master of the rolls in open parliament; the chancellor, treasurer, and other lords sent down unto the commons to confer thereof.

The last in the thirty-second, where the chancellor, remembering the many troubles the state had undergone in doubtful titles of succession, declareth that the convocation had judged void the marriage with

* Anno 27. Hen. VI. † Anno 25. Hen. VI. ‡ Anno 27. Hen. VI.
‖ Anno 29. Hen. VI. § Anno 29. Hen. VI. (*a*) 7 Edw. IV. (*b*) 12 Edw. IV.
(*c*) Hen. VIII. Rot. Parl. 3. Hen. VIII. (*d*) Julius II.

Anne of Cleves; yet the king would not proceed without the counsel of the three estates*.

The two archbishops are sent to the commons with the sentence sealed, which being read, and there discussed, they pass a bill against the marriage†.

In all these passages of publick counsel, wherein I have been much assisted by the painful labours of Mr. Elsing, clerk of the parliament, I still observe that the sovereign lord, either in best advice, or most necessities, would entertain the commons with the weightiest causes, either foreign or domestick, to adapt and bind them so to readiness of charge; and they as warily avoiding to shun expence; their modest answers may be a rule for ignorant liberty to form their duties, and humbly to entertain such weighty counsels at their sovereign's pleasure; and not out of the wild sin of any factious spirits.

I will only add one foreign example, to shew what use hath been formerly made of pretended marriages, and of parliaments to dissolve them, their first ends served.

Maximilian the emperor, and Ferdinand of Spain, the one to secure his possessions in Italy, the other to secure the kingdom of Navarre: to both which the French king stood in the way, projecting a marriage of Charles the grand-child with Mary, the King of England's sister; it was embraced, a contract *per verba de præsenti*, passed, and a book published, of the benefits and liberty to ensue to the Christian world by this match.

Upon this ground Ferdinand begins to incite King Henry the Eighth to war in France; presents him with succour, and designs him Guienne to be the mark; Dorset is sent with men and ammunition to join with the Spanish forces.

Then on the borders of Navarre the noise is, they come to assist Ferdinand in conquest of that kingdom, which (though false) gains such reputation, that Albert was disheartened, and Ferdinand possessed himself of that which his successors since retained, his ends served; the English army in the depth of winter, weak and weather-beaten, are returned fruitless.

Maximilian then allureth the young and active king to begin with France, on the other side Turway; and Turway is now the object whither Henry the Eighth goeth with victory, but, advised with that pittance, maketh an end with France, whose eye and heart were set on Maximilian.

A new bait the old emperor casteth out to catch the ambitious young man; he will needs resign unto him the empire, too heavy for his age to bear‡.

The Cardinal Sedanensis, is sent over to sign the agreement, which he did, and France must now again be made an enemy.

To prevent this danger, France releaseth his title to Naples, and offereth his Infanta Lampsia to Maximilian's grand-child, Charles of Noyen ||.

* Rot. 3. Hen. VIII. Pral. † Ex Instrument. Original. ‡ Extract. Original. 1515.
|| Extract. Original. 15, 16.

This is acted in the dark; and at Arno the French commissioners come up the back stairs with sixty thousand, and the ingrossed covenants, when they abused the King of England's ambassadors; a peace went down the other way. The lord cardinal returneth home, meeteth by the way the foul play of his master, and wrote to the King of England; not in excuse, but in complaint, *contra perfidiam principum*, an honest servant.

Ferdinand and Maximilian dead, Francis and Charles are competitors for the empire.

Henry the Eighth is courted for his help by both, the one with tie of alliance (for the Infanta, the dauphin had offered to Henry the Eighth) the other with the like; the one will make his daughter a queen in present*, which the dauphin cannot do; and by his favour an empress.

To further Francis was but to win ambition, to prey upon all his neighbours†.

The English are won, and win for Spain, all the imperial wealth, which Charles (in two letters I have of his own hand) then thankfully confessed. From Aquisgrave he cometh crowned in haste to England; weddeth at Windsor the king's daughter; contracteth to join in an invasion of France; to divide it with his father-in-law by the river of Rhodines; and sweareth at the altar in St. Paul's to keep faith in all ‡.

Bourbon is wrought from France, and entereth the province with an army, paid with King Henry's money‖; Suffolk passeth with the English forces by Picardy; but Charles the emperor, who should have entered by Guienne, faileth, drawing away Bourbon from a strait siege of Marseilles, to interrupt Francis, then entered Italy; and so the enterprise of France is defeated §.

The French king is at Pavy taken prisoner by Pescaro, led to Genoa, carried into Spain by the emperor's gallies, and forced at Madrid to a hard bargain, without privity to Henry the Eighth or provision for him, who had borne the greater charge of that war (*a*).

Now the emperor affecteth the (*b*) monarchy, that hath ever since (as some say) infected the Austrian family of Rome; the fatal old seat of government must be the seat of this new empire; Bourbon, and after Moncado, are directed to surprise it (*c*); Angelo, the observant Friar, is sent before; a Pope confined by the emperor's election, who meant (as his own instructions warrant) to restore that right again to the imperial throne (*d*).

Charles will follow from Baçalona with the army, but before he must call a parliament at Toledo. Here, whether by direction or affection, I dare not discuss, that assembly maketh protestation against their master's marriage with England, and assigneth him Isabella of Portugal for a wife (*e*).

The instrument is sent, signed by the imperial notary, to Henry the Eighth, and Charles bemoaneth the strait he is forced unto by them: and, before all this, he had wrought from Rome a dispensation for his

* Ex Literis Car. Regis Hisp. † Ex Literis Car. V. Impr. Orig. ‡ Extract. Windosil.
‖ Ex Orig. Instr. § Ex Literis Rici Parl. et Joh. Russel. (*a*) Extract. Madrid, 115, 26.
(*b*) Universal. (*c*) Ex Rot. Comp. Russello et Pacis. (*d*) Ex Instrum. Carol. V. Imp.
(*e*) Ex Instrum. Hen. VIII. Brian et Gardian ex literis Frenston Epicond. Legat. Hen. VIII. in Hisp. Ex Protestat. Orig. Toledo Parl.

former ally and marriage, sending not long after Gonsales Ferdinand, his dolphin, to incite the Earl of Desmond in Ireland, and inviting James the Fourth (by promise of marriage, to Christian, the King of Denmark's daughter, his niece) to enter the English borders, to busy the English king, for asking a strict account of that indignity.*

Henry the Eighth, with providence and good success, and by the league of Italy, in which he was made *Caput Fœderis* against the emperor; he inforceth him to moderate conditions, at the treaty of Cambray, 1529.†

I may end your honours trouble with this one example, and with humble prayer, That the Catholic king may either have so much of princely sincerity, as not to intend the like, or my good and gracious master a jealous vigilance to prevent, if he should, &c.

ROBERT COTTON.

A BRIEF RELATION OF A WONDERFUL

ACCIDENT, A DISSOLUTION OF THE EARTH,

IN THE FOREST OF CHARNWOOD,

About two miles from Loughborough in Leicestershire;

LATELY DONE,

And discovered, and resorted to, by many people, both old and young.

Published by two lovers of art, I. C. and I. W. quarto, containing six pages, MDCLXXIX.

TO THE READER.

To your ingenuous acceptation, we communicate these our observations; not for filthy lucre's sake, but for publick satisfaction, and truth-sake, being provoked thereto by some persons of quality: considering the evil custom of erroneous reports, and the fearful rumours of ignorant people.

Read, and judge charitably, without critical, or incredulous censure; here is no wandering prolixity, nor superfluous embellishment of eloquence, but a scrutiny into the proper Antithesis, apparelled with necessary language. Be candid, not cunning.

VALE.

THE figure is almost circular, posited in a declining condition to the horizon, it being the end or fragment of a hilly body, and contains about two acres of ground. In its upper division, or primary breach, the lower, or fallen part of it, lies a yard (in some places) beneath the unmoved body: about three parts of this circular wonder shews symptoms of the efficient cause; and the rest shews little, or no defect.

* Ex literis Car. Wol. et Grego. Gassalis Instrum. et Sign. Carol. Imp. Quozag. Fiend. Capl. suo. Dat. 24 Feb. Ex libro. n. n. n. D. Carer. Ex literis in a Com. Northum. Custo. March. Scotiæ.
† Extract. Orig. in Archivis Westm. Extract. Cambren. 1529.

About three paces from the upper breach, or prime division, is a second trench all down one curve of the circle aforesaid, and some second fractures be on the other side these; over the prime trench, or breach lieth, a narrow path-way; the fallen part, whose hypotenusal should fall upon the true angular point (if it had a perpendicular fall) is subverted, and turned aside one foot and more.

Between the prime breach, and second curvery fracture, the earth shews a perpendicular descent, or downright falling, because it doth thrust itself within its former bounds; on the other side of the curve, which is higher ground, the parts of the earth fallen, and unfallen, shew the distance of a foot; which, if it should be raised to a parallel, with its former bounds, would differ half a yard. The sine for these curves is the radius, or total sine.

The lower part of the periphery (or arch opposite to the primary breach) is rolled in, with an overshooting of its bounds; as if it were driven, being light in substance, and stones (in some places thereof) thrust forth themselves. This lower curve contains about half the radius for its versed sine.

The unbreached part of the periphery lies on the lower side of the hill, in respect to the hill's ridge.

Some persons judge water to be the cause of the breach; others say wind.

The latter we account proper, and consider, both in method and manner following:

1. That it was not water.
2. That it was occasioned by wind.

Reasons negative, and affiirmative,

That it was not water.

1. Water doth naturally run in a channel hasting forward, yea, and that where the ground is level: but, where the ground descendeth through which it is to pass, there it forceth with a more direct course, and speedy stream; not dilating itself, but rather drawing its body more close into narrow bounds.

2. If water had been the cause, then it should not have run in a round figure, where the hill is so much descending; unless some artificial pipes had been laid, which by the attractive power of the air should draw the water up again; which if fancy, or any person's supposition, should incline to, yet nevertheless it would have more powerful force in its descent, than ascent.

3. Had water (by its violent billows) caused this accident, it would either have done it by an eruption outward, or a dissolution of the earth within, whereby the upper superficies should have fallen in, or sunk within its counterminal sides. Indeed, some part of the ground we allow to be depressed, but another part is not, but rather heightened, by rolling up. And, how any thing should produce contrary effects to its nature, is marvellous!

4. Had water been the cause by demolishing the intrails of the earth, then (running in a channel) the breach should be opposite to its cur-

rent; and should, from hence, the current of water be guessed to fall where the ground is fallen in all down one curve of the circle, then should not another breach considerable appear from its production, and the earth would have been overshot or carried that way as the current of water past; but the earth is carried that way where no such falling in appears.

That it was Wind.

1. Because it is so improbable to be water; but we judge wind might be the cause, forasmuch as it is its property to produce such effects.

2. For wind being gathered, and streightened within the bowels of the earth, in order to an earthquake, doth at last (by a volatile motion) break or burst forth in some place or other, with great violence, rending, twisting in, and burying the earth within its own bowels; and in its motion, arching, flying, and searching about, might (very naturally) cause this breach.

3. Because the lower part of the periphery, which is overshot, lies rolled in, huft, or blown, darting, from its swoln (or enlarged) pores, stones of a considerable weight; as also the root of a tree, which is turned up in the primary breach.

4. This being at the front of a hilly range, the earthquake might come running along, and there disburden itself; and that moreover as it is free from rocks, the ground solvible, and consequently the pores more easily extended.

Arguments corresponding with the former reasons.

1. If water had been the cause, then from a slant descent, or ascent, the breach would have shewed itself in a right-lined, or serpentine figure, and more especially in a right-lined figure, its surface having declination.

But this breach is circular, and declining, contrary to a right-lined, or serpentine figure.

Therefore the cause could not be water.

2. Water was not the cause, but rather wind; for wind is volatile, light, and forcible, and known to be of circular motion; where it is streightened, and wants liberty to disburden, or disperse, itself into its own element, it searches a passage, and, by operation, is (by philosophers) accounted the cause of earthquakes; it vents, and turns up the earth in its delivery thence.

But, in this breach, the figure is circular, diversly fractured, blown, or huft up, and writhed, which are the symptoms of an earthquake.

Ergo wind was the proper and true cause.

Now it remains that we answer three objections, and conclude.

1. May some say, had there been an earthquake, why was it not discerned, felt, or discovered by one or other?

2. Though towns be not very high, yet there be some inhabitants on the forest nigh resident, and would not they have been sensible of some motion or noise which accompany earthquakes?

3. There be many trees, not far off, would not some of them have

received prejudice by overturning, or rocks where you suppose the windy commotion ran along?

Answers to the objections.

1. Had there been any inhabitants dwelling on the said hill, they might then have felt it.

2. As for them that dwell nigh, they might very well be insensible of noise, or motion, which might happen in the night; and because earthquakes (more general ones) have been experienced to operate in one part of the town, and not in another part of the same; or in a various manner, in a little distance; no wonder then, if such inhabitants perceive it not.

3. As for trees, how should they be prejudiced, where the earthquake came not? But, had trees stood where the breach was made, they would probably then have been overthrown, as the root of a tree aforesaid; and, as for rocks being not removed over the windy passage, they might be spared for the same reason that the ground in those places was; and both spared, because the disturbance hastens along to the front, as a stone to its center.

A NARRATIVE OF THE WICKED PLOTS

CARRIED ON BY

SEIGNIOR GONDAMORE,

For advancing the Popish Religion and Spanish Faction.

Heartily recommended to all Protestants, by Richard Dugdale, Gent.

Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them; for it is a shame even to speak of those things, which are done of them in secret. EPHESIANS v. 11. 12.

London, printed 1679. Folio, containing sixteen pages.

THE PREFACE.

COURTEOUS READER,

This following narrative has run all the hazards and risks of fortune; it breathed for a long time in the obscure shadow of a country and loyal divine's study; after the death of that worthy and eminent person, a relation to the great Earl of Strafford, it fell into the hands of one of his younger sons, who being a man of business, and a daily frequenter of Westminster Hall, that great mart and exchange of law, this lay bundled up, among some bundles of insignificant and worthless papers, till it pleased God to confine this gentleman to his chamber, by a distemper, which though it was so severe as to deny him to act abroad, yet it did not so at home: under this imprisonment (for restraint is such to active spirits) he reviewed his long neglected writings; and being unwilling, like the rabble of the town, to condemn and execute upon a bare presumption of guilt: he calls all to a single scrutiny and examination: the multitude here, as in the world, proved trash and refuse, only this manuscript, like Moses among the reeds, was preserved alive, because it was of

a very fair and beautiful countenance. Perils, and manifold sorts of death, attend writings, as well as their authors, and God's providence is as legible in the extraordinary preservation of useful and profitable books, as in raising up and protecting persons of invincible resolution and courage, to be the publick instruments of the church's and kingdom's deliverance; of this advantageous nature and consideration, I take these following sheets to be, for herein are evidently discoursed and unriddled the designs of the Spanish match, the stratagems of the comprehensive statesman Gondamore, and of his faithful adherents the Jesuits, for the introduction of his master's religion and empire into these nations together. The negotiations betwixt Spain and Great Britain were, in King James's reign, the unaccountable state secrets and mysteries; these exercised and distressed the combined heads and wits of our great council, raised the fears and jealousies of the people, and prepared them to entertain those groundless suggestions, which afterwards both gave rise and support to our late civil wars. The designs of the catholick bishop and monarch, in all these treaties of marriage, were to enslave us to a false and foppish religion, and a tyrannical government; and, though pretences of commerce and friendship swam at the top, yet these were the great motives, which lay at the bottom. To compass these, perjuries, and the violation of the marriage-oath with an heretical prince, would be a sacred and meritorious action; and if the antichristian beast could be drawn in, as the giant did the cattle into his den, backward, and by the tail, it is no matter how much reason and morality is affronted: nay, his holiness, out of the plentitude of his power, will indulge his faithfullest adherents to renounce even in *extremis*, at the very point of death, some essential and reproachful articles of their faith (as the lawfulness of deposing* kings and sovereign princes) that the whole system may with the less suspicion be glibly swallowed down and entertained. The dimensions of Hercules were exactly calculated by the measure of his foot; and the magnitude of a limb may discover to the intelligent the true bulk of the symmetrical and well-built body; and the horrid lyes and immoralities, rapines and murders, assassinations and massacres, approved of in this small pamphlet, for the effecting of the Romish design, may sufficiently instruct such (of the villainous and pernicious nature of the whole) as have cast out the two devils of prejudice and of a blind and implicit faith in that arch-fanatick of Europe, and divider of kingdoms; for he it is (and, for this lesson, I must acknowledge myself intirely indebted to this paper) who sows the tares of division betwixt the gown-men of this nation; sets the lawyer to quarrel the divine; the two temples to deprecate the church, and Westminster Hall to envy the princely and magnificent structure of the Abby. Read this discovery with seriousness, and I am confident, it will prove very instructive in many important particulars; it was its misfortune to lie so long in obscurity, and so was it too to breathe first of all in air infected with the stench of such an infinite number of puny, insect, and imperfect libels: here is nothing in this but what is masculine, the argument is weighty, the stile passant and expressive, the discovery of the Popish designs in that juncto of affairs clear and palpable, and that it may be serviceable in this to the publick weal, is the only design, and hearty wish of him, who is

Reader,

A hearty well-willer to the welfare
And prosperity of this nation,
RICHARD DUGDALE.

HIS catholick majesty having given commandment, that, presently upon the return of Seignior Gondamore, the leiger ambassador from England, a special meeting of the principal states of Spain, who were of his council, together with the presidents of the council of Castile, of Arragon, of Italy, of Portugal, of the Indies, of the treasure of war, and especially of the Holy Inquisition, should be held at Mon-

* Vid. Concil. Lateran. magnum sub Innocentio III. Can. 80. de Hæreticis, where the legality of the pope's power to depose princes is asserted, and this declaration thus authoritively made (denied by the late dying conspirators, is a sufficient ground of faith, except they will grant the catholick Church, both representative and vertual, to be fallible, which concession would stab popery in its vitals, and kill it at a blow.

son in Arragon, the Duke of Lerma being appointed president, who should make declaration of his majesty's pleasure, take an account of the ambassador's service, and consult, touching the state and religion respectively, to give satisfaction to his holiness's nuncio, who was desired to make one in this assembly, concerning overtures of peace and amity with the English, and other catholick princes; which might ingender suspicion and jealousy betwixt the pope and his majesty, if the mystery were not unfolded, and the ground of those counsels discovered aforehand: this made all men expect the ambassador's return with a kind of longing, that they might behold the issue of this meeting, and see what good for the catholick cause the ambassador's employment had effected in England, answerable to the general opinion, received of his wisdom, and what further project would be set on foot to become matter for publick discourse.

At length he arrived, and had present notice given him from his majesty, that, before he came to court, he should give up his account to this assembly; which command he gladly received, as an earnest of his acceptable service, and gave thanks, that for his honour he might publish himself in so judicious a presence.

He came first upon the day appointed to the council chamber; not long after all the council of state and the president met; there wanted only the Duke of Lerma and the pope's nuncio, who were the head and feet of all the assembly. These two staid long away for divers respects: the nuncio, that he might express the greatness of his master, and lose the see of Rome no respect by his oversight, but that the benches might be full at his approach. The Duke of Lerma, to express the authority and dignity of his own person, and to shew how a servant, put in place of his master, exacts more service of his fellow-servants than the master himself.

These two staid till all the rest were weary of waiting; but at length the nuncio, supposing all the council sat, launched forth and came to road in the council-chamber, where, after mutual discharge of duty from the company, and blessing upon it from him, he sat down in solemn silence, grieving at his oversight, when he saw the Duke of Lerma absent, with whom he strove as a competitor for pomp and glory.

The duke had sent before, and understood of the nuncio's being there, and staid something the longer, that his boldness might be observed, wherein he had his desire; for the nuncio, having, a while, patiently driven away the time, with several compliments to several persons, had now almost run his patience out of breath; but the Duke of Villa Hermosa (president of the council of Arragon) fed his humour by the discharge of his own discontentment, upon the occasion of the Duke of Lerma's absence, and beckoned Seignior Gondamore to him, using this speech in the hearing of the nuncio, after a sporting manner: 'How unhappy are the people, where you have been: first, for their 'souls, being hereticks; then for their estates, where the name of a 'favourite is so familiar? how happy is our estate, where the keys of 'life and death are so easily come by (pointing at the nuncio) hanging 'at every religious girdle, and where the door of justice and mercy 'stand equally open to all men, without respect of persons?' The am-

bassador knew the ironical stroke to be intended as a by-blow to the nuncio, but fully at the Duke of Lerma (whose greatness began now to wax heavy towards declension) and therefore he returned this answer: 'Your excellency knoweth the state is happy, where wise favourites 'govern kings, if the kings themselves be foolish, or if the wiser sort 'will not yet be governed by them; the state of England (howsoever you 'hear of it in Spain or Rome) is so happy in the last kind, that they 'need not care much what the favourite be (though, for the most part, 'he be such as prevents all suspicion in that kind, being rather chose as 'a scholar to be taught, than a tutor to teach) of this they are sure no 'prince exceeds theirs in personal abilities, so that nothing could be 'added to him in my wish, but this one,' He were our vassal and a catholick.

With that the noise without gave notice of the Duke of Lerma's entrance, at whose first approach the whole house arose, though some later than others, as if some had hung plummets on them, to keep them down; the nuncio only sat unremoved: the duke received the obeysance of the rest with a familiar kind of carriage too high for courtesy, as one not neglecting such demeanors, but expecting it, and, after a filial observance to the pope's nuncio, sat down as president under the cloth of state, but somewhat lower; then, after a space given for admiration, preparation, and attention:

The President's Speech, requiring the Ambassador to give an Account of his Plots and wicked Intrigues against England, and what Success he met with.

The king my master (holding it more honourable to do, than to discourse, to take from you the expectation of oratory, used rather in schools and pulpits than in councils) hath appointed me president in this holy, wise, learned, and noble assembly; a man naturally of a slow speech, and not desirous to quicken it by art or industry, as holding action only proper to a Spaniard, as I am by birth; to a soldier, as I am by profession; to a king, as I am by representation; take this therefore briefly for a declaration, both for the cause of this meeting, and my master's further pleasure.

There hath been at all times, from the world's foundation, one chief commander, or monarch upon the earth; this needs no further proof than a back-looking into our own memories and histories of the world; neither now is there any question (except with infidels and hereticks) of that one chief commander in spirituals, in the unity of whose person, the members of the visible church are included; but there is some doubt of the chief commander in temporals, who (as the moon, to the sun) might govern by night, as this by day, and by the sword of justice compel to come in, or cut off, such as infringe the authority of the keys. This hath been so well understood long since, by the infallible chair, as that, thereby upon the declension of the Roman emperors, and the increase of Rome's spiritual splendor, who thought it unnatural, that their suns should be sublunary, our nation was by the Bishop of Rome selected, before other people, to conquer and rule other nations with a rod of iron, and our kings, to that end, adorned with the stile of ca-

tholick kings, as a name above all names under the sun, which is, under God's vicar general himself, the catholick bishop of souls. To instance this point, by comparison, look first upon the grand seignior, the great Turk, who hath a large title, but not universal, for, besides that he is an infidel, his command is confined within his own territories, and hé is not stiled emperor of the world, but of the Turks, and of their vassals only. Among Christians, the defender of the faith, was a glorious stile, whilst the king, to whom it was given by his holiness, continued worthy of it, but he stood not in the truth, neither yet those that succeeded him; and besides, it was no great thing to be called, what every good Christian ought to be, defender of the faith, no more than to be stiled, with France, the most Christian king, wherein he hath the greatest part of his title common with most Christians. The Emperors of Russia, Rome, and Germany extend not their limits further than their stiles, which are local; only my master, the most catholick king, is for the dominion of bodies, as the universal bishop, for the dominion of souls, over all that part of the world, which we call America (except where the English intruders usurp) and the greatest part of Europe, with some part of Asia and Africa, by actual possession, and over all the rest, by real and indubitable right, yet acknowledgeth his right, to be derived from the free and fatherly donation of his holiness, who, as the sun to the moon, bestows lustre by reflexion, to this kingdom, to this king of kings, my master. What therefore he hath, howsoever gotten, he may keep and hold; what he can from any other king, or commander, by any stratagem of war, or pretence of peace, he may take, for it is theirs only by usurpation, except they hold of him, from whom all civil power is derived, as ecclesiastical from his holiness; what the ignorant call treason, if it be on his behalf, is truth; if against him, it is treason: and thus, all our peace, our war, our treaties, marriages, or whatsoever intendment else of ours, aims at this principal end, to get the whole possession of the world, and to reduce all to unite under our temporal head, that our king may truly be, what he is stiled, the catholick and universal king. As faith therefore is universal, and the truth universal, yet so, as they be under our head, the pope, whose seat is, and must necessarily be, at Rome, where St. Peter sat; so must all men be subject to our; and their catholick king, whose particular seat is here in Spain, he is universal every where, and almost made natural, so that by a key of gold, by intelligence, or by way of confession, my master is able to unlock the secrets of every prince, and to withdraw their subjects allegiance, as if they knew themselves more my master's subjects in truth, than theirs, whom their birth hath taught to miscall sovereigns. We see this in France, and in England, and especially, where all at once they learn to obey the church of Rome, as their mother; to acknowledge the catholick king, as their father; and to hate their own king, as an heretick and usurper: so we see religion and the state coupled together, laugh and weep, flourish and fade, and participate of either's fortunes, as growing upon one stock of policy. I speak this the more boldly in this presence; because, I speak here before none but natives, persons who are partakers, both in themselves,

and issues of the triumphs, above all those of ancient Rome, and therefore, such (as besides their oaths) it concerns to be secret; neither need we refrain this freedom of speech from the nuncio's presence, because, besides that he is a Spaniard by birth, he is also a Jesuit by profession, an order raised by the providence of God's vicar, to accomplish this monarchy the better, all of them being appropriate thereunto, and as publick agents and privy-counsellors to this end; wherein the wisdom of the state is to be beheld with admiration, that as in temporal war, it employs, or at least trusts none, but natives in Castile, Portugal, and Arragon: so, in spirituals, it employs none but Jesuits, and so employs them, that they are generally reputed, how remote soever they are from us, how much soever obliged to others, still to be ours, and still to be of the Spanish faction, though they be Polonians, English, French, and residing in the countries or courts. The penitent therefore, and all with whom they deal and converse in their spiritual traffick, must needs be so too; and so our catholick king must needs have an invisible kingdom, and an unknown number of subjects in all dominions, who will shew themselves and their faith, by their works of disobedience, whensoever we shall have occasion to use their Jesuitical virtue and policy. This therefore, being the principal end of all our counsels (according to those holy directions of that late pious king, Philip the Second, to his son succeeding) to advance the catholick Roman religion and the catholick Spanish dominion together: we are now met by his majesty's command to take an account of you Seignior Gondamore, who have been ambassador for England, to see what good you have effected there, towards the advancement of this work; and what further projects shall be thought fit to be set on foot to this end; and this briefly is the occasion of our meeting.

Then the Ambassador, who attended bare-headed all the Time, with a low Obeysance, began thus:

This laudable custom of our king, in bringing all officers to such an account, where a review is taken of good and bad services, upon the determination of their employments, resembles those Roman triumphs appointed for the soldiers; and, as in them it provoked to courage, so in us it stirs up to diligence. Our master converseth by his agents with all the world, yet with none of more regard than the English, where matter of such diversity is presented, through the several humours of the states, and those of our religion and faction, that no instruction can be sufficient for such negotiations, but much must be left in trust to the discretion, judgment, and diligence of the incumbent. I speak this, not for my own glory, I having been restrained and therefore deserved meanly; but to forewarn on the behalf of others, that there may be more scope allowed them to deal in, as occasion shall require; briefly this rule, delivered by his excellency, was the card and compass, by which I sailed, to make profit of all humours, and by all means to advance the state of the Romish faith and Spanish faction together, upon all advantages of oaths and the breach of them; for this is an old observation, and a true one, that, for piety to Rome, his holiness did not

only give, but bless us, in the conquest of the new world, and thus, in our pious observance, we hope still to be conquerors of the old; and, to this end, whereas his excellency in his excellent discourse seems to extend our outward forces and private aims, only against hereticks, and to restrain them with true amity, with these of the Romish religion; this I affirm, that, since there can be no security, but such princes, though now Romish catholicks, may turn hereticks hereafter, my aims have ever been to make profit of all, and to make my master master of all, who is a faithful and constant son of his mother Rome; and to this end I beheld the endeavours of our kings of happy memory, how they have atchieved kingdoms and conquests by this policy, rather than by open hostility, and that without difference, as well from their allies and kinsfolks, men of the same religion and profession; such as were those of Naples, France, and Navarre, though I do not mention Portugal, now united to us, nor Savoy, that hardly flied from us, as of an adverse and heretical faith; neither is this rule left off, as the present kingdom of France, the state of Venice, the Low Countries, and Bohemia, now all labouring for life under our plots, apparently manifest. This way therefore I bent my engines in England, as your honours shall particularly hear; I shall not need to repeat a catalogue of the services I have here done, because this state hath been acquainted with many of them heretofore, by intercourse of letters and messengers; these only I will speak of that I have of late done, since the return of the Lord Roos from hence, and may seem most directly to tend to those ends formerly propounded by his excellency, that is, the advancement of the Spanish state and Romish religion together: First, it is well observed by the wisdom of our state, that the King of England, who is otherwise one of the most accomplished princes that ever reigned, extremely hunts after peace, and so affects the true name of a Peace-maker, as that for it he will do or suffer any thing; and withal, they have beheld the general bounty and munificence of his mind, and necessity of the state so exhausted, as it is unable to supply his desires, who seeks to have that he may give to others; upon these advantages they have given out directions and instructions both to me and others, and I have observed them as far as I was able.

And, for this purpose, whereas there was a marriage propounded betwixt them and us; howsoever I suppose our state too devout to deal with hereticks in this kind in earnest, yet I made that a cover for much intelligence, and a means to obtain what I desired, whilst the state of England longed after the marriage, hoping thereby, though vainly, to settle peace, and fill the exchequer; here the Archbishop of Toledo, inquisitor-general, stepped up and interrupted Gondamore, saying, 'That marriage was not to be thought on, first, for religion's sake, lest they should endanger the soul of the young lady, and the rest of her company might become hereticks. Secondly, for the state, lest, by giving so large a portion to hereticks, they should inrich and enable themselves for war, and impoverish and weaken the catholicks'.

To the first objection the pope's nuncio answered, that his holiness, for the catholick cause, would dispense with the marriage; and urged these following reasons: first, That there was a valuable danger, in

the hazarding of one for the gaining of many, perhaps of all. Secondly, That it was no hazard since women (especially young ones) are too obstinate to be removed from their opinions, and abler to win Solomon to their opinions, than Solomon to work them to his faith. Thirdly, It was great advantage to match with such, from whom they might break at pleasure, having the catholick cause for a colour; and besides, if need were, to be at liberty in all respects, since there was no faith to be kept with hereticks; and, if his holiness may dispense with the murder of such, and dispose of their crowns, as what good catholick doubts but he may; much more he may, and will he, in their marriages, to prevent the leprosy-seed of heresy, and to settle catholick blood, in the chair of state. To the second objection the ambassador himself answered, saying, that, though the English generally loathed the match, and would as he thought buy it off with half their estates, hating the nation of Spain, and their religion (as appears by an uprore and assault a day or two before his departure from London, by the apprentices, being greedy to vent their own spleen, in doing him, or any of his, a mischief) yet two sorts of people unmeasurably desired the match might proceed. First, The begging and beggarly courtiers, that they might have to furnish their wants. Secondly, The Romish catholicks, who hoped thereby, at least, for a moderation of fines, and laws, perhaps a toleration; and perhaps, a total restoration of their religion in England; in which regard, quoth he, I have known some zealous persons protest, that if all their friends, and half their estates, could procure the service of our lady, if she came to be married with the prince, they would use the means faithfully to fight under her colours, when they might safely do it; and, if it came to portion, they would under-hand contribute largely of their estates to the Spanish collector, and make up half the portion of themselves, perhaps more: so by this marriage it might be so wrought, that the state should be rather robbed and weakened (which is our aim) than strengthened, as the English vainly hope. Besides, in a small time they should work so far in the body of the state by buying offices, and the like, either by sea or land, of justice, civil or ecclesiastical, in church or state (all being for money exposed to sale) that with the help of Jesuits they would undermine with mere wit (without gunpowder) and leave the king but a few subjects, whose faith he might rely upon, while they were of a faith adverse to his: for what catholick body, that is sound at the heart, can abide a corrupt and heretical head, or ruler? With that the Duke Medina des Rio Setto, president of the council of war, and of the council of state, rose up and said, 'His predecessors had felt the force and wit of the English, in 88, and he had cause to doubt the catholicks themselves that were English, and fully jesuited, upon any foreign nation, would rather take part with their own king, though an heretick, than with his catholick majesty a stranger.'

The ambassador desired him to be of another mind, since, first, for their persons, generally their bodies, by long disuse for arms, were disabled, and their minds effeminated, by peace and luxury, far from what they were in 88, when they were fleshed in our blood, and made haughty in customary conquests; and for the affection of those whom

they call recusants (quoth he) I know the bitterness of their inveterate malice; and have seen so far into their natures, as, I dare say, they will be for Spain against all the world; yea (quoth he) I assure your honours, I could not imagine so basely of their king and state, as I have heard them speak; nay, their rage hath so perverted their judgments, that what I myself have seen and heard from their king beyond admiration, even to astonishment, they have slighted, misreported, scorned, and perverted to his disgrace, and my rejoicing, magnifying in the mean time our defect for grace.

Here the Duke Pastrane, president of the council for Italy, stepped up and said, he had lately read a book of one Cambden's, called his Annals; wherein writing of a treaty of a marriage long since, between English Elisabeth, and the French Duke of Anjou: He there observes, that the marriage was not seriously intended on either side, but politickly pretended by both states, counterchangeably, that each might effect their own ends; there the English had the better; and I have some cause to doubt, since they can dissemble, as well as we, that they have their aims underhand as well as we, and intend the match as little as we do; and this (quoth he) I believe the rather, because the king, as he is wise to consult and consider, so he is a constant master of his word, and hath written and given strong reasons against matches made with persons of contrary religion; which reasons no other man can answer: And therefore doubtless he will not go from, nor counsel his son to forsake those rules laid down so deliberately.

Your excellency mistakes, quoth the ambassador: The advantage was then on the side of the English, because the Frenchmen sought the match; now it must be upon ours, because the English seek it, who will grant any thing, rather than break off: and besides, they have no patience to temporise and dissemble, in this or any other design, as the French long since have well observed; for their necessities will give them neither time nor rest, nor hope elsewhere to be supplied. As for their king, I cannot search into his heart, I must believe others that presume to know his mind, hear his words, and read his writings, and these relate what I have delivered: But, for the rest of the people, as the number of those, that are truly religious, are ever the least, for the most part, of least account; so is it there, where, if an equal opposition be made betwixt their truly religious and ours, the remainder will be the greatest number, and will stand indifferent, and fall to the greatest side, where there is most hope of gain and glory; for those two are the gods of the magnitude, and of the multitude: Now these see apparently no certain supplies for their wants but from us.

Yes, quoth the duke, for even now you said the general state, loathing the match, would redeem the fear thereof, with half their estates: It is therefore but calling a parliament, and the business were soon effected. A parliament! quoth the ambassador, nay, therein lies one of the principal services I have done, in working such a dislike between the king and the lower-house, by the endeavours of that honourable earl and admirable engine, a sure servant to us, and the

cause, whilst he lives, that the king will never endure a parliament again, but rather suffer absolute want, than receive conditional relief from his subjects. The matter was so curiously carried the last parliament, that is, in the powder-plot; the fact effected should have been imputed to the puritans, the greatest zealots of the Calvinian sect; so the propositions, which dam up the proceedings of this parliament, howsoever they were invented by Roman catholicks, and by them invented to disturb that session, yet were propounded in favour of the puritans, as if they had been hammered in their forge, which very name and shadow the king hates; it being a sufficient aspersion to disgrace any person, to say he is such, and a sufficient bar to stop any suit, and utterly to cross it, to say it smells of, or inclines to that party: Moreover, there are so many about him which blow this coal, fearing their own states. If a parliament should enquire into their actions, they use all their art and industry to withstand such a council; persuading the king he may rule by his absolute prerogative, without a parliament, and thus furnish himself by a marriage with us, and by other domestick projects, without subsidies, when leaving off subsidies and taxes hath been the only use princes have made of such. And whereas some free minds among them, resembling our nobility, who prefer the privilege of subjects against sovereign invasion, call for the course of the common law, a law proper to their nation; there are other time-servers cry the laws down, and up the prerogative, whereby they prey upon the subjects by their suits and exactions, mulct the state, and keep it poor; procure themselves much suspicion amongst the better and judicious sort, and hate amongst the oppressed commons. And yet, if there should be a parliament, such a course is taken, as they shall never chuse their shire knights and burgesses freely, who make the better half of the body thereof; for these, being to be elected by most voices of the free-holders, in the county where such elections are to be made, are carried which way the great persons, who have lands in these countries, please; who, by their letters, command their tenants, followers, and friends to nominate such as adhere to them, and, for the most of them, are our faction, and respect their own benefit and gain, rather than their country's good; yea, the country people themselves will every one stand for the great man, their lord, or neighbour, or master, without regard of his honesty, wisdom, and religion. That which they aim at, as I am assured by faithful intelligence, is to please their landlords, and to renew their lease; in which regard they will betray their country and religion too, and elect any man that may most profit their particular; therefore it is unlikely there should be a parliament, and impossible the king's debts should be paid, his wants sufficiently repaired, and left himself full-handed by such a course; and indeed, as it is generally thought, by any other course than with a marriage with us; for which cause, whatsoever project, we list to attempt, enters safely at the door, whilst their policy lies asleep, and will not see the danger. I have made trial of these particulars, and found few exceptions in these general rules; thereby I, and their own wants together, have kept them from furnishing their navy, which, being the wall of their island, and once the strongest in Christendom,

lies now at road, unarmed, and fit for ruin: If ever we doubted their strength by sea, now we need not; there are but few ships or men able to look abroad, or to live in a storm, much less in a sea-fight. This I effected by buzzing in their ears, The furnishing a navy bred suspicion in my master, and so would avert his mind from this match; the hope of which, rather than they would lose, they would almost lose their hope of heaven.

Secondly. All their voyages to the East-Indies I permitted, rather with a colourable resistance, than a serious, because I see them not helpful, but hurtful to the state in general; carrying out gold and silver, and bringing home spice, silks, feathers, and such like toys; an insensible wasting the common stock of coin and bullion, whilst it fills the custom-house, and some private houses, who thereby are unable to keep this discommodity on foot, by bribes especially, so many great persons being venturers and sharers in the gain; besides, this wasteth the mariners, not one of ten returning, which I am glad to hear, for they are the men we stand in fear of. As for the West-Indian voyages, I withstood them in earnest, because they began to inhabit there, and to fortify themselves, and may, in time, there perhaps raise another England to withstand a New-Spain in America; as this old England opposeth our state, and clouds the glorious extent thereof in Europe. Besides, there they trade for commodities, without waste of their treasure, and often return gold for knives, glasses, or the like trifles, without such loss of their mariners as in other places; therefore I crossed whatsoever intendments were projected for Virginia or Bermudas, because they may be hereafter really helpful unto them, as now they serve for drains to unload their populous state, which else would overthrow its own banks by a continuance of peace, and turn head upon itself, or make a body fit for any rebellion. And so far I prevailed therein, as I caused most of the recusants, who were to go thither, to withdraw their ventures, and discourage the work; so that, besides private persons, unable to effect much, nothing was done by the publick purse. And we know by experience, such voyages and plantations are not effected without great means, to satisfy great difficulties, and, with an unwearied resolution and power, to meet all hazards and distastes, with strong help and continual supplies, or else the undertaking proves idle. By this means also I kept the voluntary forces from Venice, until it was almost too late to set out, and had hoped that work should have broken forth to action, before these would have arrived to succour them. I put hard for the cautionary towns, which our late Philip, of happy memory, so much aimed at, accounting them the keys of the Low-countries, that they might be delivered to his catholick majesty, as to the proper owner, and had perhaps prevailed, but that the professed enemy to our state and church, who died shortly after, gave counsel to restore them to the rebellious states, as one that knew popular commonwealths to be better neighbours, safer friends, and less dangerous than monarchs; and so, by this practice, wrested from my hands, and furnished the exchequer from thence, for that time. Neither was I much grieved, because the dependency they had before on the English seemed to be cut off, and

the interest that the English had in them to be taken away; which must now fully and finally be effected, before we can either hope to conquer them, or England, who, holding together, are too strong for the world at sea, and therefore must be disunited, before they can be overcome. This point of state is acknowledged by our experienced pensioner and sure friend, Monsieur Barnevelt, whose succeeding plots to this end shall bear witness for the depth of his judgment.

But the last service, I did in the state, was not the least; when I underwrought that admirable engine, Raleigh, and was the cause his voyage (threatening much danger to us) was overthrown, and himself returning in disgrace. I pursued him almost to death; neither, I hope, need I say almost, if all things hit right, and all things hold; but the determination of my commission would not permit me longer to stay to follow him to execution: which I desired the rather, that by confession I might have wrung, from the inconsiderable English, an acknowledgment of my master's right in those places, punishing him for attempting there, though he might prescribe for the first foot. And this I did to stop their mouths hereafter, and because I would quench the heat and valour of that nation, that none should dare hereafter to undertake the like, or be so hardy to look out at sea, or breathe upon our coast.

And, lastly, because I would bring to an ignominious death that old pirate, who is one of the last now living, bred under that deceased English virago, and, by her, fleshed in our ruin. To do this, I had many agents:

First, Divers courtiers, who were hungry, and gaped wide for Spanish gold.

Secondly, Some that bare him a grudge at heart for inveterate quarrels.

Thirdly, Some foreigners, who, having in vain sought the elixir hitherto, hoped to find it in his head.

Fourthly, All men of the Romish faith, who are of the Spanish faction, and would have been my blood-hounds to hunt him or any such to death willingly, as persons hating the prosperity of their country, and the valour, worth, and wit of their own nation, in respect of us and our catholick cause.

Lastly, I left behind me such an instrument, composed artificially of a secular understanding and a religious profession, as he is every way adapted to screw himself into the closet of the heart, and to work upon feminine lenity, who, in that country, have masculine spirits to command and pursue their plots unto death. This, therefore, I count as done, and rejoice in it, knowing it to be very profitable to us, grateful to our faction there; and, for the rest, What though it be a cross to the people, or that clergy? We, that only negotiate for our own gain, and treat about this marriage for our own ends, can conclude, or break off, when we see our own time, without respect of such as can neither profit us, nor hurt us. For I have certain knowledge, that the commons generally are so effeminate and cowardly, that, at their musters (which are seldom, or sleight, only for the benefit of their muster-masters) of a thousand soldiers scarce an hundred dare

discharge a musquet; and, of that hundred, scarce one can use it like a soldier. And, as for their arms, they are so ill provided, that one corslet serves many men; when such, as use their arms upon a day in one place, lend them to their friends in other places, to shew them, when they have use; and this, if it be spied, is only punished with a mulct in the purse, which is the officer's aim; who, for his advantage, winketh at the rest, and is glad to find and cherish by connivance profitable faults, which increase his revenue. Thus stands the state of that poor miserable country, which had never more people, and fewer men; so that, if my master would resolve upon an invasion, the time never fits as at this present, security of this marriage, and disuse of arms, having cast them into a deep sleep; a strong and weakening faction being ever amongst them, ready to assist us; and they being unprovided of ships and arms, or hearts to fight, an universal discontentment filling all men. This have I from their muster-masters and captains, who are, many of them, of our religion, or of none, and so ours, ready to be bought and sold, and desirous to be my master's servants in fee. Thus much for the state particularly; wherein I have bent myself to weaken them, and strengthen us, and in all these have advanced the catholick cause, but especially in procuring favours for all such as favour that side, and crossing the other by all means. And this I practised myself, and give out to be generally practised by all others, that, whatsoever success I find, I still boast of victory; which I do to dishearten the hereticks, and to make them suspicious one of another, especially of their prince and of their best statesmen; and to keep our own in courage, who by this means increase, but would otherwise be in danger to decay.

Now, for religion, and for such designs as fetch their pretence from thence, I beheld the policy of that late bishop of theirs (Bancroft) who stood up and maintained dangerous schism between our secular priests and Jesuits; whereby he discovered much weakness, to the dishonour of our clergy, and prejudice to our cause. This taught me, as it did (Barnevelt) in the Low-countries, to work secretly and insensibly between the conformist and nonconformist; and to cast an eye as far as the Orcades, knowing that business might be stirred up there, that might hinder proceedings in England, and so to prevent their conquest. The effect you have partly seen in the Earl of Argyle, who sometime was captain for the king and church, against the Marquis Huntley, and now fights under our banner at Brussels, leaving the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew for the staff of St. James.

Neither do our hopes end here; for we daily expect more revolters, at least such a disunion, as will never admit solid reconcilement, but will send some to us, and some to Amsterdam. For the king, a wise and vigilant prince, labouring for a perfect union betwixt both the kingdoms, which he seeth cannot be effected, where the least ceremony of religion is continued, divers sharp and bitter brawls from thence arising; whilst some, striving for honour more than for truth, prefer their own way and will before the general peace of the church, and the edification of souls: He, I say, seeks to work an uniformity betwixt both churches, and to this end made a journey into Scotland,

but with no such success as he expected; for divers of ours attended the train, and stirred up humours and factions, and cast in scruples and doubts, to hinder and cross the proceeding: yea, those that seem most averse to us, and averse to our opinions, by their disobedience and example, helped forward our plots; and these are encouraged by a faction and heady multitude, by a false and irresolute clergy (many false brethren being amongst the bishops) and by the prodigal nobility, who maintain these stirs in the church, that thereby they may keep the church-livings in their hands, which they have most sacrilegiously seized upon, in the time of the first deformation,* and which, they fear, would be returned by the clergy, if they could be brought to peace and agreement. For, if they have seen they king very bountiful in this kind, having lately increased their pensions, and settled on the clergy a competent maintainance; and, besides, out of his own means, which, in that kingdom, is none of the greatest, having brought in and restored whole bishopricks to the church, which were before in laymen's hands, a great part of the nobility's estates consisting of spiritual lands; which makes them cherish the puritanical faction, who will be content to be trencher-fed with scraps, and crumbs, and contributions, and arbitrary benevolences from the lairds,† and lords, and ladies, and their adherents and followers.

But, quoth the inquisitor-general, now if this act of the king, wherein he is most earnest and constant, should so prevail, as it should effect a perpetual union, both in church and commonweal: I tell you, it would, in my conceit, be a great blow to us, if, by a general meeting, a general peace should be concluded, and all their forces, bent against Rome; and we see their politick king aims at this.

True, quoth Gondamore, but he takes his mark amiss; howsoever, he understands the people, and their inclination, better than any man, and better knows how to temper their passions and affections, for (besides that he is hindered there in Scotland, underhand, by some, for the reasons before recited, and by other great ones of ours, who are in great places and authority amongst them) he is likewise deluded in this point by his own clergy at home in England, who pretend to be most in the cause, for they considering, if a general uniformity were wrought, what an inundation would follow, whilst all, or most of theirs, as they fear, would flock hither for preferment, as men pressing to the sun for light and heat, and so their own should be unprovided; these, therefore, I say, howsoever they bear the king in hand, or underhand against it, and stand for all ceremonies to be obtruded with a kind of absolute necessity upon them, when the other will not be almost drawn to receive any, when, if an abatement were made, doubtless, they might be drawn to insert in the midst. But there is no hopes of this with them, where neither part deals seriously, but only for the present to satisfy the king; and so there is no fear on our side, that affections and opinions so divers will ever be reconciled and made one. The Bishop of St. Andrews stands almost alone in the cause, and pulls upon himself the labour, the loss, and the envy of all, with little proficiency; whilst the adverse faction

* Meaning the reformation of the Church of England, under King Henry the Eighth and King Edward the Sixth.

† Gentlemen of estates.

have as sure friends, and as good intelligence about the king as he hath, and the same post, that perhaps brings a pacquet from the king to him, brings another from their abettors to them, acquainting them with the whole proceedings and counsels, and preparing them aforehand for opposition: this I know for truth, and this I rejoice in, as concerning much the catholick good. But, quoth the nuncio, are there none of the heretical preachers busy about this match? Methinks their fingers should itch to be writing, and their tongues burn to be prating of this business, especially the puritanical sort, howsoever the most temperate and indifferent carry themselves. The truth is, my lord, quoth the ambassador, that, privately what they can, and publickly what they dare, both in England and Scotland, all, for the most part, except such as are of our faith, oppose this match to the utmost, by prayers, counsels, speeches, and wishes; but, if one be found longer-tongued than his fellows, we have still means to charm their sauciness, to silence them, and expel them the court, to disgrace them, and cross their preferment with the imputation of pragmatick puritanism. For instance, I will relate this one particular; a doctor of theirs, and a chaplain in ordinary to the king, gave many reasons in a letter, against this marriage, and propounded a way, how to supply the king's wants otherways; which I understanding, so wrought underhand, that the doctor was committed, and hardly escaped the danger of his presumptuous admonition, tho' the state knew his intent honest, and his reasons good; whereas we, on the other side, both here, and with the archduke, have books penned, and pictures printed, directly against their king and state, for the which their ambassadors have sought satisfaction of us in vain, not being able to stay the print, or so much as to touch the hem of the author's garment. But we have an evasion, which hereticks miss, our clergy being freed from the temporal sword, and so not included in our treaties and conditions of peace, but at liberty to give an heretical prince the slip, when they list; whereas theirs are liable to account and hazard, and are muzzled for barking, when ours may both bark and bite too: the council-table and the Star-Chamber do so terrify them, as they dare not riot, but run at the stirrop with excellent command, and come in at the least rebuke. They call their preaching in many places standing up, but they crouch, and dare not stand up, behaving themselves like sitters silent; creeping upon their bellies, lick the dust, which our priests shake from their beautiful feet. Now, quoth the Duke of Lerma, satisfy me about our own clergy, how they fare, for there were here petitions made to the king in the name of the distressed, afflicted, persecuted, and imprisoned priests, that his majesty would intercede for them, to free them from the intolerable burdens they groaned under, and to procure them their liberties, and letters were directed from us to that end, that you would negotiate that demand with all speed and diligence.

Most excellent prince, replied Gondamore, I did your command with a kind of command myself, not thinking it fit to make it a suit in your name, or my master's; I obtained them liberty to walk freely up and down, to face and outface their accusers, judge magistrates, bi-

shops, and to exercise their function, almost as freely, altogether as safely, as at Rome.

Here the nuncio replied, that he did not well in his judgment, in procuring their liberty, since they might do more good in prison than abroad, because in prison they seemed to be under persecution, and so were pitied of others, and pity of the person prepares the affection further; besides, then they were careful over their own lives to give none offence, but abroad they might be scandalous in their lives, as they use to be in Rome and Spain, and other catholick countries, and so the opinion of their holiness, which upholds their credit and cause against the married clergy, would soon decay.

But the ambassador answered, he considered those inconveniencies; but besides, a superior advantage arose from the profit of liberty, more than restraint, for now they might freely confer, and were ever practising, and would doubtless produce some work of wonder; and besides, by reason of their authority, and means to change places, did apply themselves to many persons, whereas in prison they could only deal with such as came to be taught, and were their own before. And this (quoth he) add as a secret, that as before they were maintained by private contributions to denounce catholicks even to access; so much more now shall they be able to gather great sums to weaken the state, and furnish them for some high attempt, by the example of Cardinal Woolsey, barreling up gold for Rome. And this they may easily do, since all catholicks rob the heretical priests, and hold tithes from them by fraud and force, to give to theirs of their own, to whom it is properly due; and, if this be spied, it is an easy matter to lay all upon the Hollander, and say, 'He carrieth the coin out of the land' (who are forward indeed in such practices) and so ours shall not only be excused, but a flaw made betwixt them, to weaken their amities, and to get suspicion betwixt them of each other's love.

But amongst all these priests (quoth the inquisitor-general) did you remember, that old Reverend Father Baldwin, who had a finger in that admirable attempt made on our behalf against the parliament-house? Such as he, deserving so rightly, adventuring their lives so resolutely for the catholick cause, must not be neglected, but extraordinarily regarded, thereby, to encourage others to the like undertaking.

Holy father (quoth Gondamore) my principal care was of him, whose life and liberty when I had with much difficulty obtained of the king, I solemnly went in person, attended with my train, and divers other well-willers, to fetch him out of the Tower, where he was in durance. As soon as I came into his sight, I behaved myself after so lowly and humble a manner, that our adversaries stood amazed to see the reverence we gave to our ghostly fathers; and this I did to confound them and their contemptuous clergy, to beget an extraordinary opinion of holiness in the person, and piety in us, and also to provoke the English catholicks to the like devout obedience; that thereby, at any time, their Jesuits (whose authority was somewhat weakened since the schism betwixt them and the seculars, and the succeeding powder-plot) may work them to our ends, as masters their servants, tutors their scholars, fathers their

children, kings their subjects; and, that they may do this the more boldly and securely, I have somewhat dashed the authority of their high commission; upon which whereas there are divers pursuivants (men of the worst kind and condition, resembling our flies and familiars* attending upon the inquisition) whose office and employment is to disturb the catholicks, searching their houses for priests, holy vestments, books, beads, crucifixes, and the like religious appurtenances. I have caused the execution of their offices to be slackened, that so an open way may be given to our spiritual instruments, for the free exercise of their faculties. And yet, when these pursuivants were in greatest authority, a small bribe in the country would blind their eyes, or a little greater at court, or in the exchequer, frustrate and cross all their actions; for that their malice went off like squibs, made a great crack to fright children and new-born babes, but hurt no old men of catholick spirits. And this is the effect of all other their courses of proceedings in this kind, in all their judicial courts; whether known catholicks committed, as they stile them, or often summoned and cited, threatened and bound over; but the danger is past, so soon as the officer hath his fee paid him; then the execution goeth no further: nay, upon my conscience, they are as glad, when there are offenders in that kind, because they are bountiful; and the officers do their best to favour them, that they may increase, and so their revenue and gain come in freely. And, if they should be sent to prison, even that place, for the most part, is made a sanctuary to them; as the old Romans were wont to shut up such, by ways of restraint, as they meant to preserve from the people's fury; for they live safe in prison, till we have time to work their liberty, and assure their lives; and, in the mean time, their place of restraint is, as it were, a study to them, where they may have opportunity to confer together, as in a college, and to arm themselves in unity against the single adversary abroad.

But, quoth the inquisitor-general, how do they for books, when they have occasion either to write, or to dispute?

My lord, replied Gondamore, all the libraries belonging to the Roman catholicks, through the land, are at their command; from whence they have all such collections, as they can require, gathered to their hands, as well from thence, as from all the libraries of both universities, and even the books themselves, if it be requisite. Besides, I have made it a principal part of my employment to buy all the manuscripts, and other rare and ancient authors, out of the hands of the hereticks; so that there is no great scholar dies in the land, but my agents are dealing with his books; insomuch as even their learned Isaac Casaubon's library was in election to be ours, had not their vigilant king, who foreseeth all dangers, and hath his eye busy in every place, prevented my plot. For, after the death of that great scholar, I sent to request a catalogue of his books, with the price, intending not to be outvied by any man, if money would have fetched them. Because, beside the damage that side should have received by the less prosecuting the cause against Cardinal Baronius, we might have made a good advan-

* These are two of the meanest officers in the inquisition.

tage of his notes, collections, castigations, censures, and criticisms for our party, and framed and put out others under his name, at our pleasure. But this was foreseen by their Prometheus, who sent that torturer of ours, the Bishop of Winchester, to search and sort the papers, and to seal up the study, giving a large and a princely allowance to the relict of Casaubon, with a bountiful pension and provision for her and her's. But this plot, failing at that time, hath not ever done so. Nor had the university of Oxford so triumphed in their many manuscripts, given by that famous knight, Sir Thomas Bodley, if either I had been then employed, or this course of mine then thought upon; for I would labour, what I might, this way, or any other way, to disarm them, or either to translate their best authors hither, or, at least, to leave none, but in the hands of Roman catholicks, who are assuredly ours; and, to this end, a special eye would be had upon the library of one Sir Robert Cotton (an ingrosser of antiquities) the most choice and singular pieces might be gleaned, and gathered up by a catholick hand. Neither let any man think, that descending thus low to petty particulars is unworthy an ambassador, or a small avail for the ends we aim at; since we see every mountain consists of several sands, and there is no more profitable conversing for statesmen, than amongst scholars; especially the king, for whom we watch, is the king of scholars, and loves to live altogether almost in their element. Besides, if we can by any means continue differences in their church, or make them wider, or get distaste betwixt their clergy and common lawyers, who are men of greatest power in the land, the benefit will be ours, and the consequent great, opening way for us to come between; for personal quarrels produce real questions. As he was prosecuting this discourse, one of the secretaries, who waited without the chamber, desired entrance; and, being admitted, delivered letters, which he had newly received from the post, directed to the president, and the rest of the council, from his catholick majesty; the contents whereof were to this effect:

'Right trusty and well beloved cousins and counsellors, we greet you 'well: Whereas, we had a hope, by our agents in England and Ger- 'many, to effect that great work of the western empire; and likewise, 'on the other side, to suppress Europe, at one instant, and, infolding 'it in our arms, make the easier road upon the Turks in Asia, and, at 'length, reduce all the world to our catholick command; and, 'whereas, to this end, we had secret and sure plots and projects on 'foot in all those places, and good intelligence in all courts; know 'now, that we have received late and sad news of the apprehension of 'our trusty and able pensioner Barnevelt, and of the discovery of other 'our intendments; so that our hopes are at present adjourned, till 'some other more convenient and more auspicious time; we therefore 'will you presently, upon the sight hereof, to break up your consulta- 'tions, and repair straight to our presence, there to take further di- 'rections, and proceed as necessity of time and cause shall require.'

With that his excellency, and the whole house, struck with amazement, crossed their foreheads, rose up in a sad silence, and brake up this treaty abruptly; and, without tarriance, took horse, and posted to court, from whence expect news, the next fair wind.

In the mean time, let not those be secure, whom it concerns to be roused up, knowing that this aspiring Nebuchadnezzar will not lose the glory of his greatness, who continueth still to magnify himself in his great Babylon, until it be spoken, 'The kingdom is departed from thee,' Daniel iv.

BELVOIR:

BEING A

PINDARICK ODE UPON BELVOIR CASTLE THE SEAT OF THE EARLS OF RUTLAND,

MADE IN THE YEAR 1679. MS.

SACRED Muse, the queen of wit,
Born and belov'd of mighty Jove,
Take thy harp, and touch the strings,
While melting airs and numbers move;
Sing godlike words for godlike things.
Call thy sisters all, that sit
By flow'ry banks of Helicon;
All their stores and treasures get,
And their artful garbs put on;
All from extasies do flow,
Or slumbers on Parnassus' hill;
All that raptures can bestow,
All lofty fancy and deep judgment know.
Learned rage, poetick fire,
Such as the sybil doth inspire,
And her distorted limbs doth fill,
When the furious God doth come:
Make ready the Pindarick steed,
The fiery headstrong horse;
Hot and fiery tho' he be,
And, in his unbridled course,
Over rocks and mounts doth roam,
And th' unskilful rider throws,
That cannot sit his headlong steed;
Belvoir's height will tame his rage;
Belvoir's hill his pace asswage;
Belvoir! neighbour to the sky,
That with light doth deck its brows,
All his proudest force will need,
Tho' he be with ambrosia fed,
And of Helicon drinks high.

Belvoir's a subject high and great;
Not such as mighty Pindar chose,
An Isthmian, or a Pythian game,
A charioteer, or wrestler's fame.
Bolder flights and fiercer heat
Are requir'd to reach that seat,
Than his Olympian victors could beget;
'Twill task ev'n Pindar's rapid soul to match the lofty head.
Haste, Belvoir calls; my muse, away,
If fear doth not thy footsteps stay,
And, conscious of th' amazing height, thou trembling dost delay.

2.

Th' invoked muse with comely state drew nigh;
And, with a ravishing look,
Half-anger'd, and half-pleas'd, thus spoke:
No more, fond youth, such needless helps invoke;
For barren subjects only fit,
Where fiction must the room of truth supply,
And, what it wants in worth, make out in wit.
Belvoir hath glory of its own,
A genuine worth not borrow'd from
The daub of rhetorick, or scum
Of heated brain and lavish tongue;
But his own glory from's own worth hath sprung,
And, like the sun, he's his own praise alone.
And, since most other places owe their name,
Not to their own, but to the poet's fame;
From them, while other seats their glory take,
This shall the poet make:
The very sight shall thee inspire
With generous thoughts and active fire,
Till thy deep admiration break
Into the rage of a divine and a resistless flame.
Truth is thy guide; the subject needs not art,
Nor the weak helps, that learning can impart.
This said, there fell upon my soul a dew,
Like that prophetick slumbers doth compile;
And my extatick soul in raptures flew
In regions far remov'd, and took a view
Of all the glories of the wond'rous isle.
Thrice walk'd my guide and I the fairy round,
Which from th' exalted height did show,
Curiously drawn in miniature below,
The sacred graces of the famous land;
Till, near Trent's crystal stream on hallow'd ground,
The airy guest did make her stand.

3.

See there, cries out my beauteous guide
(And then new joy did o'er her visage glide)

Belvoir, art's master piece, and nature's pride,
High in the regions of ethereal air,
Above the troubled atmosphere,
Above the magazines of hail and snow;
Above the place that meteors breeds,
Above the seat where lie the seeds,
Whence raging storms and tempests grow,
That do infest the troubled world below.
See with what comely state
It, unconcern'd, o'erlooks the humble plains,
And, from its eminence, commands
The fruitful vale, and far out-stretched lands:
As blessed souls, from a bright star, do deign
To take a view of mortal woe,
The scene of miseries below,
And see men hurl'd
By sportive fate about the busy world.
See with what beauty 'tis o'erspread;
How the exalted head
Looks down with scorn on hills below,
So high and fair, that it a piece of heav'n doth show.
So looks the sun, when from his eastern bed
New ris'n from Tethys blushing red,
Attired in his best array,
Such as he dances with on Easter-day;
He peeps above a distant hill,
And doth the waking world with glory fill,
Such blessed place art thou, but fairer still.

4.

Nor art thou alone for pleasure fit;
Soft ease and melting charms
Th' enjoyments o' th' luxuriant land;
Thy stately head was destin'd to command.
Mars oft from hence hath sounded his alarms;
Safety and joy together meet,
Soft peace and rougher war do greet;
Thou'rt charming to thy friends, and awful to thy foes.
'Twas here the Roman eagle chose to rest;
'Twas on this rock she built her nest;
Hence could her conquer'd realm survey;
Here ruled with unbounded sway,
And, when she pleas'd, flew down, and took her prey.
Here Margidunum's stately castle stood:
The sinking Romans lasting stay,
Glutted so oft with British blood.
Oft they attempted it in vain,
As oft they back again were driven:
Unhappy people! that not only fought

With Romans, that the world did gain,
But with a rock more strong than they:
And justly vain th' attempt was thought,
As was the giants, that design'd at heaven.

5.

The early seeds of war, thus sown,
Mixed ev'n with its first foundation,
Up into glorious deeds have grown;
Deeds not unworthy the great founder's name;
Deeds writ in bloody characters i' th' book of fame.
Not all the sweets that there conspire,
Not the unbounded floods of joy,
Streams of delight and luxury,
Which all the fruitful subject lands supply,
Could ever damp the fire
Of martial rage and generous gallantry.
When this sad land did swarm with monsters more,
Than ever Lybian deserts bore,
Or sprung from Africk's parched shore,
By' unnatural conjunctions, like them, bred;
When rage and black rebellion
Had, like a fatal inundation,
The miserable land o'erflown;
When th' many-headed Hydra did command,
And majesty profaned was by every common hand,
How did this, fenc'd with generous rage and sacred loyalty,
Exalt th' illustrious head
Above the foaming sea!
Unmov'd it dar'd the raging flood,
Bore the impetuous shock,
Like an eternal rock it stood,
And all the waves on its unmoved basis broke

6.

With such discourse she did beguile the way;
Words, that I ever could have listen'd to;
Words, that, like refreshing dew,
O'er all my thirsty soul were spread,
Till she beneath the castle's stately head
Our pleasing course did stay:
When, lifting up my eyes to take a view,
A sudden dread upon my soul did fall,
My startled senses did enthrall;
Such as within the soul doth rise,
When the immortal beings do surprise,
With their unlook'd-for presence, human eyes.
Amaz'd, aloud I cry'd:
Tell me, O tell me, lovely, beauteous guide,

To what bless'd soul is giv'n
That nearest place of all the world to heav'n?
Do blessed spirits there reside?
Do there inferior deities abide,
When they with heav'nly joys are cloy'd?
Or is't the court of the Almighty powers,
Where they can see, from the exalted towers,
A mixed scene of human misery?
Where they debate
The fall of realms, and kingdoms' fate;
And whence are order'd all
The various accidents, that men befall.
Smiling, the muse reply'd:
A mighty prince here makes abode,
Born of illustrious blood,
So great, so generous, so good,
All but a god.
Happy, cry'd I, those blessed men, that do
To those celestial mansions rise!
Where, like the birds of paradise,
They feed on heavenly dew.

8.

Exalted place! how must quick wit,
With nimble course, thro' all thy members run,
That under th' influence dost sit
Of brother angel, and of neighbour sun!
What benign aspect, and what gentle ray,
Each constellation will display?
What influence will each planet give
To those that on their confines live?
While the same beams, on others cast, do grow
Languid and weak i' th' journey down below.
On such stupendous heights 'tis prophets sleep,
When they a commerce with kind angels keep:
Throw, Galilæo, throw thy tubes away:
Here, as we pass,
The naked eye can all the heaven survey,
Without the help of thy imperfect glass.
See the satellites that circle Jove,
Red Mars's belt, and Vulcan's horned love:
See meteors, while they breeding are,
And sullen stars, e're they to th' world appear.
And cannot only read,
But see the very influence the stars do shed.

9.

Bless'd place! that on the confines stands
Of the two kingdoms, earth, and heaven,
In doubt to whom the just right should be given.

So, 'twixt two potent lands,
Some stately fort, in former ages built,
Equally beautiful and strong,
Claimed by both, by both deny'd,
Unknown to whom it doth belong,
The even balance slides to neither side,
But stands the fatal cause why floods of blood are spilt.
Doubtful to which thou ow'st thy birth,
Doubtful of which thou art a part,
This, we are sure, thou art
The lowest place of heaven, or highest place of earth.
Would those bless'd times return again,
When gods descended to converse with men;
When humble swains could entertain
The deities on every flow'ry plain;
This for their intercourse a place was fit,
Where men half way the gods might meet;
The pleasures of both regions gain,
Taste of heaven, yet be on earth;
And, joining, t' a mix'd nature give a birth,
A race of men like gods, or gods like men.

10.

Go on then, smiling, cry'd my guide;
'Tis a just heat that doth thy breast inspire;
And, while it warms with active fire,
Up to the hill's proud top aspire,
And bless thy sight with the world's chiefest pride.
My blessing with thee go.
This said, insensibly the hill we round;
A spiral line up to the summit led,
And with a pleasing cheat
Beguil'd th' ascent, and unknown pleasure bred.
We climb the hill, yet went on even ground.
Each step, as circling round we went,
A prospect of new pleasures did present;
Now, o'er the fruitful vale, we wondering stood,
Strait hanging o'er the neighbouring wood.
The softness of the vale doth now delight,
When at next step we chang'd the scene,
And a new scene of joys did intervene;
The neighbouring hills do entertain our sight,
And, in their shady, rural dress,
Do represent a civil wilderness:
All objects from below now lessen'd show,
Fields shrink to acres, towns to houses grow:
The vast extended plain is a small compass now,
So some bless'd soul, by angels borne above,
Sees the dear native land he once did love,

And other mighty realms below
Into narrow limits grow:
(And, as in maps we find,
Small space unto large kingdoms is assign'd,
But realms by spots, rivers by lines design'd.)
So still, as higher up he flies,
Kingdoms shrink into little spots of ground,
And straight those too are flown;
The whole earth then but a small point is found,
And that soon disappears too, and is gone.

11.

The stately fabrick near,
Whose look our souls with vast desires supply'd,
With hasty zeal, we trod the circling way,
When my obliging guide
My mind from the deep admiration took,
And thus, in mournful accents, the long silence broke:
'Tis not long since, and then there fell a tear,
This stately fabrick in its ruins lay.
Not many lustres past, in those black times,
When, to be great and excellent, were crimes;
When, to be good, was cause enough to fall,
And, to be eminent, was capital.
When Charles, because he was a king, must die,
Guilty of no one crime, but majesty.
When brutish fury did ascend the throne,
And all the marks of greatness tumbled down,
This look'd too kingly to be let alone.
It fell, but none e'er in a nobler cause,
For its religion, for its prince and laws:
Glorious its stately head in ruins lay,
That the same fate with royal greatness shar'd:
'T had been disgrace not to have been a prey,
T' have been by such destructive villains spar'd.

12.

As some commander, compass'd by his foes,
A stranger both to fear and flight,
Himself and army doth maintain the fight,
And zeal against their numbers doth oppose;
Fearless doth see his limbs before him fall,
His mangled members strow the ground;
He the great oak unmov'd is found,
Tho' robbed of his graceful branches all.
Till the said news doth circle round,
His prince, for whom he fought, is slain;
Then scorning life, which he did just maintain,
Upon his enemies swords he flies,
And bravely, in the bed of honour, dies.

This seat, for loyalty, a bulwark stood,
Did see its beauteous towers in pieces torn,
Now this, now that part into ruin born;
But when the killing message did arrive,
And did through all the hollow ruins sound,
That Charles the just, the great, the good,
Fell, to inhuman rage, a sacrifice;
Disdaining to survive
Its much-lov'd prince's obsequies,
It gave a groan, that shook the hill around,
It groan'd, and fell, and down in ruins lay,
Filling the sad solemnities of such a woeful day.

13.

Unpitied, long in dust its glorious head,
With murthered majesty, lay dead;
Till virtue in a female breast did glow
(Virtue that from our bloody shore was fled)
And tender pity in her soul did grow.
To Mountagu's great stem she owes her birth,
Than which, no tree, in all Dodona's grove,
Wider its branches doth extend,
More noble boughs doth lend,
To beautify the land and sea,
The powerful sword, and the wise gown:
None of more high renown,
For wisdom, justice, or for loyalty.
None doth more beauteous cyons send,
More eminent for faith or love,
T' inrich each corner of the British earth.
Sprung from this glorious stem, with generous scorn,
Disdaining borrowed fame,
And glory, that came from a father's name,
With her own acts she did her ancestors adorn.
She view'd the ruins with a pitying eye,
Saw grisly horror o'er the chaos lie,
Brooding upon deformity.
She saw it, and her soul took fire,
And swell'd with just revengeful ire;
The mighty monster's death she vow'd,
And the deliverance of the captive crowd,
And straight the vast design laid in her noble breast.
Belvoir's great genius the just work allow'd,
And of the foundress proud,
His low-laid head, in his deep caverns, bow'd;
And from's dark grave, where long he had been chain'd,
Arose, and the auspicious omen bless'd,
While stranger joy did on the ruins rest:
As the creation smil'd,
When light sprung up, heaven's eldest child

Mean while, she leave from her great lord obtain'd,
(And who could such a pious boon deny?)
The mighty labour undertook,
The weighty bars in sunder broke,
And adamantine chains in pieces shook.
Thebes once, from the musician's lyre,
A wonderous building did acquire;
They with their lutes did charm, and she,
With an enlivening and creating look,
The jarring parts to harmony and due proportion struck.
As once the all-powerful deity
Made him an heaven, where he himself might be,
Women, for foundresses, two seats do own,
Of modern times, the glory one,
Of ancient days, th' other the crown.
Belvoir and Babylon.

15.

With smiling pleasure led,
Which, with fresh joys, our footsteps did entice
We circled round the wond'rous hill, till we,
Like an enchanted vision, see
The hanging gardens, nature's paradise;
Where she doth lavish out her store,
As if, grown prodigally careless, she,
To furnish this, had left the whole world poor.
Each step, with new-hatch'd joys, was spread,
In various shapes, and habits drest;
Each bough a new-fledg'd pleasure bore,
Hopp'd lately from the spicy nest.

16.

Here all things whisper'd out delight,
By heaven's near neighbourhood made bright,
With fiercer beams, darting ethereal light.
From hence the sweetest prospect lies,
That e'er intangled wand'ring eyes;
A scene, or civiliz'd, or rude,
For business, or for solitude:
A silent hill, and shady grove;
A flow'ry mead, and fertile field,
For business one, and one for love.
But every step such joys doth yield,
Such thick-sown pleasures crowding come,
And enter the possessed mind,
Th' astonish'd eyes no leisure find
On foreign sights abroad to roam.
Lost thus in admiration and joys,
Our thoughts o'erpower'd with the distracting beams,

Behold——with pleasant fury, streams break out,*
And wander in meanders round about;
Calling the soul home, in a sweet surprise.
Amaz'd, we see the sportive streams
In thousand gayful postures move,
Unbid, with active motion rise,
And, with a new ambition, court the skies.
In various numbers gently rove,
Dance to the musick of the spheres
Wanton, and play their short-liv'd date,
Aspire at heaven, but fall in tears,
And imitate the general dance of fate.

17.

Water! th' unruly tyrant, to whose rage,
Th' Almighty only sets a bound:
Whose restless waves do never sleep,
But storm the rocks, that overlook the deep.
Which knows no pity, whom no prayers asswage;
Whose deaf'ning noise forbids the gods to hear,
When sucking wretches their petitions rear,
But sees them and their useless prayers together drown'd.
Water! the headstrong element, whose force
The mighty bars of nature own,
And yield to his unresisted course:
At whose stern strokes, when rocks and mountains groan,
And prostrate fall to his dominion:
Like a tame lion here 'tis learn'd to play;
And, all the former fierceness gone,
Another nature doth put on,
Crouches submissively below his port,
Fawns, and, in lowly postures, seems to pray;
And what our terror was, becomes our sport.
The active streams in antick figures rise,
Now mildly play, then fiercely rage,
Now they with hostile waves engage,
Now, reconcil'd, more gently move,
Meet, and embrace, and melt in love;
Now journey upward to the skies,
A path unknown to all that race,
And now, grown wise,
Contented with an humbler place.
Now cease, as though bound up with rigid frost,
And now again with usual vigour reign;
Now their fluidity seems lost,
And now a fury in each drop again.
Now anger'd, and now pleased be,
And, by sweet interchange, make a bless'd variety.

* The water-works.

18.

Delighted with the murmuring noise,
That from the purling springs did rise,
Inviting to soft ease;
The fountains all at once to torrents grow,
And rapid streams from secret caverns flow.
As tho' some river, from the mother seas,
Its devious wand'ring course had led,
In gloomy paths below the ground,
Under vast rocks, and weighty mountains bound;
Till tired with long night,
Struggling from the dark loathed bed,
And searching for the wish'd-for light,
Had here a passage found,
And, with unbridled rage and force, from the confinement fled.
Th' embattled streams to heaven aspire,
As though they storm'd its adamantine bound;
Or that they meant once more to fight
Their ancient foe, the element of fire.
With winged speed they thither fly,
And fill the dry
And thirsty regions with streams, that ne'er
Before did dangerous inundations fear;
Not when the sin-bred deluge flow'd,
That all before it strow'd:
When th' ocean tore its bounds, and forc'd its way,
In spight of struggling nature's power;
And all the world was but one sea;
Secure, they never peril knew before.
Th' amaz'd inhabitants, with just affright,
Th' aereal beings took their flight,
And left the uninhabitable coast,
In dreaded streams and torrents lost.
Trembling, they to heaven's arched roof aspir'd,
And from earth's dangerous neighbourhood retir'd.

19.

Bless'd engine, made for general good,
For great and glorious acts design'd,
That with thy swift impetuous flood,
Ill-boding meteors canst disperse;
That threaten ruin to the universe,
And, with ill-pointed beams, do rage on human kind.
Thy aid shall tott'ring states desire,
Thy help declining monarchs require,
To quench the next malevolent star,
Or scar-fire comet; that, from far,
With flaming beard or tail appears,
Prognosticating famine, plague, or war,
Unto succeeding years;

Thy streams can the prophetick fires put out,
And scatter all the poison'd beams the spacious heaven throughout.

20

With curious eyes, surveying all about,
Whence such a wonder should arise,
A fountain I espy'd,
By art and nature beautify'd,
And straight I thought,
Some young leviathan was there, that spouted rivers out.
When drawing nearer, with surprise,
I saw the liquid chrystal stor'd
With numbers of the finny race,
That with ambitious eyes did gaze
Upon their kindred, shining in the skies:
The sportful dolphin, and the kingly whale,
The backward crab, and southern fish,
To whom learn'd ages did afford,
A mansion in the starry plain.
While these with new desires inflam'd, do wish
Their shining scales, deck'd with ethereal beams,
That envy'd honour to obtain,
Which their no more deserving kindred gain.
Heaven's mighty cataracts with joy they see,
And all the scaly progeny
Of wide Eridanus; whose streams
Down all heaven's arched vault with fury fall.
The neighbouring heaven they think a sea,
The expanded æther a wide ocean;
And, scorning th' narrow compass where they're pent,
Design to leap to th' seas above the firmament.
Ambition is a heavenly ray,
That works the soul to mighty deeds:
A beam of the eternal day,
That great acts in exalted tempers breeds;
Ne'er did it stoop before so low,
To actuate that heavy kind;
That cold dull offspring ne'er, till now,
Such an enlivening warmth did find.
Aspiring fish! to you will sure be given,
Among the constellations, place;
Since you're the first, of all the wat'ry race,
Of that dull unambitious kind, e'er climb'd so near to heaven.

21

From hence our eyes, with pleasing joys beguil'd,
Do upon various objects rove,
Breeding delight and love;
Till a surprising wonder bid them stay:
Statues that did such charms display,

A mixture they appear'd of death and life;
As tho' these enemies had been at strife,
Which should the empire sway,
Which most its nature should to them bequeath:
But equal power, conferr'd in equal beams,
The statues seem'd the Copula,
To tie two wide extreams;
Unite in one two mortal foes,
And the vast gulph 'twixt life and death to close:
And, as of both compil'd,
Shew'd a dead life, or living death.
The stately mien and features grace,
The charms of an inviting face,
A swelling breast, and lively eye,
Proportion, shape, and symmetry;
The graceful postures, such as may
Persuade the eye to be deceiv'd;
Convincing symptoms all of life do give;
Bestow but motion, and you'll say they live.
So near to life they all its sweets obtain,
Yet are secured from its pain.
So well life's imitated there,
Children of art, they greater value bear,
Than if they nature's real offspring were.
Such sweetness in their being couch'd doth lie,
That, to give life, would do them injury,
And they would curse th' officious hand, that them of death bereav'd.

22.

With a bewitching visage, one
Spectators with soft love inspires;
And, from the cold and rigid stone,
Break raging uncontrouled fires:
A look, so ravishing and sweet,
Doth tender passions hide within;
And, could it soften into flesh and skin,
With equal flame 'twould ardent passions meet.
Another, with a look severe,
Doth a more rigid virtue bear;
The rash beholder bids withdraw,
And on wild love doth strike an awe.
Doth seem to speak, but a vast gulph's between,
And the sound's lost i' th' distant air,
And never reaches our deluded ear:
Nature is personated here so well
In every lovely feature's grace,
A good physiognomist could tell
Their fortune, by the lines drawn in their face.

Such passions from the rock's cold offspring move,
It doth no wonder now appear,
That once Pygmalian did a statue love.

23.

Deucalion once, as stories tell,
Lost mankind did, by stones, restore:
They, backward cast, groan'd as they fell,
And did to shape and to proportion swell;
And, influenc'd by th' enlivening heat,
Each limb did its due form and vertue get.
Such statues did they once appear,
Their looks such beauty gilded o'er,
The moment just before they breath'd,
E're life had motion to each part bequeath'd.
Such statues did Medusa make,
Such natural postures did they wear,
When Gorgon's look condens'd them into stone;
When they the same shape kept, their former nature gone.
And if old fame may be believ'd,
(Promiscuous mint of truth and lyes)
These statues once with fame and beauty liv'd,
Did furious passion in each bosom move,
Themselves averse from love,
Soft flesh without, but stone within:
Until by love's enraged queen.
The rebels, that her empire did despise,
Her just avengement bore,
Changed to stone, the same with their obdurate hearts before.

24.

Hence circling up the maze, that did beguile
The steepness of the hill;
As men, that up a mountain crawl,
Look back with joy and see the subject vale,
And secure pleasures of the humbler ground;
With busy eyes we view'd the prospect round.
When the long pondering muse at last thus cry'd:
Cast down thine eyes, and see
Botesford; a lovely scene of beauteous woe,
Sorrow so sweetly drest,
That death, the ghastly prince of terrors, there
Doth a majestick grandeur show,
And through his blacks doth beautiful appear.
Botesford! the great retiring room of fate,
Where, Belvoir, thy great masters lie,
In tuneful praise they rest,
Embalm'd with fame to long eternity.

Tir'd with the honourable weight
Of princely grandeur, and majestick state,
From their bright orb to thee,
Like falling stars they glide,
And in thy vaults their wearied glories hide.
Botesford! where death triumphantly doth sit,
And, grinning with a smile, doth joy to see
The glorious spoils of his great victory.
The common croud, as he walks by,
Turning away his scornful eye,
He unconcern'd mows down;
Wretches for dark oblivion fit,
That are undistinguish'd thrown
Among the worthless heap of destiny.
But as an hero, that some noble foe
Doth by auspicious valour overthrow,
O'er his fall'n trunk doth proudly stride:
So death with comely pride,
Not able his exulting joy to hide,
With gloomy wings broods o'er the princely bust:
Jealously guards the noble dust,
And with inflamed eyes doth his resentmemt show.

25.

Seed-plot of worthies! from thy womb
What crouding troops of gallant souls will come?
At the last shining day when all
From sleepy graves creep at the call,
Thy active heroes first shall rise
Stretch their stiff limbs, and rub their drousy eyes:
And at th' enlivening trumpet's noise
Start up, and think a battle nigh,
Cry Io Io victory,
Grasp their keen swords, and lead the trembling legions on.
Others annihilation seem to bear,
And doubly dead their dull ingredients are
Changed to common earth:
A new influx of being must
Enliven their unactive dust,
And giv't a second birth.
These such fierce vigour do retain
The seeds of life within remain,
Waiting the resurrection.
Struggling, the fatal bounds they beat
Impatient of so long a stay,
Ready to rise before the final day;
Ferment and swell with unextinguish'd heat.
Bound by th' immutable decree,
Unwilling they yield to its eternal tie,
And that once broke, they of themselves would rise to life again.

26.

Was there an art that could display
The different shapes of bad and just,
The colours they are varied by,
With reason's intellectual eye?
Was there a balance that could weigh,
Which princely, which plebeian dust:
What hidden glories had this seat disclos'd,
To our dull thoughts and grosser senses lost?
Unseen here numerous treasures lie;
For who can qualities of bodies see,
Or th' effluviums that from them are thrown,
The subtle chains with which the loadstone draws,
Or th' influences heavenly motions cause,
Not known till tried, and scarce believ'd when known.
How would a lighten'd mind, or well purg'd eye,
See fame and glory hovering here,
Beauteous and fair,
As vertues offspring i'th' idea are.
How would it spy
Beauty and honour in each atom roul;
Each particle transcendent bright;
Each fiery atom like a soul:
Each dust as pure as common souls appear,
Such quintessential parts compose the purest orbs of light.

27.

All the long line of British Albiny:
Renown'd and ancient as the isle,
Ancient beyond imperfect history:
Whose ancestors its treasure first possess'd,
First ransacked her virgin breast,
When midst the waves she rose the ocean's pride;
E're her disorder'd briny locks were dry'd.
All martial Roose's stem could lend,
Loaded with flame and warlike spoil:
All that from great Mannors did descend;
In whose bright line united grow
The scatter'd glories of the other two,
That with new deeds doth their old fame outdo.
Here the related heroes meet,
And in dumb shew each other greet:
Never a braver number did
Proud Mausoleums deck or pyramid.
To you shall future ages bow,
Your urns shall veneration find,
By wise Apollo's counsel led,
Here future ages shall consult the dead.
While Cæsar's mighty dust each wind

Doth round the world in wild disorder throw.
Sleep on, bless'd heroes, in your quiet bed,
While your eternal flame doth live:
Tho' time your monumental marbles eat,
Time that even tyrannises o'er the dead:
Your lasting honour shall survive,
While worth and valour merits fame,
While virtue something is besides a name:
In ease alive let others buried be,
Their time in vice ignobly were,
And pass forgot, as tho' they never wear,
Or known for nothing but for infamy:
You in your tombs a glorious life enjoy,
If we may call that life which is eternity.

28.

Rutland! a title never born
But by a prince of kingly blood:
Plantagenet's great name did it adorn,
The branches of that spreading tree
By civil wars cut down.
Edward York's mighty duke the title grac'd,
Who swell'd with fire and martial gallantry,
To trembling France with conquering Henry past,
At Agincourt the shouting troops led on;
With warlike acts help'd on that victory,
Which rigid fate ne'er suffer'd him to see:
With's royal blood the fatal field he dy'd,
And that in something worthy it might pride,
He mix'd his, with the French degenerate flood.
Richard, his nephew, the bright honour bore:
The scourge of France, and easy Henry's doom;
No king a monarch could o'ercome,
And kept the power, the title did restore,
At Wakefield, bloody battle slain,
Cut off in his just hopes of reign,
His sons revengers of his blood remain.
Offspring and father he of kings,
Himself uncrown'd; and from his daughter springs
No less a glory; that fam'd race,
That Rutland's title now do grace,
Succeeding him in blood and in exalted place.
But who sweet Edmond with dry eyes,
Rutland's young Earl, can see thy fate,
The dire effects of curs'd intestine hate?
Thy father's crimes fell heavy on thy head:
By giddy chance become the victor's prize,
Thou prostrate fell'st at the proud conqueror's feet,
With suppliant hands, and bended knees, didst pray
Thy tender years might mercy meet:

Unmov'd the cruel Clifford stood,
With barbarous rage threw all thy tears away,
And with an unrelenting look
Thy sobbing, begging, bosom strook,
While his keen sword drank deep of thy heart's blood.
Backward thou fell'st cover'd with thine own flood.
Thy trembling tongue, yet muttering prayers,
And thy swell'd eyes drowned in death and tears.

29.

From these deriv'd, heir to their fame and blood
Mannor's illustrious family succeeds.
Thomas renown'd for skill, and warlike deeds,
Quartering the English arms with's own:
He, Belvoir, thy proud head in ruins thrown,
Did with resplendent glory rear,
To be again tore down
In future times, by a more unnatural war.
Thou and thy masters destin'd all to be
Scourge of rebellion and villainy,
And worst effects of their curs'd rage to bear.
Twice rose th' unquiet North, as often he
A bulwark 'gainst the rebels stood,
And from their hands their impious arms did tear.
Henry, his son, heir to his father's fame,
Made rebel Scotland tremble at his name,
And the affrighted crouds with terror fly:
Did like a guardian angel stand,
With prudent valour hover'd o'er,
Secur'd the undisturbed land
From all the barbarous rage and power
Of Scotch perfidious villainy.
Edward, his son, did early valour show
Adorn'd the stem whence he did grow
And was in tender years thought fit
Two great rebellious earls to meet,
And from their foil eternal fame to get:
Born to great acts which envious death oppos'd
And immaturely the bright scene of warlike actions clos'd.
His brother John succeeding, the same fate
With the same glory did upon him rest:
Scarce could he round him take a view,
While honour boiled in his breast,
And his high soul to gallant deeds address'd;
When death, the foe of all that's brave and great,
O'er his designed fame a gloomy curtain drew.

30.

Roger, his son, succeeded who well knew
The riches, policy, and store,

The arts, and customs, that each country bore :
With curious eyes th' intrigues of state did view ;
With diving policy did find
What grave Spain thought, and giddy France design'd.
Unlock'd their secrets, buried in deep night,
And brought the struggling new-hatch'd plots to light.
Ireland his wisdom and his valour sung,
And Denmark in his ambassy did pride.
Immortal Sidney's daughter was his bride,
And the world griev'd, because he childless dy'd,
For wonders had from such a bless'd conjunction sprung.
Heir to his wit his brother Francis rose,
Who Europe's famous courts had pass'd
With worthy honour by all princes grac'd :
France, Italy, and Spain had made his own,
And had new wit to th' heavy German shown.
Him peaceful James for trusty actions chose
To's care his precious jewel did repose,
He princely Charles did from Spain's long enchantment loose.
The honour George his brother bore,
When peaceful times had bridled fury's rage,
And round our land reign'd a pacifick shore,
Under a blessed king.
In hospitality he spent his age,
And him to's quiet grave did shouting praises bring.
John, Haddon's lord, the honour did possess,
Bulwark of the declining state,
The rebels furious hate :
Who when they found they could not move
Him with their rage, or with their love ;
On's stately castle did their fury rate,
And to dead stones their malice did express.
Th' illustrious John succeeds ; on whom do fall
Th' united glories of them all ;
Which yet, like accents of a smaller sound,
I'th' greater noise of his loud fame are drown'd.
Tell me Apollo, god of wit,
Upon whose head doth more in triumph sit,
The glories virtuous acts do bring,
Or from long series of worthies spring.

31.

As those that search the head of flowing Nile,
With tedious, fruitless toil,
As it through spacious realms doth flow,
Blessing the smiling soil ;
Stil find it fam'd, renown'd, and great,
Until their curious search doth terminate
In boundless lakes, or mountains of the moon :

So, glorious Mannors, they
That seek the godlike head from whence you sprung,
As through the ages back they pass along,
Discern the shining path and sparkling way,
As far as maimed history leads,
Crowned with fame and honourable deeds:
Until at last
Searching the gloomy shades of ages past;
The glorious tract doth the enquirer bring
To th' offspring of some God or godlike king.
Proud of th' relation, other families
Bring their additional supplies:
All the entrancing grace
Of Totney and Albiny's race.
All it from Roosey's glory could receive,
Or kingly bold Plantagenet could give.
All Lovel and all Paston could bestow,
Could from great Nevil or from Holcroft flow.
All it from learn'd, lamented Sidney got,
Or was from Knevet, or from Tufton brought.
All excellencies, that combine
In Mountague's and Noel's loyal line,
The beauteous boughs here all in one intwine.
So some fam'd river thro' vast regions flows,
And, as it cuts its noted way,
The lesser streams their joyful tribute pay,
And, in its waves, their name and nature lose;
Till, grown with their accession great,
Meeting some chrystal virgin bride,
The banks too small its swelling waves to hide,
In several channels doth its streams divide,
And, with majestick state,
Empties its numerous waves into the boundless sea.

32.

Up to the top with various pleasures led,
While on the seat we fix our greedy eyes,
That ravishing pleasure in our bosoms bred,
With swelling joy Jove's pleased daughter cries:
'Tis not alone for shew and empty state,
As stars, that fair and beauteous shine,
But yet have no inhabitants within:
A mighty lord dwells here, worthy of such a seat,
Worthy a mansion next the Deities,
As high, renown'd, and fair as this;
As gallant souls brave bodies actuate,
This in its neighbourhood to heaven doth pride;
But he's to heaven's inhabitants ally'd:
Kings are to gods a-kin;
And he from kingly blood derives his sparkling line.

The glorious patron he of arts and arms,
Of silent learning, and war's loud alarms;
Attended on by both in comely state.
Learning doth flourish at his smile,
Who to scorn'd arts new value doth create;
Who, with rewards, doth sweeten artful toil,
And, like a god, what's due to virtue pay.
So the bright sun, after a fruitful shower,
Looks down with an enlivening ray,
Smiles on a clod, and there grows up a flower.
The gown and sword both own his power;
Arts from his generous favour thrive, and arms his nod obey.

33.

A soul he hath as bright and fair,
As e'er th' Almighty's breath did make;
As deeply stamp'd doth the great image bear:
As largely doth partake
Of heaven's perfections, that he
Seems but a ray of the divinity.
Goodness doth in his essence dwell;
He's in himself, and in his being brave.
Rewards on some their vertues do bestow,
And some their loyalty from interest have;
Like heavenly justice he doth flow,
Not influenc'd from accidents below;
Not made by changeable occurents so;
Ever the same, fix'd, and unchangeable,
Leaves not a gallant prince for popular noise
(A prince, that merits well of all are good;
Of all, where worth and valour's understood)
Not mov'd with fears and groundless jealousies.
He doth what honour says is just,
And wiser heaven with the event doth trust.
Above rewards, fear and designs above,
He virtue doth for virtue love.

34.

A steady loyalty doth poise his soul,
Immoveable, as is th' eternal pole,
That undisturb'd doth see
The heaven and earth about it roll;
" Fix'd, as th' immutable decree,
" Whom no united force can shake,
" Nor the strong chain of rigid fate can break,"
From changes and mutations free;
Changes, that signs of imperfections be.
Weak individuals here below do change,
Where discord and confusion range.
But, like to heav'n's eternal frame,
The purest essences are still the same.

Nature, by settled laws, her course doth lead;
Nature and he
In the same even, steady path do tread;
Alike in peaceful order twine,
Motions alike, just, quiet, and divine,
Should either change, all would confusion be.
The fixed stars thus the same distance keep,
And watch the drowsy world, while mortals sleep:
Without whose influence, the learn'd believe,
No individual could one moment live;
For, from th' irregular planets motions, grow
All the mutations, that infest the troubled world below.

35.

Thy steps, great prince, thy brother angels tread,
Loyal to their eternal head;
Heaven is a monarchy.
They pride in truth and loyalty,
In loyalty and truth, the tie
And knot of perpetuity,
That binds in one the distant parts of wide eternity;
They ever serve, and ever praise,
With glory crown'd, and endless days.
Faction once into heaven did creep:
Its watchful eyes, that never sleep,
Did not the restless monster from its mansions keep.
Rebellion once rag'd i' th' ethereal plain,
When Lucifer led on the armed train,
When listed angels did with angels fight,
With lightning cloth'd, and fiercest beams of light.
But what dire vengeance did pursue
The rebel troops, that, scatter'd, flew
Thro' all the orbs, to seek for aid in vain!
When flaming thunderbolts were at them thrown,
And they from heaven to hell, unpitied, tumbled down.
Ever, just heaven, ever bestow
Such a reward on curs'd rebellion.
Rebellion! that even hell will not admit,
But rule doth in that gloomy region sit;
Rebellion! from whose poison hell was bred,
And well its curs'd effects doth know;
That first in Lucifer's proud breast did grow,
And which he doth in factious bosoms shed.
Obedience is the angels fame,
From thence they've their exalted name.
'Tis kingly rule's the crown of heaven's bright head,
And order that preserves the world's great frame;
For anarchy and chaos are the same.

36

He saw the monster, giddy faction, rise,
Bred of reports and whisper'd lyes,
And fed with clamour'd fears and jealousies;
Teeming black broods, which one another tear,
And down their forward elder brethren bear,
And undermine what they but now did rear,
Sucking corrupted blood from fester'd sore:
With meagre look, deform'd and thin,
Hiding dark plots and dismal thoughts within;
Foaming religion out, and property,
The trumpet of successful villainy;
Odious and filthy to discerning eyes,
Tho' gilded all with fair pretences o'er:
An heterogeneous mass,
Of different interests and designs combin'd,
By an enchanted bond together join'd.
One, malice and revenge spurs on;
Another, conscience and preposterous zeal;
And this, unlimited ambition.
Some, folly and temerity do move;
Some, rage; some, fear; some, curiosity;
And some, the party's love;
And some, desire of change, they knew not why.
Some, friends; some interest engag'd.
Some, democratick principles enrag'd;
All curs'd, yet differently vile,
As various vices do one hell compile.
Some a new-modell'd government would have,
And some the wounds o' th' old would heal;
Some their beloved commonwealth do crave;
Some, popular sway; some, anarchy;
And some would not root up the tree,
But would the boughs cut down.
Some would their prince lead bound in iron bands;
Some would not kill, but would cut off his hands;
Would have his riches, power, and strength engross'd,
And jointure him i' th' people's love:
All would his royal brother and his friends remove,
And, as th' Philistines did to Sampson do,
Deride him, when his eyes were out, and when his strength was lost.

37.

Monster, whom disagreeing parties glue,
In looks, designs, and interests different still,
Yet sure to their first principle of ill,
Like jarring devils, mischievously true.
From various seeds and projects sown,
A many-headed monster grown;

The very shape of anarchy,
Of despicable compounds made,
The scorned common croud,
Of brutish rage and heady fury proud;
The dregs and lees of all that's bad.
Thunder, thus, doth from weak ingredients grow,
From vapours hatched in the world below;
So earthquakes do from compounds swell,
Unseen and unaccountable,
That shake the world, and cities overthrow.

38.

Fearless, the dreaded monster he oppos'd,
With rancour'd malice swell'd;
With thousand hands, and thousand arms upheld;
That, thro' him, struck at majesty,
As witches murder in effigie:
A loathsome spawn, as e'er
Th' Egyptian shore disclos'd,
Or Pharaoh's table did with slimy traces smear;
As black, as numerous, and bold as they,
And with more deadly poison fill'd;
Sworn enemies to all that's good and great,
And doubly foes to him,
Whose loyalty and virtue was a crime,
And subject of their endless hate,
When he stood candidate:
Never desert did suffer more, nor malice more did sway.
Like brave Coriolanus; he,
Look'd down with scorn on their low villainy,
Too good for their esteem.
Traytors and fools their favourites grow;
Degenerate slaves, that crouch and fawn,
With base submission prostrate low
To sweaty boar and sordid clown.
Proud of their hate, and glorying in their rage,
He spurn'd the hell-bred brood:
Spight of their force dar'd to be good;
Alone did with their crowds engage,
Champion for heaven, his prince, and for religion.

39.

His beauteous half adds glory to the seat,
Which more its keeping such a gem doth prize,
Than the vain praise of being great,
Or the next neighbour to the skies.
High in her birth, but in her soul more high;
Highly from her illustrious lineage nam'd,
But more for virtue and for beauty fam'd.
Much she of goodness hath, and much of wit,

Her look at once doth ravish and surprise,
Where modesty and gallantry do sit,
Greatness of mind and pleasing candor meet,
Humble, yet great, obliging good, yet wise;
Wit doth dart from her tongue, and charms fly from her eyes.
Did you but this seraphick vision see,
You'd think a star had lost its way,
A star of all the heaven most bright,
And on that elevated mount did stray,
The nearest mansion to the sphere of light:
Or that an angel of the highest degree,
In all the heavenly hierarchy,
This, for its pleasure-house had chose:
Condens'd a body of the purest air,
With æther mixt, unsullied and fair,
And heav'nly dew that doth bright gems produce:
Materials as fine as those,
That common souls compose.
If drawn by pencil, and by hand divine,
Upon the soul of new-made man did shine,
His glorious maker's portraiture;
Sure 'twas more exquisitely drawn in her:
In her fair soul; where great and good do meet,
And all that doth a virtuous soul, or deity, befit.
So extremely like th' original,
That they would pardonable be,
That should to their devotion fall,
And offer at her altar as a deity.
Heaven's treasures sure exhausted are,
That hath so great a jewel lost;
Or else of wond'rous plenty boast,
That could so bright a beauty spare.

40.

Learning she gets at one survey;
The stubborn sciences, which we
With sharp assaults, and tedious sieges gain,
(A mighty Cæsar's victory)
At one look yield to her unbounded reign.
What cannot wit and beauty sway?
And all their treasures to her power submit,
In splendid triumph born.
She th' conquest of one rebel art doth scorn;
An army she doth captive hold,
Enrich'd with all their ransack'd worth:
Like heaven doth, at one sight, behold
All fruitful time e'er did or shall bring forth.

41.

See but her draughts, and you'd believe
She painting's art from the Almighty stole:
Others do bodies paint, and she the soul.
Vigour and life in each doth live.
Nature, whose shop the universe doth store,
With all the mass and crowd of things;
From whose unbounded treasure springs
The beauteous metal, fin'd from rugged ore.
Where models of all creatures lie,
The different moulds where they are cast,
The patterns they are forged by,
And native forms each species hath embrac'd:
Not wond'rous nature, that hath grac'd
The world with all its beauteous state,
E'er, from her hand, more lively figures sent:
Not when, on some uncommon fabrick bent,
She tasks her art and diligence to create
Some monarch that the universe must sway.
Rugged, uneven, her draughts appear,
Distorted and deform'd they be,
Few that a just proportion bear,
Or glory in due symmetry:
Hence her next models she may take,
Fresh patterns for her's worn away;
And beauties for succeeding ages make;
Beauties that shall engage
To due acknowledgment the future age,
And in high extasies the artist's still display.
Her worth's the fatal Rubicon,
In her perfection.
The terminating pillar lies,
To which e'er human worth can rise,
As far as earth can journey to the skies,
As near as mortals can be to the Deities.

42.

Sister to her, another glorious star;
Sister in all that's good,
In virtue, beauty, and in blood,
With welcome rays, doth beautify that sphere:
Like those that to the wond'ring world appear,
At some auspicious monarch's birth,
Scattering thick joys on the exulting earth:
As fair, as good, and as benign as they;
The admiration of all eyes, and flame of every heart.
Th' astonish'd crowds, with just surprise,
Homage at humble distance pay,
Admire but dare not love.

See a bright world, with conquering beauty rise,
In sublime regions move,
And dare not hope to reach her high desert:
But a-far off, as Persians pray,
Prostrate on earth, adore the sun above.
Unhappy state
Of those are eminently good and great!
None can deserve them here below,
They must to heaven for a fit lover go:
So, among all the winged choir,
Th' unequall'd phœnix doth no object find,
That may her heart to passion fire,
To her own spicy nest, and her own sweets confin'd.

43.

Sprung from brave Noel's loyal line.
Noel that rebels rage defy'd,
Did in allegiance pride,
In his great master's service liv'd, and in his service dy'd:
She heaven's best gift was sent to be,
A just reward of loyalty,
A present worthy of a Deity.
Such treasures do in her combine,
Her beauty, that doth charm all eyes,
Is th' least accomplishment that she enjoys:
She that retrieves our nation's ancient fame,
And proves that th' English had from angels looks their name.
In her all wide perfections greet,
Virtue would look so ravishing and sweet,
Should she an human shape put on.
And, if the soul doth, as the learned tell,
The body form, where it must after dwell,
Never a fitter pair did meet:
Never did soul a fairer body find,
And never body had a fairer mind:
So sweet a concord reigns, that they can give
Solution of the wond'rous tie,
The unaccountable connexion,
That doth the fiery soul to th' earthly body bind.
So sweet the bond, so soft the chain,
So free from raging passions reign,
The world will easily now believe,
The soul is harmony.

44.

Care of the gods! their highest favourite;
In whom the scatter'd rays of light
And beams dispersed thro' the world unite.
The true Pandora she,
On whom each Deity

A gift conferr'd, and every gift a grace.
One deck'd the mind, the other the face.
One wit, another beauty did bestow,
This wisdom, and that gallantry,
This virtue mix'd with candid clemency,
And this diffusive goodness that, with skill doth flow.
What every God excels in, she hath found:
All excellencies join'd in one,
That were to past, or present ages known,
Her glorious essence do compound.
Thus, e're the infant world was grown,
The wide dispersed rays of light
O'er the confused mass were tost,
In gloomy clouds, and pitchy darkness lost;
But, when the rallied troops did meet,
From their united forces rose the sun.

45.

This said, thrice bowing low, she led me in,
And open'd all the boundless stores,
Brought thither from far distant shores;
All that each different realm can show.
Extreams there meet, the east and west combine,
Remotest nations neighbours grow,
And the far distant poles do in one point conjoin.
All that comes from the frozen north,
Or parched southern mines bring forth:
All that the eastern treasure pays,
Where the sun lends his early rays;
Or farthest coasts where he's undrest,
And lays his weary head in Thetis's breast.
The rarities rich China send,
Fair Bantham, Goa, and Japan;
The treasure western caverns lend,
Dug by the miserable American.
All the black Negro dives for in the deep;
Gems, that from heavenly dew condens'd are got:
All that luxurious Asia doth keep,
All rarities that come
From Turkish or from Persian loom,
From Taurus, and old Bagdat, upon camels brought.
Not the loose poet, when he did describe
The shining palace where the sun doth rest;
Tho' with the richest furniture 'twas drest,
That e'er was weaved in the fruitful brain,
And rich conceit of all th' inspired tribe;
Could such a pitch of tow'ring fancy gain,
To reach the wonders that this doth contain,
Tho' art and fiction he to's help did call,
Tho' 'twas but an idea, and invention all.

46.

How oft my unprepared eyes
Did at th' unlook'd-for brightness close?
As men, that from dark dungeons rise,
Grow, with the sun's unusual glory, blind.
How oft did my surprised mind
Itself i'th' labyrinth of wonders lose?
Sometimes I thought 'twas but a dream,
And all the treasure that I saw
Was but the scheme
That my distracted mind did draw:
Bred from the vapours of the night,
That did a while my wand'ring thoughts delight,
But far away, with sleep, would take their flight:
As feverish eyes paint beauteous objects near,
Which, when we grow ourselves, do disappear:
So a poor peasant, that did never know
More treasures than the fruitful field doth show;
That ne'er saw pearls, or gems, but those
The morning dew doth upon flowers repose:
Such would his admiration be,
Should he be brought to see
Th' unutterable store,
Unseen, unthought, unheard of him before,
Of some rich eastern prince's treasury.
Dread and surprise upon his soul would fall,
And he would think't deceit, and an impostor all.

47.

Each room hath all perfections got,
That widest wishes could create;
Order, proportion, riches, greatness, state:
Nor is conveniency justled out.
Conveniency, that's first by prudence sought,
To whom all else should be subordinate.
Nor do reiterated pleasures cloy;
Variety, that gives a taste to joy,
And relishing sweetness doth dispense,
Around doth in agreeing discord fall.
Each room hath a peculiar excellence;
All beauteous, yet of different beauties all.
One with earth's purest metals shines,
The precious intrails of deep hidden mines;
The fatal cause of blood and war:
The ghastly dæmons, that in battles stalk,
Such as i'th' mines, from whence they're dug, do walk.
Treasure! the deadly heat that brings,
The fiery thirst, that nothing can asswage:
Hydropick drout! the lasting plague that haunts ambitious kings.

Here it hath the right use, and serves for show:
For show that hath no real worth, but what
It hath from our depraved fancy got.
Such plenty every where is spread,
You'd think the hill was all one mine,
Or that 'twas Peru's magazine,
Or that the Indies there were brought to bed.
Not Israel's peaceful mighty king,
That made his land o'erflow with store,
That flow'd with honey, and with milk before:
Tho' he did gold from distant Ophir bring;
Tho' all that his unskilled times did know,
Egypt's beloved daughter's house could show:
Could for its treasure this contemn,
Tho' he made silver, like the stones, in mountainous Jerusalem.

48.

This next is rich in art, as that in store:
Art, that doth varnish nature o'er,
And whate'er doth unformed come
From Nature's fruitful womb,
Doth in mysterious clothing lap,
And licks the formless embryo to shape.
Here curious art in every place doth reign,
Runs, like the soul, through every part;
Surprising wit doth here divert.
Here's subtle fancy in a pleasing vein,
And there's the wild invention of a fruitful brain.
In thousand shapes it doth appear,
Now this, now that disguise it doth put on,
Now visible it doth draw near,
Now, in meanders lost, 'tis gone;
Now in its matchless beauty seen,
Then hides itself, yet sets transparent shades between.
All arts, in colder regions bred,
Where solid judgment bears a sway,
And down light frothy wit doth weigh:
Or those from hotter climates led;
Where the near sun, with kindly heat,
Doth warm the brain, and active wit beget;
Ripens the thought, th' invention doth sublime,
Concocted in their warmer clime.
All that from learned Greece do come,
From antient or from modern Rome.
All soft delights that do comply
With ease, with state, and luxury,
The lovely strangers here are all with comely order met:
That, should a barbarous inundation reign,
Worse than the plague the north did once display,
And learning under desolate ruins lay,
From hence the circle of the arts might be retriev'd again.

49.

That deck'd with China, and rich porcelane ;
China in former ages made,
And low in earth's deep caverns laid,
Wher't doth transparency and hardness gain,
And value above richest metals hold :
As, under weighty mountains, gold,
Concocted by the sun's enlivening heat,
In secret mansions doth its vertue get.
China, by provident parents, buried low,
Where it, unvisited, doth sleeping lie,
Until some ages are slid by,
Then dug, it treasure doth for great-grand-children grow.

50.

Here's tapestry so lively made,
In such due shades, and living colours laid,
In the beholder's breast they move
The passions that they represent.
Sometimes a bloody battle strikes the eye,
And death in thousand shapes doth rove,
You'd think the living men, on slaughter bent,
Did join, and fight, and fall, and die :
While streams of blood from wounds do seem to fall,
And cast a dread and horror upon all :
When landskips soon of soft delight,
Such as the innocent country yields,
Compose, and smooth the soul from the affright,
And then we're in the flow'ry fields,
And taste the undisturbed joy
Did o'er the world i'th' golden ages fly.
The lively actions, there are shown,
Make deep impression on the breast;
The same the sympathising soul doth own:
In the same garb and passions drest,
They wind up the soul, or let it down.

51.

This doth the quintessence of painting shew :
Painting! that first in Paradise began,
When the Almighty Being drew
His image on the soul of man.
Painting! the wond'rous art,
That can eternity impart,
Beyond the power of history :
History, where they a being have,
But one degree removed from the grave.
In some few letters they are seen,
The poor Mausoleum where they lie,
As fading as their compound is, the air.

Here, in proportion, features, and in mien
They live; are ever young, and ever fair,
Intire; not sublimated to a name.
Physick can underprop life's sinking frame,
And make the shaking fabrick live:
History can patch a broken fame,
And undeserv'd applauses give:
'Tis only painting that can truly save
From the abyss, that swallows all, the grave:
Where, undistinguish'd, all are thrown
I'th' gloomy shades of dark oblivion,
Whither past times, and once brave men, are gone.

52.

If it to learned souls permitted be,
The actions of succeeding times to see;
What joy would it impart?
How would it Zeuxis and Apelles please,
And the learn'd soul of fam'd Praxiteles,
To see th' improvement of their once lov'd art:
By Titian, Angelo, and Rubens' name,
And Lilly, last in time, but first in fame.
Zeuxis, with grapes, the silly birds deceiv'd,
That, fearless, to the boy ill-drawn did fly:
Here painting doth deceive man's curious eye,
And draughts are real, living men believ'd.
Such life in every well-shap'd limb doth play,
An awful dread doth on beholders fall,
And reverend fear their doubtful hearts doth sway,
That know them noble, think them living all:
How would Apelles his fam'd Venus slight,
Should he be bless'd with such a sight,
Each one far more than was his Venus bright?
Unfit was he to pourtray beauty's queen,
That ne'er had English beauties seen:
This seat in nine successive earls doth pride,
To England's greatest families ally'd;
Painting here gives them life, and they
Do it with immortality repay,
And give a value to the art, that nothing can decay.

53.

This is the happy room, cry'd out my guide,
Where the bright angel doth repose,
That all the glory on this state bestows,
Shines through, and gilds the fabrick that doth her inclose.
Here she doth hide
Her sacred beauty from the shades of night:
The greatest gift indulgent heaven could give,
Or the admiring earth receive.

All things around do with her beauty shine,
And glorious from reflection grow;
She, with a dazzling splendor, makes all fine,
A worth no earthly treasure can bestow.
Heaven, by the presence of the gods, grows fair,
From thence doth gain its fam'd felicity;
And would a despis'd mansion be,
Were not that glorious consort there.

54.

Hence to another sphere we pass'd,
With richest treasures grac'd:
The lovely offspring of that happy lord,
The brighest gems heaven can afford.
The richest can be given
To his best-loved favourite.
Trifles before did my sick eyes invite,
The gifts of earth; these of indulgent heaven.
Heaven, by its impress, claims them for his own;
Seal'd with heaven's signet, each doth bear,
In starry letters writ,
The image the eternal mind doth wear.
A blooming glory in their looks appears,
Sweetly becoming infant years:
Like flowers half ripe, that show
The future glories that in them will grow,
Then sweeter, than when wider blown.
A lovely dawning, not so bright,
But yet more pleasing than the furious light:
Such as Aurora doth display,
When she foreshews a glorious day.

55.

Epitomes of worth! how soon
Will noble blood in gallant actions shine?
Break out in rays divine;
And, like an actuating soul,
With divine lustre through each motion run?
A charming wit, and mien unfold,
Quite different from the common mold,
And every infant act with infus'd grace controul?
Stupidity and dulness once did rule
In the world's tender years, e're she
Was crept out of her infancy,
Divided 'twixt the innocent and fool.
When wit a monster was, and knowledge thought
The dangerous path that first destruction brought,
Shunn'd for Eve's fatal curiosity.
When ignorance, secur'd from cares and fears,
Long-bearded boys, and children of an hundred years.

Here natural wit and gallantry appears,
Born with the soul; the seeds, sown there,
A native inbred worth do bear,
Not from long custom grown,
Or tedious experience known;
Not borrow'd, not acquired, but their own.
Wonders do through each look and action run;
Yet, since such parents them their being gave,
Nature a prodigy had done,
Had they not been so fair and brave.
Heaven, to great souls, peculiar love doth own,
And hath a nearer way to knowledge shown;
Stamps something great upon the mind,
That is for gallant deeds, and for high place design'd.
For princes must have eagle's eyes,
And boundless judgment, every act to poise:
To them indulgent gods have shown
The principles, heaven's monarchy doth own,
For they are friends of heaven, and they're the God's allies.

56.

Low at thy foot my humble muse doth flow,
Illustrious Roose, that doth inherit
Thy mother's beauty, and thy father's spirit:
In thy wide soul embracing grow
Intrancing sweetness, and commanding merit.
Thou leap'st o'er childhood; nor dost know
The innocent follies others do,
But manly wit through all thy acts doth flow.
In every thing, but years, a man.
Angels, at once, up to perfection grow,
Nor by time's tedious steps their knowledge gain:
Thou, like them, fair, and, like them, wise,
At once to th' top of knowledge do'st attain,
Leaving th' ignoble crowds, struggling behind in vain.
A ray of heaven in thy high blood doth dwell,
And doth thy soul to mighty actions swell,
A secret God in every particle.
Who fair ideas in thy soul doth sow,
Doth virtuous maxims i'th' composure strow,
That to an harvest of great deeds will grow.
Virtue's intail'd on thee by long descent,
From heaven, with thy due honours, sent;
Th' inheritance thy ancestors impart:
Virtue in thee is nature, but in others art.

57.

Methinks I see,
When thy bright soul was sent below,

How heaven upon the beauteous product smil'd:
With divine worth and splendor fill'd;
And an unusual essence lent,
A nearer nature to his own.
And, as through shining orbs it pass'd
To lofty Belvoir down,
Each constellation blessings sent,
Met and embrac'd the heavenly guest.
Nature herself, with such a treasure grac'd,
In smiling joys her thanks express'd:
And Belvoir's genius his white locks with flow'ry chaplets dress'd.
Live, noble youth, thy parents joy,
And thy proud country's fame;
And, with thy own, eclipse thy ancestors great name,
And if Parnassus' sleeps inspire
The poet with prophetick fire:
My enlighten'd eyes do see
Thy acts all ancient fame outdo;
To untrod paths aspire,
And a new shining path to honour strow.
Till to the top of excellence attain'd,
The utmost point of human glory gain'd;
Thy active soul scorning the tie
Of dull mortality,
The world too small a compass for thy heart,
From subject earth thou'lt change thy course,
Aspire above, and take even heaven by force.

58.

Hence to the chapel did our footsteps slide;
From Heaven's great favourites to his court:
Deck'd with the gems immaculate vows do bear,
With sacred incense, and unspotted prayer;
Where Heaven's great king disdains not to reside.
The service so divine, and votaries so fair,
To the eternal seat so near,
Angels do think themselves in heaven when there.
Prayers thence with winged speed do pass,
No need of Lucian's whispering-place.
A chorus of bless'd souls the place did crown,
And blessings, in full streams, descended down:
Such beauteous suppliants there resort,
You'd think one God did to another pray.
Go on, bless'd souls, success your vows repay,
While guardian angels round you stay,
And steal the spoken word away;
And patterns from the accents take,
To sweeten the new song that they must make:
And, oh! how they rejoice

To be the bearer of the voice,
And eccho'd back again, with a melodious noise.
While heaven with strict attention hears,
And turns his crowd of eyes to ears;
For what can he deny
To th' nearest patterns of his Deity?

59.

Hence to a stately room we came,
That did the fairest prospect yield,
Of any place beneath a star;
O'erlook'd the glories of th' enamell'd field,
And stately towns, that distant countries bear.
From hence the greedy eye
O'er the extended vale did glide,
The vale, that in a crowd of towns did pride,
That interspers'd, like beds of flowers in gardens, lie.
At once can see the frame
Of lofty Lincoln, and fair Nottingham.
The spacious scene and sight for conquest vie:
The prospect is as boundless as the eye.
From hence, my fair instructress cry'd,
The bright intelligence that moves this sphere,
And all the beauteous nymphs that here reside,
Can, from the windows, feed the roused deer
Affrighted at the fatal noise
Of his pursuing enemies;
Swift as the wind
With subtle course his eager foes avoid:
Wander in curious labyrinths about,
In secret mazes strive to lose
That fate, which ever sticketh close,
Nor will be left behind.
See all the artifice and wiles,
The open speed and hidden guiles,
With which his art a while beguiles
Death, that his footsteps doth pursue,
And in his hidden mazes finds him out.
Where-e'er he goes, he still is in their view,
And equally, in vain, his speed doth try,
From certain death, or from their sight to fly:
As guilty men, by terrors driven,
Wander about, but cannot go out of the sight of heaven.

60.

Scarce had she spoke,
When, from a neighbouring shade,
A joyful cry of busy hounds there broke;
That rous'd a stag, in a dark thicket laid,
With secure shades and silence compass'd round,

By's treacherous footsteps found.
Unhappy creature! that's betray'd by those,
In whom he did his only trust repose.
His foes approaching, from his rest he starts,
Shakes, and lifts up his lofty head;
His head with dreadful weapons garnished,
And awful look, that strikes a dread,
The outward show of gallant hearts.
What contradictions nature doth intwine?
What ill mix'd contrarieties combine?
Courage without, and trembling fear within.
Attentive to the cry,
Sometimes of war he thinks, sometimes of flight,
Of swiftness now, and now of fight;
And now he, undiscover'd, hopes to lie
In the dark mansions of the silent grove.
A thousand schemes his terror doth compose:
Now this design, and now a new doth rise,
Dress'd up in pleasing probabilities,
Till a more moving one the room supplies.
At last, the chilling noise approaching nigh,
And, fear increasing, all are flown,
The fabricks all are tumbled down,
And terror every thing doth disapprove.
Fear, ghastly fear, the long dispute doth end,
And all his force and courage he to speedy flight doth bend.

61.

The eager dogs their unseen foe pursue,
Led by strange magick force;
Where th' curious sight is lost, and where
No tracks or footsteps do appear,
No marks left on the yielding ground, or in the parted air;
By a magnetick influence, they find
A stream of subtil atoms left behind,
Invisible, as are th' ingredients that compose the wind.
And running up th' aereal clue,
Conducted by that fine-wrought thread,
Thro' all the mazes of his wand'ring course,
Thro' all the winding labyrinths they're led.
The charms of mighty love are known,
And powerful force of sympathy;
But here ev'n enemies are drawn,
By unaccountable antipathy.

62.

Next following these, a gallant troop is seen
Of men all cloth'd in green,
The new made livery of the verdant field:
Mounted on steeds that do devour the way,
With course as swift as quickest thoughts do yield,
When they to farthest regions stray.

The splendid train an hero led,
With such a port, and such a mien,
You'd think divinity was couch'd within.
Unusual excellence his form o'erspread,
Thro' every well-shap'd member ran,
And promis'd something more than man.
His fiery horse, proud of the glorious weight,
With winged speed, and comely state,
Thro' all the spacious plain did fly,
With all the symptoms of exulting joy.
Struck with deep reverence, cry'd I,
What divine form doth there that consort grace,
That looks like one of the celestial race?
Such sure the ancient hero was;
Such were the demigods of old,
By eloquent Greece, in lasting stories told;
Er'e they for worth, like his,
Left the unworthy world, and commenc'd deities.
'Tis, cry'd my guide, the far-fam'd lord
That doth this stately fabrick own:
By his presence equal to a god, but greater in's renown:
Who, stooping from his height, doth deign
Sometimes to taste the pleasures of the plain;
As Gods from heaven come down,
And change for joys that lower seats afford.

63.

Mean while, the lofty stag, in vain,
His wand'ring course doth steer thro' all the plain.
In vain he strives to break fate's rigid laws,
In vain with subtle course t' avoid
Those foes, which after him he draws,
By chains invisible unto him ty'd.
Restless, thro' untrod paths he's borne,
Death ever sounding in his ear.
As guilty men, by ill conscience torn,
Are driven on, headlong, by unruly fear,
Sometimes, by speedy flight, his foes outrun,
Beneath a thicket's shade he list'ning stays,
And hopes his foes and all ill fate are gone.
But they, thro' all the winding ways,
By characters inexplicable read,
The secret course his wary feet did tread:
And drawing nearer do renew affright,
And scatter his abortive hopes in flight.
Sometimes he flies for shelter to the groves,
The conscious mansions of his secret loves:
But every shade ecchoes the chilling noise,
Augments his fear, and doubles his surprise.

Now his old friends, the herd of deer, he tries,
Hopes in their number he unknown may 'scape;
But they, his former fame forgot and gone,
Their adoration once, and fear,
With threat'ning horns forbid him to draw near.
Now to the civilised plain
His wandering course doth rove;
But all alike do treacherous prove;
Death in each different place is bred,
Swift as his course it flies, and hovers o'er his head.
At last decreasing strength to rage doth grow,
Courage from his despair doth rise,
And swell'd with fury, he doth wish for now
Th' approach of his insulting enemies:
Standing at bay, his much-sought life he guards,
And's foremost eager foes with death rewards:
Till tir'd with slaughter'd crouds, sunk with their weight,
Yielding to inexorable fate,
In comely state he dies,
Incircled round with heaps of enemies.

64.

Thro' numerous stately rooms we past,
And each so beauteous did appear,
Such deep amazement on the soul did cast,
'Twas thought none other could like that be fair:
Till the next did with equal worth surprise,
As full of wonders and entrancing rarities.
Each did the soul with admiration fill,
And e're the heighten'd spirits had leave to fall,
New wonders from new objects did distil,
All beauteous, and inflaming beauties all.
So a poor anchoret, that his days hath spent
In the recluses of a lonely cave,
That never knew what pride or riches meant;
But th' earth his food, his drink a fountain gave:
As he, by angels borne above,
Thro' all the glorious orbs doth move,
With the astonishing glory rent,
His wide distended soul doth fly,
And break in admiration, love, and joy.
Of such sights sure 'tis holy men rehearse,
When their prophetick spirits borne above,
Of saints and angels; how they did converse
With seraphims and all the choir of love.
Such did th' inspir'd apostle find,
When he among the orbs was caught:
Visions above a mortal's thought,
Too bright for human eyes, and high for earthly mind.

65.

Distracted with the sight,
With numberless variety
That made a confus'd light;
As crouds of stars do make the galaxy.
What words cry'd I, bless'd muse, are fit?
(If any can describe an infinite)
What new-found eloquence is requisite?
Since art and learning is too poor,
Nor can in all its boundless store;
Its curious wardrobe, whence are brought,
In wond'rous hieroglyphick letters wrought,
The garbs that do all objects fit, and every wand'ring thought.
Not art with all's improved skill can spin
Expressions fit to cloath these wonders in.
Admire and silent be,
The prudent muse reply'd,
Attempt no impossibility.
Not all my sisters skill the task could do,
In that untrodden path could go,
Not tho' Apollo's self should be the guide.

66.

This said, up to the roof my guide me led,
And with bold feet its lofty top we tread:
While divine ardor in our souls was bred,
And breathings of celestial influence fir'd;
The soul, with neighbourhood of heaven inspir'd,
Restless it scarcely in our breasts would stay,
But fain would journey that short way,
To the bless'd coasts of everlasting day.
Divine ideas from th' pure æther rise
So pure, untainted, and so high,
An angel would not blush to own them his.
Another soul seem'd in our breast to move,
A ray from the bright sun of light and love.
If souls, as learned men suppose,
When from the bodies fetters loose;
Tainted with matter that they hugg'd below;
Unfit as yet to heaven to fly,
In higher regions of the air do stay,
And purge their dross and earthy parts away;
Thence to some neighbour star ascend;
And still, as pure they do grow,
To higher orbs of light their course do bend;
Till they, like fire, unbound, active, and free,
With winged speed do rise
Sublim'd and fitly purify'd to reach the skies.
The blessed souls, that here their dwelling make,
Need not such tedious gradations take;

Unsullied with the mists that fall below,
From their pure air they may untainted go:
With highest rank of angels stay,
And be no more ally'd to earth than they.

67.

From hence, with secret pride,
Our eyes o'er all the humble vale did glide.
Now on the paradise below
Our pleased eyes do dwell:
The hanging gardens, that do show
Those joys, soft Greece and Rome's delights excell,
And all luxurious Babylon did know.
Sometimes on the rude mountains tops we rove,
The scene of innocence and untaught love,
Whose brows with wild inhabitants abound,
Under whose shades, their heads with ivy bound,
Pan and his hairy Sylvans dance the round.
Straight when we turn our eye,
The cultivated vale new sweets displays,
Its head with corn and flow'ry meads arrays,
Th' effects of toil and artful industry.
The one doth nature's naked form impart,
The other doth express't improv'd by art.
Hence the bold eye doth distant countries trace;
With daring unconfined race,
Contracts the way, and visits every place:
Until at last
(Objects still lessening as they're farther plac'd)
Towns springing up in crowds,
Appearing from afar,
On some far distant coast,
Its bold and daring flight
Is with a pleasing error lost,
In mists, and bluish clouds,
On hills that such appear,
Where the descending heaven on earth doth seem to light.

68.

Phæbus, god of heavenly fire,
Father of the tuneful lyre;
God of light, and god of wit,
Head of the inspired quire:
Say if in all thy glorious way,
(And round the world thou circlest every day)
In all the journies thou dost go,
A seat like this thy unwearied course doth know.
Where, all that constituteth fair and great,
Order, conveniency, and state:
All the world's scatter'd excellencies greet,
And all the different lines as in a center meet.

And, when thou dost confess the world too poor,
I dare thy wit's unbounded store,
The room of bankrupt nature to supply,
And fancied worth to make, as rich and high,
As thy eternal mind can fly
That gilds with everlasting rays the highest sky.
Then, god of wit, how wilt thou find
Thy proudest flights left far behind,
And of Belvoir unworthy be?
All wonders past, or present times can tell,
Bless'd place in thee do lie:
And thou art left of all the world the only miracle.

A JUST VINDICATION OF LEARNING:

OR, AN HUMBLE ADDRESS TO THE *HIGH COURT OF PARLIAMENT, IN BEHALF OF THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.*

BY PHILOPATRIS.

Sub bono principe sentire licet quæ velis, & quæ sentias dicere.

London, 1679. Quarto, containing twenty-four Pages.

PROEM.

May it please you, my LORDS and GENTLEMEN,

This session of parliament is of such high importance to these parts of the world, that heaven seems to have committed the universal fate of Christendom to your disposal: from whose proceedings both France, Spain, Germany, Holland, and this part of the universe must take their measures: Nor will it be a vanity in me to affirm the same thing of you, which heretofore Tacitus did of the Batavi; 'who, 'in the time of the Romans, saith he, were able to confer a victory upon what-'ever party they adhered to.'

The parliaments of England have ever been formidable to their neighbours, but you, above all others, seem to have been reserved by Providence for those great and weighty affairs, which are now in agitation, as well at home as abroad, and for which purpose you are here convened. You only are able to cast out that angel of darkness, with his many legions, who is at this time endeavouring to destroy our best of kings and governments; you only are able to center this reeling kingdom, which staggers and groans under the pleurisy of popery, and which, if not now prevented, may in time attaint and corrupt the whole mass of English blood; you only are able to preserve that so necessary religion, and sacred property of our British Isle, by continuing, as there now is, a protestant head upon a protestant body; without which our prince would be no other than a father-in-law to his people, and they sons-in-law to him; besides, the incoherence would be as great and disagreeable, as to behold a black Indian head annexed unto a white body. Neither would such a conjunction be more unnatural, than inconvenient, since he that is arbitrary over the soul (as in popery) hath ever a co-equal power over the body and the estate; which is evident from the examples of France, Spain, and other popish governments, where the priest rides the soul, and the prince the body; a tyranny as

disagreeable to our gracious sovereign's nature to impose upon us, as it would be insupportable for our English spirits to bear.

Now the original of these popish villainies, as I humbly conceive, proceeds not more from their sacerdotal malice and interest, than from their laicks ignorance and servitude; without which their clergy would, at the best, be rendered but like wolves without teeth. Wherefore, to divest their priests of this power of doing ill, nothing would be more conducive, than the propagating of wisdom and knowledge amongst the populace; since, as ignorance renders men obedient and susceptible of the meanest slavery, so doth its contrary put all men upon their guard: *Omnes enim nos sumus, aut corvi qui lacerant, aut cadavera quæ lacerantur.* Now, for the more speedy effecting hereof, there hath never been discovered any better expedient amongst men, than that of the Liberty of the Press; whereby whoever opposes the publick interest are exposed and rendered odious to the people, as, on the contrary, they, who merit well of their country, are ever recorded with immortal honour to posterity. So that, if fame and ambition, as all generous souls must acknowledge, have so great an influence over the minds of active men, what can be more reasonable, what can be more serviceable to the world, than that which hurries men into a necessity either of acting virtuously, or of forfeiting their so much desired honour for ever? And such I take to be the consequence of a Free Press: From which consideration, since the late act, which laid that severe restraint upon printing, is so near expiring, my humble address to your lordships, and to you, gentlemen of the house of commons, is, that, before you proceed to the continuation of any thing of that nature, you would condescend so far, as to look down upon these ensuing arguments against any such inquisition, or embargo upon science; wherein you may, haply, find some reasons, which, though not founded upon private ends, like those of our adversaries, may yet prove sufficiently satisfactory to all but that dead weight of interest which opposes us, and will not be converted, for that it is not for its interest so to be.

This, my lords and gentlemen, is all from him, who would sacrifice his life and fortune for his king and country, coveting no other title of honour, whereby to be distinguished, than that of

PHILOPATRIS.

ALL civilised people, as well ancient as modern, have ever had that veneration and deference for learning, that almost no nation, disengaged from barbarism, wants its publick donations either of magnificent structures, or plentiful revenues for the encouragement of literature and learned men. Such patrons and admirers of learning were the heroes of old, that they seem to contend about nothing more, than to excel in their liberality to the muses. Thus we see Alexander the Great* presented Aristotle with eight-hundred talents, as also Xenocrates, the philosopher, with fifty talents; Antiochus likewise presented his physician, Theombrotus, with sixty-thousand crowns; Homer for his works received a thousand pieces of silver from the Candiots; nor did that suffice, but cities must fall together by the ears for the honour of his birth: So liberal were the ancients to all manner of sciences; nor have our modern benefactors been inferior to them, as our two famous universities may testify to posterity. Yet, notwithstanding all these encouragements, learning hath of late years met with an obstruction in many places, which suppresses it from flourishing or increasing, in spight of all its other helps; and that is, the inquisition upon the press, which prohibits any book from coming forth without an *imprimatur*; an old relique of popery, only necessary for the con-

* *Plut.* Vita *Alex.*

cealing of such defects of government, which of right ought to be discovered and amended. However, as our government is not sick of the same distemper, so need we not the same cure, but rather the contrary: for, as an ill face cannot be too closely masked, so neither can a good one be too much exposed.

That books are of great use to a government is evident, first, for that they are the only records of time, which excite us to imitate the past glories of our ancestors: secondly, we owe our manner or form of divine worship to books alone: thirdly, we owe our philosophy, or contemplation of God in his works, to the same cause. For men's natural abilities, like natural plants, need pruning by study: thus we see, that histories make men wise; poets, witty; mathematicks, subtle; natural philosophy, deep; moral philosophy, grave; logick and rhetorick, able to dispute; all which excellencies are to be acquired only from books: since no vocal learning is so effectual for instruction as reading; for that written discourses are better digested, and support themselves better on their own weight, than words disguised by the manner of expression, cadence, or gesture, which corrupt the simplicity of things; when also the suddenness of pronunciation allows not the audience time sufficient to reflect upon what was said. Moreover, books flatter much less, and have more universal precepts, than discourse; which generally affects complaisance, and gaining the hearers good will: particularly in morality, where great persons are better instructed, and more plainly reprehended for their faults by books, than by discourses. Books being therefore in the main so useful to human society, I cannot but herein agree with Mr. Milton, and say, that (unless it be effected with great caution) you had almost as good kill a man, as a good book; for he, that kills a man, kills but a reasonable creature, God's image: whereas he that destroys a good book, kills reason itself, which is as it were the very eye of God.

Having thus demonstrated how much the world owes to learning and books, let me not be altogether unmindful of Faust and Guttenburg, the promoters of both; who by their ingenuity discovered and made known to the world that profound art of printing, which hath made learning not only easy, but cheap; since now any person may accommodate himself with a good moderate library at the same price, as heretofore Plato paid for three books of Philolaus, the Pythagorean, viz. three hundred pounds.* This was the invention wherewith Cardan upbraided the ancients, saying *antiquitas nihil par habet.*† Nay, Thuanus‡ goes higher, when, speaking of the inventors of this art, he saith, *quibus plus debet Christianus orbis, quam cuiquam fortissimorum belli ducum ob propagatos fines patria unquam debuit.* And truly so we do; but still provided, that the inquisition upon it be removed, without which, this art, designed at first for the service of the publick, will prove useful to none but the licenser. Therefore, in opposition to any such restraint, I shall here demonstrate the unreasonableness of any such licence, or *imprimatur.*

First, from the ancient usage as well of the Greeks, as Romans, who

* Gell. Lib. v. c. 17. † Subt. Lib. xvii. ‡ Hist. Lib. xxv.

were both highly eminent for learning; and whom, in this particular, we need not be ashamed to imitate. We do not find amongst the Greeks, that their *vetus comœdia* (which was so much censured for libelling and traducing men by name, as to be prohibited acting on the stage) was ever suppressed from being read; but rather the contrary; for that Plato himself recommended the reading of Aristophanes, the loosest of all those old comedians, to his royal scholar Dionysius. Neither do we read any where, that either Epicurus, or that libertine school of Cyrene, or what the Cynick impudence uttered, with many other sects and opinions, which tended to voluptuousness, and the denying of a providence, were ever prohibited or questioned. Also amongst the Latins, we find Lucretius versifying his Epicurean tenents to Memnius, without any molestation; and had the honour to be published a second time by Cicero the great father of the commonwealth, although he himself disputes against that same opinion in his own writings. Neither do we read of any decree against the satyrical sharpness of Lucilius, Catullus, or Flaccus. Likewise, in matters of state, the story of Titus Livius, though it extolled and magnified Pompey's party, was not therefore suppressed by Octavius Cæsar of the other faction. Nay, even in the times of Christianity, unless they were plain invectives against Christianity, as those of Porphyrius and Proclus, they met with no interdict till about the year 400, in a Carthaginian council, wherein bishops themselves were forbid to read the books of Gentiles, but heresies they might read: whereas others, long before them, scrupled more the books of hereticks, than of Gentiles. And that the primitive councils and bishops were used only to declare what books were not commendable, passing no further censure, but leaving to each one's conscience to read, or to lay by, till after the year 800, is already observed by Father Paul, that great unmasker of the Trentine council. After which time, the unsatiable popes engrossed more and more every day, till Martin the Fifth, by his bull, not only prohibited, but was the first that excommunicated the reading of heretical books: for, about that time, Wickliff and Huss, growing formidable, were they who first drove the papal court to a stricter policy of prohibiting: which course Leo the Tenth and his successors followed, until the council of Trent and the Spanish inquisition, engendering together, produced these two monsters, an *index expurgatorius* and a *licenser*, when they enacted, that no book, pamphlet, or paper should be printed, till it were approved and licensed under the hands of two or three gluttonous friars: so that, in fine, there was never any such inquisition upon learning known in the world, till slavery supplanted liberty, and interest religion.

Secondly, it is the greatest affront and discouragement that can be offered to learning and learned men: for so far to distrust the judgment and honesty of one who hath but a common repute in learning, having never yet offended, as not to count him fit to print his mind, without a tutor or examiner, lest he should drop a schism or something of corruption, is the greatest displeasure and indignity to a free and knowing spirit, that can be put upon him. What advantage is it to be a man, over it is to be a boy at school, if we have only escaped the *ferula*, to come under the *fescu* of an *imprimatur*? When a man writes to the

world, he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him; he searches, meditates, is industrious in consulting and conferring with his judicious friends; after all which, he takes himself to be informed in what he writes, as well as any that writ before. If, in this, the most consummate act of his fidelity and ripeness, no years, no industry, no former proof of his abilities, can bring him to the state of maturity, as not to be still distrusted, unless he carry all his considerate diligence, all his midnight watchings and expence of Palladian oil, to the hasty view of an unleisured licenser, perhaps much his younger, perhaps much his inferior in judgment, perhaps one who never knew the labour of book-writing, or perhaps one altogether ignorant of that art or science whereof the author treats. When, if he be not repulsed or slighted, he must appear in print like a puny with his guardian, and his censor's hand on the back of his title, to be his bail and surety that he is no idiot or seducer: this cannot but be a derogation to the author and to the book, as well as to the privilege and dignity of learning. And what if the author shall be of so copious a fancy, as to have many things, well worth the adding, come into his mind after licensing, while the book is yet under the press, which frequently happens even to the best of writers, and that perhaps a dozen times in one book? The printer dares not go beyond his licensed copy; so often then must the author trudge to his leave-giver, that those his new insertions may be viewed; and many a journey will he make before that licenser (for it must be the same man) can either be found, or be found at leisure; in the mean while, either the press must stand still, which is no small damage, or the author lose his most correct thoughts, and so send forth his book imperfect. How can any man esteem himself doctor enough to teach with authority in his own book, when he himself and all that he writes must submit to the jurisdiction and censure of another?

Thirdly, 'Tis a great prejudice even to the book itself, to come out under the partiality and ignorant approbation of a licenser. Every acute reader, upon the first sight of a pedantick licence, will be apt to misinterpret the word *imprimatur*, and think it signifies no more, but that this book is foolish enough to be printed; when, seeing it comes out under the wardship of another, he will be apt to say, I know nothing of the licenser, but that I have his own hand for his arrogance; who shall warrant me his judgment? The state, sir, replies the stationer; but hath a quick return, the state shall be my governors, but not my criticks; they may be mistaken in the choice of a licenser, as easily as this licenser in the choice of an author: whereunto he might also add from my lord Bacon, 'that such authorised books are but the language of the times.' For though a licenser should happen to be more than ordinary judicious, which will be a great hazard in the next succession; yet his very office and commission enjoins him to let pass nothing but what is vulgarly received already. Nay, is the work of any deceased author, though never so famous in his life time, come to their hand for a licence to be printed or reprinted; if there be found in the book any one opinion that thwarts the licenser's humour, whether it be of a vacuum, motion, air, or never so inconsiderable a subject; the sense of that great man shall to all posterity be lost, out of the presumptuous rashness of a

pedantick licenser. So that if these things be not seriously and timely resented by them who have the remedy in their power; but that licensers are permitted to gnaw out the choicest periods of exquisite books, and to commit such a treacherous fraud against the orphan remainders of the worthiest men after death, the more sorrow will belong to that helpless race of men, whose misfortune it is to have understanding. Henceforth let no man care to learn, or care to be more than worldly wise; for certainly in higher matters to be ignorant and slothful, to be a common stedfast dunce, will be the only pleasant life, and only in request.

Fourthly, it is not only a reflexion upon books and particular men, but it is likewise an undervaluing and vilifying of the whole nation. I cannot set so small value for all the invention, the art, the wit, the grave and solid judgment which is in England, as to imagine that it can be comprehended in any twenty capacities, how good soever, much less that it should not pass, except their superintendence be over it, except it be sifted and strained with their strainers, and that it should be uncurrent without their manual stamp: truth and understanding are not such wares as to be monopolised and traded in tickets, statutes, and standards. We must not think to make a staple commodity of all the knowledge in the land, to mark and license it like our broad-cloth and wool-packs: what is it but a servitude, like that imposed by the Philistines, not to be allowed the sharpening of our own axes, but we must repair from all quarters to twenty licensing forges? Had any one written and divulged erroneous things, and scandalous to an honest life, misusing and forfeiting the esteem had of his reason amongst men; if, after conviction, this only censure were adjudged him, that he should never henceforth write but under the authority of an examiner; this could not be apprehended less than a disgraceful punishment. Whence, to include the whole nation, and those that never yet thus offended, under such diffident and suspectful prohibition, renders it no less than a national disparagement; and so much the more, seeing debtors and delinquents may walk abroad without a keeper, but inoffensive books must not stir forth without a visible jailor in their title. Nor is it a less reproach to the commonalty; since, if we be jealous over them, as that we dare not trust them with an English pamphlet: What do we but censure them for a giddy, vicious, unthinking crowd, in such a sick estate of discretion, as to be able to take nothing down, but through the pipe of a licenser? Now that this proceeds from the care or love of the commonalty, we cannot pretend; since, in those popish places where the laity are most hated and despised, the same strictness and severity is used over them.

Fifthly, it reflects upon our church and clergy, of whose labours we should hope better, and of the proficiency which their flock reaps by them: than after all this light of the gospel, all this continual preaching, they should be still frequented with such an unprincipled, unedifyed, and laick rabble, as that the whiff of every new pamphlet should stagger them out of their catechism and Christian walking. This may have much reason to stagger and discourage the ministers, when such a low conceit is had of all their exhortations, and the benefiting of their hearers, as that they are not thought fit to be turned loose to three sheets of paper, without a license; that all the

sermons, all the lectures, preached, printed, and vented in such numbers and such volumes, should not be armour sufficient against one single enchiridion unlicensed. I am confident that a kingdom governed by the rules of justice and fortitude, or a church built and founded upon the rock of faith and true knowledge, cannot be so pusillanimous. That all freedom of writing should be thus restrained with the proud curb of an *imprimatur*, must needs administer cause of doubt, and discouragement to all learned and religious men, who may justly suspect the reason and power of that cause which durst not stand a trial of skill. Every author writes either truth or falshood: if he writes truth, why should he be oppressed or stifled? And, if he delivers what is false, let him be confuted by answer, whereunto every author is subject; since no cause ever suffered by being answered, only by fire and faggot. That liberty is the nursery of science appears, in that there is nothing hath so much clouded and discouraged the Italian wits, as their inquisition; which, restraining all manner of philosophick freedom, hath for these many years produced nothing but obsequious flattery: in which country the famous Galileo was oppressed under the inquisition's tyranny, for thinking otherwise in astronomy, than the Dominican and Franciscan licensers thought.

Sixthly, this licensing of books is one of the most dangerous and mischievous monopolies and oppressions our government is subject to: since, put the case we were under an evil prince (as now we are under a good one) he, paying this licenser his stipend, might influence him so far, as to make him license all books against the interest of the subject, or to the defamation of any publick-spirited lords or commoners; and to prohibit only such books as are in the vindication of such persons who are for the liberty and property of the subject: for that it is ever the interest of a licenser, above all, to regard the favour of his prince (though to the prejudice and ruin of his country.) Who pays him his wages? His prince. Who hath the disposal of all places and offices of preferment? His prince. Then who should he study to please, right or wrong, but his prince and pay-master? That is, if he be such as most licensers are, low-spirited men, who consider nothing but their own present interest. Why should I not have the same freedom to write, as to speak? If I speak any thing that is evil, I am liable to be punished, but yet I am never examined before I speak what I am about to say. So let not my book be censured by one interested man alone in private, till it hath tried the publick test; and then, if there be any thing ill in it, I am ready to answer for it. Why must no writing, either in the behalf of such great matters, as liberty, property, and religion, or in the behalf of such small trifles, as funeral tickets, play-house bills, city mercuries, hackney-coach bills, quack-doctors bills, and the like, be printed without a license? Is it, for that the subjects of these bills or tickets are dangerous to the government? Or rather, that this monopoly would be injured in its prerogative, if the least word or letter be printed without paying toll to this licenser? Heaven grant that, in time there be not the same restraint and monopoly over witty discourse, as there is now over ingenious writing: since, by the same reason, the royal jester may demand a spell of money for every jest that is broken in discourse,

as well as the licenser doth expect a reward for every ingenious piece or jest, that is printed in books: when, with more gravity than wit, having, with great study and labour, corrected some such dangerous authors as Thomas a Thumbis; he from his learned grammatical pen, which casts no ink without Latin, drops forth that lordly word *imprimatur*; either because he judged no vulgar tongue was worthy to express so pure a conceit; or rather perhaps, for that our English (the language of men, ever famous and bold in the atchievements of liberty) will not easily find servile letters enough to spell such an arbitrary presumptuous word, as is that of *imprimatur*.

Seventhly, this trouble of licensing doth very much prejudice and injure the very licensers themselves in the calling of their ministry, if they will discharge that office as they ought: because of necessity they must neglect either the one duty or the other.

Eighthly, it robs us of that great argument we make use of against the Mahometans; and what is worse, popish religion; viz. that ignorance is the mother of their devotions; since how can we justly brand their religions, for being founded merely upon their laicks ignorance when we in the like manner discountenance knowledge ourselves? How can we upbraid papists for not daring to permit their common people to read the Bible, when we do the same thing in effect, by tying all persons up to one man's exposition and interpretation of the same, viz. the licenser's; who will not permit any exposition to come forth that thwarts his own particular judgment. I am confident, that if the Turk or the pope, could be assured to make all men expound the Alcoran and scriptures according to the sense of the Mufti and Conclave, they would neither of them be against the common people's reading them; so that we all three aim at one and thes ame thing, only by different ways. And that is our mistake: for let their falshoods use what artifice they can; yet we do in a manner libel our own truth, when by licensing and prohibiting, fearing each book, and the shaking of each leaf, we distrust her own strength. Let her and falshood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worst in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest oppression, when it leaves all standers-by no room to doubt.* 'The punishing of wits enhancestheir authority, and forbidding writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth, that flies up in the face of them who seek to tread it out.' When a man hath been working at the hardest labour in the deep mines of knowledge, and hath furnished himself out in all equipage, drawn forth his reasons as it were in battle-array; scattered and defeated all objections in his way, summons his adversary into the field, offers him the advantage of wind and sun if he pleases, only that he might try the matter by dint of argument; for his opponent then to sculk and lie in ambuscade, to keep a narrow bridge of licensing, where the challenger should pass; this, though it be courage enough in a soldier, is but weakness and cowardice in the wars of truth. For truth needs no policies, no stratagems, no licensings to render her victorious; these are only the shifts and defences that error uses against her power. So that, if it once come to prohibiting, there is nothing more

* Lord Bacon.

likely to be prohibited than truth itself, even the very Bible; as we may see it is by the first inventors of this monopoly. To justify the suppression of books, some may cite the burning of those Ephesian books by St. Paul's converts; but that agrees not with our case, for there it was not the magistrate, but the owners of the books themselves who burnt them in remorse.

Ninthly, and lastly, give me leave to tell you, that licensing and persecution of conscience are two sisters that ever go hand in hand together, being both founded upon one and the same principle: therefore, to asperse the one, permit me to defame the other. Now although I allow no difference to those religions whose principles destroy government, nor those religions that teach ill life (both which errors the papists are guilty of:)* 'yet I cannot but wish, that all men would use one another so gently and so charitably, that no violent compulsion should introduce hypocrisy, and render sincerity as well troublesome as unsafe.' It would be hard measure for any man to blame that surgeon who refused to cut off a man's head, only to cure a wart or pimple upon his chin or cheek: now the case is altogether the same, and we may as well decree a wart to be mortal, as a various opinion in *re alioqui non necessariâ* to be capital and damnable. I would fain know why is not any vicious habit as bad or worse, than a false opinion? Why are we so zealous against the non-conformists, or hereticks, and yet at the same time dear friends with drunkards, fornicators, swearers, intemperate and idle persons? I am certain that a drunkard is as contrary to God, and lives as contrary to the laws of Christianity as any heretick; and I am also sure that I know what drunkenness is; but I am not sure, that such an opinion is heresy, nor would any man else be so dogmatical in these matters, did he not mistake confidence for certainty. Faction and heresy were things unknown in the world, till the increase of interest, and abatement of Christian simplicity; when the church's fortune grew better, her sons worse, and her fathers worst of all. Why should I hate men, because their understandings have not been brought up like mine, have not had the same masters, have not met with the same books, nor the same company, or have not the same interest, or are not so wise, or are much wiser; and therefore do not determine their school-questions to the sense of my sect or interest? I think they are in an error, but they believe me to be in the wrong; if they err, they do it not through obstinacy, but ignorance; and if God affords them patience, why should we not lend them ours? It was nobly and bravely answered, for a heathen, of Tamerlain the Great; who, when his high priest desired him to reduce all that part of the world to one religion, replied: 'No, I will not; for that how, saith 'he, do I know but the same God, who hath delighted himself so 'much with the variety of all other things, as appears in men, beasts, 'birds, fish, trees, herbs, flowers, &c. may not also delight himself as 'much in variety of worship? Therefore I will punish none but such 'as deny either a God, or his providence, and him will I put to death.' Certainly 'tis very unreasonable for men to press and pretend every opi-

* Dr. Taylor's Liberty of Prophesying.

nion in matters of religion, as necessary in so high a degree, that if they spoke truth, or indeed two of them in five-hundred sects which are now in the world (and, for aught I know, there may be five thousand) it is five hundred to one, but every man is damned; for every sect damns all but itself, and yet that is damned of four hundred and ninety-nine, and it is excellent fortune then, if that escape. All wise princes heretofore, till they were overborne with faction, gave toleration to different sects, whose opinions did not disturb the publick interest: and not without reason; for that being restrained, and made miserable, mutually endears the discontented party, and so begets more hearty and dangerous confederations against the oppressing government.

Now how unreasonable soever such kind of prosecutions may appear to all tender-hearted Christians; yet, if once a license prevails, when men shall not be permitted to justify their innocence to the world, 'tis greatly to be feared that these mischiefs, and worse than these, if possible, will be the consequence of it. Having therefore thus plainly and at large demonstrated the inconveniences of a licensing press, give me leave to write upon the square, and shew you the objections of our adversaries, which, without wrong to their cause, may be justly comprehended under one head, and that is this.

Objection. If, say they, a restraint be not laid upon printing, and some supervisors assigned over the press; how then can we be secured from libels against the king, the church, the state, and private men? As also from popish books of all sorts? Now this I take to be the only material objection, wherewith they can have any shew of a pretence to baffle and obstruct our design.

To which I answer: first, that to expect any assurance, that no such books shall be written, is more than mortal man can give; since we see that during this late act, and should there be even a Spanish inquisition erected amongst us; yet there are some authors and some printers so bold, that the one to vent his humour, and the other for the lucre of money, would write and print such books in spight of the strictest enquiry, and in defiance of the severest penalty. And these are the authors that are most dangerous, and also most incorrigible; being persons, however, that are more likely to be silenced by liberty, than by restraint: for experience hath already shewed, that all such acts will prove ineffectual as to them. Secondly, supposing any such authors are taken and discovered; why, we need no other new laws for the punishing of them, as I humbly conceive, than what are already in force; as for example, if any audacious villain shall publish treason, he is already liable to suffer as a traitor; or, if he writes scandalous reflexions upon the government, I presume he is, by the present laws of the land, subject to a fine and imprisonment. Again, if he publishes any atheism, heresy, or schism, he is liable to an excommunication, and to be proceeded against accordingly in the spiritual court: or, if in his writing he defames any particular person, he is obnoxious to a *scandalum magnatum*, if he be a peer; and to an action upon the case for slander, if he be a commoner. And last of all, for popish books, *quere*, whether there be not statutes already in force, for the abolishing them, made 3 and 4 of Ed. vi. For, although this statute was once repealed by the

1 M. 2. yet that of the 1 M. 2. was likewise afterwards repealed by the 1 Jac. 28. So that I cannot apprehend wherein we have need of any other new law of this nature, unless it be to preserve to the poor booksellers their just and undoubted property of their copies, which is their house and land, they having the same title for the one, as we have for the other.

POSTSCRIPT.

Having thus, therefore, my lords and gentlemen, tendered to your serious consideration these few reasons against any such inquisition upon the press, I shall presume to offer but this one proposal to your judgment, and so conclude, viz. That, if these forementioned arguments prove so ineffectual, as that your prudence shall think fit to take some further care, about the regulating of the press; then, if it be enacted, that any book may be printed without a license, provided that the printer's, and the author's name, or, at least, the printer's be registered, whether or no this will not have all the good, but none of the bad consequence of a licenser? And that those, which otherwise come forth, if they be found mischievous and libellous, shall be committed to the flames, as also the author to condign punishment; but in this, as in all other things, I most humbly submit myself to your supreme wisdom and judicature.

DAY-FATALITY:

OR,

SOME OBSERVATION OF DAYS LUCKY AND UNLUCKY;

Concluding with some Remarks upon the Fourteenth of October,

The auspicious Birth-day of his Royal Highness James Duke of York.

Atavis qui regibus editus,
Augustissimo Carolo proximus.
Num. xxvii. 8, 9.

In hoc die tuo. In this thy day. Luc. xix. 42.

Printed in 1679. Folio, containing eight pages.

THAT there be good and evil days and times, not only the sacred scriptures, but profane authors mention: see 1 Sam. xxv. 8. Esther viii. 17. and ix. 19, 22. Ecclus. xiv. 14.

The fourteenth day of the first month was a memorable and blessed day amongst the children of Israel: see Exod. xii. 18, 40, 41, 42, 51. and xiii. 4. Levit. xxiii. 5. Numb. xxviii. 16. Four hundred and thirty years being expired of their dwelling in Egypt, even in the self-same day departed they thence.

A thing somewhat parallel to this we read in the Roman Histories:

That, that very day four years that the civil wars were begun by Pompey the father, Cæsar made an end of them with his sons; Cneus Pompeius being then slain, and it being also the last battle Cæsar was ever in. [Heylin in the kingdom of Corduba.] The calendar to Ovid's Fastorum says, *Aprilis erat mensis Græcis auspicatissimus*, a most auspicious month to the Græcians.

As to evil days and times, see Amos v. 13. and vi. 3. Eccles. ix. 12. Psalm xxxvii. 19. Obad. 12. Jer. xlvi. 21. And Job hints it, in cursing his birth-day, chap. iii. ver. 1 to 11. See Weaver, p. 458. the old rhymes deriding the Scots.

Ery in a morneuing,
In an evil tyming,
Went they from Dunbarre:

Horace, Lib. II. Ode 13, cursing the tree that had like to have fallen upon him, says, *Ille nefasto te posuit die;* intimating, that it was planted in an unlucky day.

The Romans counted February the thirteenth an unlucky day, and therefore then never attempted any business of importance; for on that day they were overthrown at Allia by the Gauls; and the Fabii, attacking the city of the Veii, were all slain save one. [Heylin speaking of St. Peter's patrimony.] And see the calendar annexed to Ovid's Fastorum, as to the last circumstance.

The Jews counted August the tenth an unfortunate day; for on that the temple was destroyed by Titus, the son of Vespasian; on which day also the first temple was consumed with fire by Nebuchadnezzar. [Heylin.] The Treasury of the times says, the eighth of Loyon (August) the very same day six hundred seventy-nine years one after another.

And not only among the Romans and Jews, but also among Christians, a like custom of observing such days is used, especially Childermas or Innocents day. Comines tells us, that Lewis the Eleventh used not to debate any matter, but accounted it a sign of great misfortune towards him, if any man communed with him of his affairs; and would be very angry with those about him, if they troubled him in any matter whatsoever upon this day.

But I will descend to more particular instances of lucky and unlucky days.

Upon the sixth of April, Alexander the Great was born: upon the same day he conquered Darius, won a great victory at sea, and died the same day.

Neither was this day less fortunate to his father Philip; for on the same he took Potidea; Parmenio, his general, gave a great overthrow to the Illyrians; and his horse was victor at the Olympick Games. Therefore his prophets foretold to him, *filium cujus natalis, &c.* That a son, whose birth-day was accompanied with three victories, should prove invincible. *Pezelius* in *Mellificio Historico.*

Upon the thirtieth of September, Pompey the Great was born: upon that day he triumphed for his Asian conquest; and on that day died.

The nineteenth of August was the day of Augustus's adoption: on the same day he began his consulship: he conquered the Triumviri; and on the same day he died. Hitherto out of the Memoirs of King Charles the First's Heroes.

If Solomon count the day of one's death better than the day of one's birth, there can be no objection why that also may not be numbered amongst one's remarkable and happy days. And therefore I will insert here, That the eleventh of February was the noted day of Elisabeth, wife to Henry the Seventh, who was born and died that day. Weaver, p. 476. Brook in Henry the Seventh's Marriage. Stowe in anno 1466. 1503.

As also that the twenty-third of November was the observable day of Francis Duke of Lunenburgh, who was born on that day, and died upon the same, 1549; as says the French author of the Journal History, who adds, upon particular remark, and observable curiosity:

Ipsa dies vitam contulit, ipsa necem.

The same day life did give,
And made him cease to live.

Sir Kenelm Digby, that renowned knight, great linguist, and magazine of arts, was born and died on the eleventh of June; and also fought fortunately at Scanderoon the same day. Hear his epitaph, composed by Mr. Farrar, and recited in the aforesaid memoirs:

Under this stone the matchless Digby lies,
Digby the great, the valiant, and the wise:
This age's wonder, for his noble parts;
Skill'd in six tongues, and learn'd in all the arts.
Born on the day he dy'd, th' eleventh of June,
On which he bravely fought at Scanderoon:
'Tis rare, that one and self-same day should be
His day of birth, of death, of victory.

I had a maternal uncle, that died the third of March last, 1678, which was the anniversary of his birth; and, which is a truth exceeding strange, many years ago he foretold the day of his death to be that of his birth; and he also averred the same but about a week before his departure. This third of March is the day of St. Eutropius (of which hereafter) and, as to my uncle, it was significative; it turned well to him, according to that of Rev. xiv. 13. Blessed are the dead, &c. and that of Ovid, Metam. Lib. III.

——— *Dicique beatus*
Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet.

——— None happy call
Before their death and final funeral.

The sixth of January was five times auspicious to Charles Duke of Anjou. Ibid. in the Life of the Earl of Sunderland.

The twenty-fourth of February was happy to Charles the Fifth four times. Ibid. Heylin, speaking of the Temple of Jerusalem, hints

three of these four: his birth; his taking of Francis King of France prisoner; his receiving the imperial crown at Bononia. And so doth also the Journal History before-mentioned.

Of the family of the Trevors six successive principal branches have been born the sixth of July. Same Memoirs.

Sir Humphrey Davenport was born the seventh of July; and, on that days anniversary, his father and mother died, within a quarter of an hour one of another. Same Memoirs.

I have seen an old Romish MS. prayer book (and shewed the same to that general scholar and great astrologer, E. Ashmole, esq;) at the beginning whereof was a calendar, wherein were inserted the unlucky days of each month, set out in verse. I will recite them just as they are, sometimes infringing the rule of grammar, sometimes of prosodia; a matter, of which the old monkish rhymers were no ways scrupulous; It was as ancient as Henry the Sixth's, or Edward the Fourth's time:

January.
Prima dies mensis, & septima, truncat ut ensis.
February.
Quarta subit mortem, prosternit tertia fortem.
March.
Primus mandentem, disrumpit quarta bibentem.
April.
Denus & undenus est mortis vulnere plenus.
May.
Tertius occidit, & septimus ora * relidit.
June.
Denus pallescit, quindenus fœdera nescit.
July.
Ter-decimus mactat, Julii denus labefactat.
August.
Prima necat fortem, prosternit secunda cohortem.
September.
Tertia Septembris, & denus, fert mala membris.
October.
Tertius & denus est sicut mors alienus.
November.
Scorpius est quintus, & tertius e nece cinctus.
December.
Septimus exanguis, virosus denus & anguis.

The tenth verse is intolerable, and might be mended thus:

Tertia cum dena fit sicut mors aliena.

If any object, and say, *Deni* is only the plural, I excuse myself by that admirable chronogram upon King Charles the martyr:

Ter deno, Jani, Lunæ, Rex (sole cadente)
Carolus exutus solio, sceptroque secure.

* Ex re & lædo.

Neither will I have recourse for refuge to that old tetrastich,

Intrat Avaloniam duodena caterva virorum,
Flos Arimathiæ Joseph, &c.

because I have even now blamed the liberty of the ancient rhymers.

He means, by *mors aliena*, some strange kind of death; though *aliena* signifies strange, in quite another sense than there used.

I shall take particular notice here of the third of November, both because it is my own birth-day, and also for that I have observed some remarkable accidents to have happened thereupon.

Constantius the Emperor, son of Constantine the Great, little inferior to his father, a worthy warrior, and good man, died the third of November, *ex veteri calendario penes me.*

Thomas Mountacute, Earl of Salisbury, that great man, and famous commander sub Hen. IV. V. & VI. died this day, by a wound of cannon-shot he received at the siege of Orleans. E MS. *quodam & Glovero.*

So also Cardinal Borrhomeo, famous for his sanctity of life, and therefore canonised (Heylin, in his Præcognita, says, he made Milan memorable, by his residence there) died this day, 1584, as Possevinus, in his life.

Sir John Perrot (Stowe corruptly calls him Parrat) a man very remarkable in his time, Lord Deputy of Ireland, son to Henry the Eighth, and extremely like him, died in the tower, the third of November, 1592; as Stowe says, grief, and the fatality of this day, killed him. See Nanton's *Fragmenta Regalia*, concerning this man.

Stowe, in his annals, says: Anno 1099, Novemb. 3. as well in Scotland as England, the sea broke in, over the banks of many rivers, drowning divers towns, and much people, with an innumerable number of oxen and sheep; at which time, the lands in Kent, some time belonging to Earl Goodwin, where covered with sands, and drowned, and, to this day, are called Goodwin's Sands.

I had an estate left me in Kent, of which between thirty and forty acres were marsh-land, very conveniently flanking its upland; and, in those days, this marsh-land was usually let for four nobles an acre. My father died in 1643: Within a year and a half after his decease, such charges and water-scots came upon this marsh-land, by the influence of the sea, that it was never worth one farthing to me, but very often eat into the rents of the upland; so that I often think, this day, being my birth-day, hath the same evil influence upon me, that it had five hundred and eighty years since upon Earl Goodwin, and others concerned in low lands.

The parliament, so fatal to Rome's concerns here, in Henry the Eighth's time, begun the third of November, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign; in which the pope, with all his authority, was clean banished the realm, he no more to be called otherwise than Bishop of Rome; the king to be taken and reputed as supreme head of the church of England, having full authority to reform all errors, heresies, and abuses of the same: Also the first-fruits and tenths of all spiritual

promotions and dignities were granted to the king. See Stowe's Annals, and Weaver, pag. 80.

Not long after which, followed the visitation of abbies, priories, and nunneries; and, after that, their final suppression, this parliament being the door of entrance thereto.

The third of November, 1640, began that parliament, so direfully fatal to England in its peace, its wealth, its religion, its gentry, nobility, nay, its king, so verifying the former verse of the calendar:

Scorpius est quintus, & tertius e nece cinctus.

A killing day to some or other.

The third of September was a remarkable day to the English Attila, Oliver; in 1650, he obtained a memorable victory at Dunbar; another at Worcester, 1651; and on that day he died, 1658.

The first two occurrences wonderfully accord to the preceding verse,

Tertia Septembris, & denus, fert mala membris,

being fatal to the two members of Great-Britain, Scotland and England. The third was as happy to them both, as the same day, 1666, was dismal and unhappy to the city of London, and consequently to the whole kingdom, with its immediately preceding and two succeeding days, viz. The second, fourth, and fifth of September.

I come now to days of the week.

Tuesday (*Dies Martis*) was a most remarkable day with Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, as Weaver, 201, observes from Matthew Paris: *Mars, secundum poetas, Deus Belli nuncupatur. Vita Sancti Thomæ (secundum illud Job, 'Vita hominis militia est super 'terram') tota fuit contra hostem bellicosa, &c.* Mars, according to the poets, is called the God of War. The life of St. Thomas (according to that of Job, 'the life of man is a warfare upon earth') was a continual conflict against the enemy. Upon the Tuesday he suffered; upon Tuesday he was translated; upon Tuesday the peers of the land sat against him at Northampton; upon Tuesday he was banished; upon Tuesday the Lord appeared to him, at Pontiniac, saying, 'Thomas, Thomas, my church shall be glorified in thy blood;' upon Tuesday he returned from exile; upon Tuesday he got the palm or reward of martyrdom, and upon Tuesday, 1220, his venerable body received the glory and renown of translation, fifty years after his passion. Thus my authors.

'One thing I make bold to gloss upon: His translation is here 'mentioned twice. Note, This is no tautology of the historian; 'but the latter paragraph is a more particular recitation of the 'first, viz. in reference to the time when he was translated into 'the number of saints and martyrs: *Quando in divorum numerum 'relatus,'* as Camden phrases it.

Wednesday is said to have been the fortunate day of Sixtus Quintus, that pope of renowned merit, that did so great and excellent things in the time of his government. [See 'The just weight of the scarlet robe,' pag. 101, his deserved praises.] On a Wednesday he was born; on

that day he was made monk; on the same he was made general of his order; on that also was he successively created cardinal, elected pope, and also inaugurated. See Heylin, speaking of the temple of Jerusalem.

Friday was observed to be very fortunate to the great and renowned Captain Gonsalvo, he having on that day given the French many memorable defeats.

Saturday was a lucky day to Henry the Seventh. Upon that day he atchieved the victory upon Richard the Third, being August 22, 1485. On that day he entered the city, being August 29. [Correct Stowe, who mistakes the day.] And he himself always acknowledged, he had experienced it fortunate. See Bacon, in his life.

Thursday was a fatal day to Henry the Eighth, as Stowe, 812, and so also to his posterity. He died on Thursday, January 28. King Edward the Sixth, on Thursday, July 6. Queen Mary, on Thursday, November 17. Queen Elisabeth, on Thursday, March 24.

Saturday, or the Jewish sabbath, was fatal to Jerusalem temple; for on that day it was taken by Pompey, Herod, and Titus, successively. Heylin.

Hitherto by way of prologue. And be pleased to take notice, as to the days of the month, I have taken such care, that all are according to the Julian, or old account, used by us here in England. See Partridges's Almanack, Preface to the Reader. Pope Gregory the Thirteenth brought in his new stile, used generally beyond sea, *Anno* 1585, in October, as asserts the Journal History, before recited.

NOW FOR EPILOGUE AND REMARKABLE REFLEXIONS.

Turning over our annals, I chanced upon a two-fold circumstance: I will not say, that none else hath observed the same; but I protest, *Ita me Deus amet, ut verum loquor*, I do not know of any that have; and therefore must justly claim to be acquitted from the least suspicion of plagiarism, or plowing with others heifers.

The first is, of William the Conqueror. The second, of Edward the third. (I need not say any thing of the eminency of these two; every one knows what great things they did.) And making reflexion upon the auspicious birth-day of his royal highness, the Duke of York, I adventured upon the following composure. I cannot be proud of my poetry; but I cannot but be glad of my *Bon heur, d' avoir, en lisant, tombe si fortuitement sur les evenements d' un si bon jour.*

Ad Illustrissimum et Celsissimum Principem, Jacobum Ducem Eboracensem, de Natali suo auspicatissimo, Octobris 14. *Anno* MDCXXXIII.

——— Deus
Anne nefasto te posuit die?
Hor. Lib. ii. Od. 13.

——— The fates have they,
Thy birth design'd on an unlucky day?

Octobris decimo quarto Normannus Haroldum
Dux superavit, et hinc regia sceptra tulit.

Tertius Edwardus, capto pernice Caleto,
(Gallica quo regna sunt reserata sibi)
Ire domum tentans, diris turbonibus actus
In pelago, vitæ magna pericla subît:
Octobris decimo quarto, tamen appulit oras
Nativas. (His quam prosperus ille dies?)
Natali lætare tuo, quam maxime princeps;
Fausta velut sunt hæc, omina semper habe.

'October's fourteenth gave the Norman duke
'That vict'ry, whence he England's scepter took.
'Third Edward, after he had Calais won,
'(The mean whereby he France did overrun)
'Returning home, by raging tempests tost,
'(And near his life, so fortunes, to have lost)
'Arrived safe on shore, the self-same date.
'(This day to them afforded so fair fate.)
'Great duke, rejoice in this your day of birth;
'And may such omens still increase your mirth.

These verses I presented, in Anno 1677, to a most honourable peer of the land, and of great place near his royal highness.

Since which time, old Fabian coming into my hands, from him I got knowledge that that advantageous peace, mentioned by Stowe, Anno 1360, (concluded between the forementioned King Edward the Third and the French King) was acted upon the fourteenth of October, with grand solemnity.

The two former circumstances must needs fall out providentially: whether this last, of Anno 1360, was designed by Edward the Third, or no, as remembering his good hap, may be some question: I am of opinion, not. Where things are under a man's peculiar concern, he may fix a time; but here was the French King concerned, equally with the English, and many other great personages interested: to have tied them up to his own auspicious conceit of the day, had been an unkind oppression, and would have brought the judgment of so wise a prince into question: we may conclude then, it was merely fortuitous. And therefore to the former observation, concerning this famous Edward, give me leave to add,

Insuper hoc ipsoq; die sibi commoda, grandis
Rex cum Galligenis, fœdera fecit idem.

'An advantageous peace, on day self-same,
'This mighty prince did with the Frenchmen frame.

A memorable peace, foretold by Nostredamus, much conducing to the saving of Christian blood, was made upon the fourteenth of October, 1557, between Pope Paul the Fourth, Henry the Second of France, and Philip the Second of Spain. Nostredamus says, these great princes were *frappez du ciel*, moved from heaven, to make this peace. See Garencieres's Comment on Nostredamus, pag. 76.

A lucky day this, not only to the Princes of England, but auspicious to the welfare of Europe.

Upon the third of March last, being the day of St. Eutropius, his royal highness withdrew towards the Low Countries: Procopius tells us, *humana sæpe contingit a Deo mutari.* Terence says, *vicissitudo omnium rerum est.* Which two sayings I can no way better English, than by that of Eccles. ix. 11. Time and chance happen to all men: nor no way better second, than with that of 1 Cor. iv. 11. *Incertis vagamur sedibus.* This accident therefore, our life being but a pilgrimage, as Jacob termed it to Pharaoh, is nothing to a general providence in the main. Therefore from the augury of his fourteenth of October, and from the good omen, comprehended in the signification of Eutropius, which hints, that all this shall end well, and turn to the best; and from Ecclus. xiv. 14, 15. I accost his royal highness with a *non defraudabitur a die bono.* He shall not lose his good day.

Dixerunt ibis, pariter dixere redibis;
Te non infausto dii posuere die.

'The gods thy exit have ordain'd, and also they
'Thy bless'd return have firm'd, born on a lucky day.'

I just now said, that the third of March was dedicated to Eutropius, which is derived from εὖ well, and τρέπω to turn: it is also dedicated to St. Maximus, St. Marinus, St. Lucius; which three also have notable hints in relation to his royal highness.

First, no man can deny, but that he is Maximus Princeps.

Secondly, he is Maximus Marinus; for in the time of his exile, he was admiral of Arragon, as I have been told many years since in Flanders; and I am sure very many commissions, in those days, past under his name; and till 1673, he was lord high admiral of England.

Lucius comes from Luci, which signifies in the morning; and betokens a child born in the morning, or at sun-rising, which some affirm to be a good time for birth: but I will, for my present purpose, deduce it *a luceo;* and I must affirm *quod hic maximus princeps gestis marinis maxime lucet, et alias lucebit;* This most great prince is extremely illustrious in sea negotiations, and shall yet be otherwise most illustrious.

That his highness has long since verified the first paragraph of my assertion, take it not only on my credit; but, besides what has been said before, hear part of an ode to his sacred majesty, on his highness's victory over the Dutch, June 3, 1665, composed by Sir T. H. a most worthy person, whom his foreign negotiations have made enough known:

This day your empire fate secures,
And now one half of the whole world is yours.
The Austrian youth who won the day,
When the pale crescent to the cross gave way,
Must to your glorious brother yield,
Who with less loss hath got a greater field, &c.

The Germans, high and low, amongst which last, his highness now

resides, call October, Wyn-maendt, Mensis Vindemialis, the Wine Month,

The effects of wine we read Judg. ix. 13. Psal. civ. 15. Eccles. x. 19. Zach. x. 7. Why then may we not term this month *Mensis Lætificans?* That it may be so to his royal highness, as well as it was to the most great queen his mother, are the hearty prayers of Blue-mantle.

——————— Hæc olim meminisse juvabit:
Unanimes omnes, cum te, dux celse, reducto,
Certatim instaurent epulas, atq; omine magno
Crateres læti statuant et vina coronent.
Virgil.

Remembrance of these things delight shall thee,
When, home return'd, great feastings thou shalt see,
And healthings round shall stir up gladsome glee,
And this rejoicing general shall be.

I have by me a book, printed Anno 1641, containing the true effigies of King Charles the First, of blessed memory, his queen, with their royal progeny, with verses annexed, wherein are notable predictions of his royal highness, which I will here recite:

This prince, much like another sun, darts forth
Most glorious beams to 's dukedom, and the north;
And makes us see with eyes of expectation,
He'll be a mighty pillar to this nation,
A stay of state, a strong supporting prop,
Whose fame will scale the heighth of honour's top.
He hates dull idleness, and loves to be
In action, such as fits his high degree:
He will be stirring in such exercise,
As well becomes his years and qualities.
Surely th' eternal eye of providence
Doth watch, direct, and guide this hopeful prince,
For some designs may be for heaven's glory,
And fill the earth, with James's noble story.
This all true Britons do expect in love;
No doubt, our wishes, are confirm'd above.

Thus that book: and I add,

Quis meliora petat, consultus quod tripos edat?
'Who better things than these can wish
'From the oracles breath of bliss?

1678. Martis Mense data hæc, timidi committere prælo
Non impressores audebant, tempore duro.
J. GIBBON.

A DISPUTATION:

PROVING,

That it is not convenient to grant unto Ministers secular jurisdiction;

AND TO MAKE THEM

LORDS AND STATESMEN IN PARLIAMENT.

London: Printed in the year 1679. Quarto, containing thirty-six pages.

It is not expedient to grant unto Clergymen secular jurisdiction.

1. I DO not undertake to prove that it is simply unlawful: and the worthy and judicious Bishop Davenant doth grant and assert, that the law of prudence and equity itself doth forbid kings to burden clergymen with it, so far as it will let and avocate them from their spiritual office and function.

2. It will be demanded, who must be judge what is, and what is not expedient? To which the forenamed Davenant makes answer, that is to be accounted expedient which a wise man shall so judge and determine; whereunto I assent. He afterwards adds, that which a wise and religious prince shall so determine. Neither do I dissent in this, provided it be soundly understood: for that which a wise and religious prince shall judge to be expedient, if it be so indeed, all wise men will, at least they ought so to think, for sound wisdom is the same in all: but it is too possible for the most wise and prudent prince to enjoin things not good and expedient. King David thought it most prudent to number the people, who was a most wise prince; but in that his wisdom failed him. Joab, his general, that was much inferior to David in goodness and heavenly wisdom, thought it very imprudent; and the event proved Joab to be the wiser man in that.

3. Some things are more evidently, other things are less evidently expedient: the scales may hang so even and equilibrious, that a wise comparing judgment can scarce tell whether is the heavier end, and whether part hath the stronger reasons; and the scales may be so odd and unequal, so much solid reason may be said for the one side, and so little for the other, that, to a wise comparing judgment, the case is not doubtful to decide. Now I shall manifest that it is evidently inexpedient to grant secular jurisdiction to ministers and clergymen, that is, that the same person be a minister, bishop, or pastor of souls, and a magistrate, or coercive judge, one that beareth the sword, Rom. xiii. 4.

4. Arg. I. Jesus Christ did not see it meet to exercise any such power while he was upon earth; being moved to be a kind of worldly judge between two brethren, he refused, saying, Who made me a judge or a divider over you? Luke xii. 14. As if he should say, says Davenant upon the words, neither by divine nor by human ordination do I

exercise judiciary power over private persons, much less over kings: by which argument the same Davenant goes about to prove the nullity of the pope's power in temporals. Now, if his argument be of force against the bishop of Rome, I see not but it is of equal force against worldly jurisdiction in all bishops and pastors whatsoever. Now, if Christ saw it not meet for him to exercise worldly jurisdiction, methinks all bishops and pastors of souls, who have their office and calling particularly from him, should see it meet to learn of him and imitate him herein, and princes themselves should not think it expedient to burden ministers with that, which Christ himself refused, and put from him, as either unlawful in itself, or inexpedient. Mat. xi. 29, 'Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me.'

5. Arg. II. The apostles, and the successors of the apostles, the bishops and pastors of the churches for the space of three hundred years unto the time of Constantine, had no temporal jurisdiction, nor did exercise any. And those are counted the best and purest times of the church. If we may not make the apostles of Christ, and their immediate successors, the bishops and pastors of the churches for the first three hundred years, our pattern, what shall we make our pattern, and by what law and rule shall we determine what is, and what is not expedient? Can we better govern ourselves and the churches than they? Have we more wisdom to invent and find out ways of good governing the church than they had? Have we more holiness, and goodness, and faithfulness to God, ourselves, our calling, and the church, than they had? If the church did well, and best subsisted when it had no magistrates but what were pagan, infidel, and Jewish, many of whom were great persecutors, all of them deniers of the Christian name: will it not well and better subsist, if better can be, where magistrates are Christian, and defenders of the faith, if bishops and pastors, contenting themselves with no more but the episcopal and pastoral office, and refusing all worldly jurisdiction, shall wisely and faithfully behave themselves in their office, as those first and most ancient bishops and pastors of the churches did?

6. Unto this, the worthy Davenant makes answer, that those times and ours are not alike. Those times were exceeding holy and good, ours are exceeding bad. There needed no secular authority in pastors then; there was so much holiness and piety, the word and discipline were abundantly enough; but now the Christian world is so exceeding corrupt and degenerate, that, unless ministers be armed with secular jurisdiction, their authority will be despised, and the discipline, which God hath appointed to be in his church, will be scorned as base and contemptible, rather than be reverenced for any good it will do: *non tam usui esse, quam ludibrio*, those are his very words. Davenant is the man whom I do highly esteem, and so do all that are wise and knowing in the things of God; but, in this, Davenant hath fallen much below himself; and the feebleness of his reasoning doth much confirm me, in my judgment and persuasion, that the cause which he oppugneth, and which I do here defend, is too strong to be overthrown.

7. His answer is partly not true, not to say it is directly and flatly false: for, let any impartial man make a due estimate of things, and

compare the pastors and churches under the apostles (I except the persons of the apostles themselves) and, during their abode upon earth, and their successors the pastors and churches immediately following to the time of Constantine; I say, compare these with the pastors and churches of our times, and it will be found that there is no such inequality as he suggests. Bradford and Philpot, and Rogers, and Cranmer, and Latimer, and Ridley, and Hooper, and Bilney, and Sanders, and other of the English martyrs were worthy and famous martyrs of Christ, as well as were those first and most ancient martyrs. And Grindal, and Jewel, and Usher, and Davenant, and Gataker, and Vines, and Hildesham, and Preston, and Sibbs, and Dod, and Joseph Allen, and many more of our own and foreign divines were able to vie with the ancient bishops and pastors of the churches, such as died not martyrs. And the private Christians, and families, and congregations of our times, are not much inferior to those ancient ones both Greek and Latin, and even to those we have mention of in the New Testament, namely, the seven churches of Asia, those of Galatia, and Judea, that at Corinth, and others.

8. Admit it were true, which, questionless, is not: I should rather think, that the way to reduce an unreformed church and people from heresy and unholiness, to soundness in the faith and holiness, is for pastors to content themselves with the work of pastors, and give themselves wholly to it, and suffer no lets. Will the sword convert souls, or awe men's consciences? Would it likely do more good, if a minister should come into the pulpit with a sword in one hand, and a Bible in the other? The sword is not appointed of God for the conversion of souls; the office of the magistrate is to make way for the work and office of the minister. It is the sword of the spirit which is the word of God, which must cut in pieces men's lusts, and breed in them sound faith, holiness, and reformation, and not the sword of the magistrate. Let the magistrate do or not do his duty, let him be pagan or persecutor, and let the people be more loose and unreformed than they are, let but pastors and ministers do their duty well, and we shall soon see that God's word and discipline is of the same force now that ever it hath been, otherwise there is a change in God, and his promise fails, and Satan is stronger now than he hath been, and Christ and the Holy Ghost are much weaker. Read and consider well these scriptures, (Mat. xxviii. 18, 19, 20. 1 Pet. iii. 13. Mich. ii. 7. Isa. xlv. 19.—xlix. 4, 5. 1 Cor. xv. 58. Psal. lxxxiv. 11. 2 Cor. ii. 15, 16. 2 Cor. iv. 1, 2. 2 Cor. x. 4, 5, 6.) to name no more, and let but ministers be wise and faithful, and try if it be not the best and speediest way to reform what is amiss in the church, contenting themselves with no more but their own office, and leaving all force and secular authority to the magistrate.

9. If we be the same that the ancient pastors were, be sure God and God's word will be the same; we cannot do God's part, nor the magistrate's part, nor the people's part, we can only do our own part, which we may do, if we will; do our own part, and be sure God will be with us and do his. What hinders but pastors may be as wise and holy as they have been of old? If we be not, it is our own fault. The more corrupt the times are, the more need pastors have to bestir themselves,

and to double their diligence, and lay out themselves more vigorously, to be more exemplary, to abound in the work of God, to be mortified, to lose no time, to suffer no let. To make them magistrates were to let them, and take away much of their time, and rather hinder and distract, than further them. If the pastor's office be as much as they can wisely and faithfully do, would it further them in their work to have another office and work added to them? Ministers of the gospel are not so fit as others to be worldly coercive judges and secular magistrates. For their office is purely pastoral, and is to have no terror in it, but the terror of God's word, and spiritual denunciations, that the people may have no temptations to withdraw their love and esteem from their pastors. A thief at the bar had rather have a minister, than the judge, to reprove him, though both should pronounce the same truth, and hit upon the same words, and have equal wisdom and integrity. For properly magistrates are for outward terror to evil doers, and for outward defence and protection to them that do well, Rom. xiii. 13. 1 Pet. ii. 14. But ministers are to be gentle to souls, even as a nurse cherisheth her children, and to exhort and comfort, and charge every one as a father doth his children, 1 Thes. ii. 7, 11. But, if parents and nurses, and tender mothers should rule their children by the sword too, that would not add to their office, nor further their work.

10. Arg. III. If it be so, as Davenant says, 'That, unless ministers be armed with secular jurisdiction, their office and authority in the church, and the Lord's word and discipline, as administered by them, will be despised and trod upon;' then necessarily all ministers should be made magistrates, and princes are to blame, if they do not put the sword into all their hands, and make every minister, throughout the nation, a justice of peace, or a sheriff, or a judge, by giving him power to imprison, and lay fines and penalties upon offenders, and to use coercive means. And then the scriptures themselves, even the wisdom of God will be found faulty, if he have ordained and appointed no such thing in all the Bible, as I no where find that he hath done. And, by the same reason, magistrates may say, they also must be ministers, and there will be a confusion of offices, and the bounds and banks of order in church and commonwealth will be thrown down; and, if order be not observed, good government cannot be. For good government is nothing but the observance of right order: when magistrates do the duty of magistrates, and meddle with no more but what comes within the compass of their office, that is right order, and it breeds peace, 1 Cor. xiv. 33. 40. And, when ministers and pastors do their duty, and what properly pertains to their office, meddling with no more, this also is right order, and the way of true and good government of the church, and produceth peace. But, if you leave this way and order, you err; and where your error may stop, and what mischiefs and inconveniencies it may produce, who is able to declare? For there is no safety, but by keeping in God's ways, and close walking by his rules: *uno absurdo dato sequuntur mille*, is as true in practicals, as in doctrinals.

11. Arg. IV. Either Christian faithful magistrates are a help and defence to God's church, and to ministers, in their calling and office, or they are not. If they are, then methinks, if the church and minis-

ters did well, when they wanted such helps, they should rather do better, at least, they should do as well, or not be much worse, when they have such helps. But to say, they cannot do at all, or that ministers and their discipline, and ministration barely without secular jurisdiction added to them, will be of no use, but rather a scorn and mockery under Christian magistrates, is stark shame and reproach to all such ministers, and they should rather be cast out of the church as intolerable, and as dung and dead unsavoury salt, than be made magistrates. What should they do magistrates, that are not able, by all they can do, to preserve themselves from sordid ignominy and contempt? Or, if not this, it is an intolerable shame to all, excepting ministers, both magistrates and people, that they should be so extremely wicked and graceless, neither fearing God, nor regarding men, as to despise and scorn all the wise, and holy, and faithful pastors in the church, that are but mere pastors. According to this opinion, one of these two wickednesses and absurdities will follow; either, that all the pastors in the church, that are but mere pastors, are shamefully wicked and intolerable, and most unworthy to be pastors; or, that all besides in the church, that are no pastors, princes, rulers, and people, are extremely wicked, even scorners and contemners of God's ministers, worship, word, discipline, and holy institutions.

If Christian magistrates, and such as be faithful, be not a help and defence to God's church and ministers, in their office, then it is a contradiction to desire their office, as an help and expedient to the church, and that ministers might be armed with the authority of a magistrate too. And then it is no blessing, but rather a curse, to have faithful kings, princes, and magistrates, and then we should not pray for them; and then it were all one to have persecutors as protectors, Julian as Constantine, Nero, Dioclesian, Queen Mary, and bloody popes and tyrants, as Theodosius, Josias, Queen Elisabeth, and wise, and just, and faithful governors.

12. Arg. V. Either you would have pastors and their authority in the church reverenced, or you would not. If you would have them reverenced, what must it be for? You would have the same man to be a pastor and a magistrate, and so to be reverenced: very good. If, then, the same man as pastor be base and vile, and worthy of no reverence, how shall we do to reverence the same man as a magistrate? Shall we say, that the same man is worthy and unworthy, vile and honourable, faithful and unfaithful? Will you say, that he hath two souls, or two consciences, one as a pastor, and so he is a worthless wretch, to be contemned of all; and the other as a magistrate, and so he is honourable, and to be had in esteem by all? If the same man as pastor be damned, what shall become of the same man as a magistrate? If pastors be worthy men, all men will reverence and esteem them; at least, God will, and all that are taught and instructed of God. Even an Herod will reverence a John Baptist. Wisdom and holiness will be reverenced in all; and folly, and vice, and wickedness will be reverenced in none. But, especially, wisdom and holiness will be reverenced in pastors; and vice, and folly, and hypocrisy, and unfaithfulness will be thought not so odious and unsavoury in any, as in pastors

and bishops. For it is of them especially, that God saith, 'Them, that honour me, I will honour; and they, that despise me, shall be lightly esteemed,' 1 Sam. ii. 30. If a minister be truly worthy and honourable, he shall be honoured. All right esteeming men, if there be any that fear God, and make conscience of his commands, will reverence and esteem him very highly in love for his works' sake, 1 Thes. v. 12. 13. But, if he be but the mere name and outside of a bishop, if he be a Bonner, a hater and persecutor of good men, foolish, wicked, ambitious, slothful, worldly, self-seeking, contentious, heretical, ignorant, scandalous, and unfaithful, nothing, that you can do, will uphold his reputation. Make him a lord or prince in parliament, heap all the dignities and honours that are among men upon him, make him the greatest man for office in the kingdom, next to the king himself, his vices and corruptions will shame him before the world; no covers, formalities, and worldly eminencies and additaments, will be able to hide the spots and deformities of his soul, and win him reputation with any but fools, flatterers, and knaves. For it is righteousness, and it only, which exalteth a nation or person; but sin is a reproach to any person or people, Prov. xiv. 34.

If you would not have ministers, and their authority in the church, reverenced and esteemed, then you contradict yourselves, who would have ministers to have worldly jurisdiction, as a means to procure them reverence and esteem in the church; and then it is no sin not to esteem those that be worthy of esteem; and then Judas and Peter are alike worthy, and we are to be as thankful for, and rejoice in, an Arius as an Athanasius, a Bonner as a Bradford, an antichristian murdering wicked pope, as a Peter and Paul, and the most holy pastor and bishop upon earth.

13. Arg. VI. In defence of ministers being made magistrates, sundry instances out of the Old Testament are urged, which are of God's ordaining: as we read of Melchisedeck, King of Salem, and priest of the most high God; and of Eli and Samuel, who were both priests and judges in Israel. The answering and clearing of this will make for the advantage of the truth, and, therefore, I put it in the number of my arguments. These instances may be of some weight to make one think, that the thing in itself is not simply, universally, and absolutely unlawful. But what if I should say, that these are cases extraordinary, and will not warrant an ordinary and general practice? that Melchisedeck was a person extraordinary, a special and singular type of Christ, is clear from Psal. cx. 4. Heb. v. 10.—vii. 17. *Cuneus de Republicâ Judæorum*, to my remembrance, holds him to be Christ himself; but that is thought to be an error by most. Certain it is, he was a great man, great, I mean, in the sight of God, as well as great before men: for he blessed Abraham, the father of the faithful; and without contradiction, says the apostle, the less is blessed of the better, Heb. vii. 6, 7. Moreover, in those times, the church was much confined to families; and the head of the family was both priest and governor of the family. Job sanctified his sons, and offered burnt offerings for them, Job i. 5. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were priests, and parents, and magistrates in their families, and over their housholds: for, if a murder had been

done in any of their families, they were bound by God's law, Gen. ix. 6, to execute vengeance upon the murderer.

And, as for Eli and Samuel, they were both priests and judges. Now judges, in those times, were a peculiar and extraordinary sort of magistrates and commonwealth governors, raised up by God himself, and sometimes there were none. His office was neither elective, nor successive; when he died, his office died with him. When the order of kings was instituted and took place in Saul and David, the government by judges ceased. Now to argue from these extraordinary and rare cases, to an ordinary practice, I suppose will not hold.

Besides, those times and ours do very much differ, as to many things pertaining to church matters. Every parent among the Jews, by the law, I suppose, was to circumcise his male-children, Exod. iv. 24, 25, 26. Gen. xvii. 10. But, under the gospel, it is made a part of the office of pastors to baptize children; and for parents to do it is a sacrilegious invasion. Under the law, all their ministers were chosen out of one tribe, the tribe of Levi; it is not so under the gospel. The Jews commonwealth was a theocracy, it was divine and from God: not only their church-laws and institutions, but even their political, judicial, and civil statutes and sanctions were from God. And it was the same thing or office among them, to be a divine and a lawyer; to declare what was religion and divinity, and what was law and right between party and party. And thence it was, that the high priest and other inferior priests and levites were made not coercive and revenging judges and magistrates, Deut. xvi. 18. Ezra vii. 25. but a sort of spiritual lawyers and casuists, to teach the people what was law, right and wrong, and to decide in cases and questions, concerning matters ecclesiastical, and civil right, as seems evident from Deut. xvii. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. 2 Chron. xix. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. In those times, it was counted for a heinous crime for any man to invade the priests office. Uzzah, for putting his hand to uphold the ark when the oxen shook it, was smitten dead. And King Uzziah, for attempting to burn incense in the temple, which was not lawful for any but the priests to do, was withstood by fourscore valiant men who were priests; and the Lord smote him with leprosy for his insolency, and he continued a leper to the day of his death, living in a several house. And I think, it cannot be proved, that it was ordinary with God's people then to make magistrates ministers, and ministers magistrates; but these offices were kept distinct and intire, and no man ordinarily was entrusted with both.

I do further add, that those laws and customs of the Jews do no further oblige Christian people, than they are significative of the law of nature, and so are laws universal, founded in natural equity, and are laws and rules of perpetual order and observance. Jew and Gentile, by the coming of Christ, are made one. The Jews temple, commonwealth, church-rites, and institutions are ceased and expired, and an end is put to them. There is a new ministration come in and substituted in their room, more glorious and excellent, more proper for and suited to the church universal, consisting of Jew and Gentile, of nations, and people, and languages throughout the world. There is now but one law, and that is the law of Nature and Christianity; which is not two, but one

intire law, or way of governing mankind under Jesus Christ, supreme under God in heaven and in earth; by kings and princes as supreme, and subordinate rulers and magistrates under them; and by Christian pastors, guides and bishops of souls; magistrates to do what is pertaining to their office, and no more; pastors also to do what pertaineth to their office, and no more.

Besides, the Jews having their judicial and political laws shortly and compendiously framed into one body by God himself, it was no distraction to the priests and clergy then to study those laws as a part of their divinity, and become able to decide in causes and questions of civil right and judicature; but, with us of this nation, the study of the law is become very laborious; some are ready to say, *prius vitiis laboravimus, nunc legibus.* A man cannot be a good judge, chancellor, nor justice of peace, nor bear any considerable office in the commonwealth, without insight into the law, the statute-law (which is a vast body of laws; and every parliament is adding new ones) and the common law and customs of the realm, and of particular courts and places, the knowledge whereof cannot be attained with little pains, and time, and study, and without some experience. We have inns of court among us. It is made a distinct profession and order of men among us to be men skilled in the law. The laws and customs of England are so intricate and hard to be well known, that it would be a great distraction to a divine to give himself to those studies; and, when he has done, he might, perhaps, attain to some scraps and pieces to make him a Sciolus, a novice therein, so much as might serve him for his own private use; but hardly could he attain to so much as to make him ripe, and judicious, and knowing enough to be a judge or magistrate; and *ignorantia judicis est calamitas innocentis*: an ignorant judge, or magistrate, cannot but do much wrong, and pervert judgment, for want of knowledge. A lawyer may far better be a divine, than a divine can be a lawyer. Indeed, no man can be a good divine, or lawyer, that is not a good Christian, and learned in the laws of God, the law of Nature, and Christianity; what it is to be under law to God, and live under his government. To be a right divine is to be a heavenly lawyer; but this a man may be, and be ignorant of a thousand quirks, and points, and matters in the laws and customs of England: they are so many, and so intricate, and so uncertain, and so out of the road of divinity, and the knowledge and study of universal right, that it would be against conscience and faithfulness, in a minister, to give himself to the study of them; and, without giving himself to the study of them, he cannot attain to the knowledge of them, competent for an English judge, and political magistrate.

14. Arg. VII. There are able men enough to be judges and magistrates; but there is a great defect of ministers, and therefore it cannot consist with wisdom and expediency (that I say not with conscience and honesty) to rob the church to make the state and commonwealth luxuriate. That there are able men enough to be judges and magistrates, and to serve in all offices of the commonwealth, is either true, or it is some reproach to the nobles, gentry, and commons of England. Cannot you do all the offices of the commonwealth; serve as magistrates,

judges, and rulers; and bear the sword, and see to the common peace and quiet of the nation, having the direction, advice, and endeavours of pastors, both in publick and private, as pastors and no more, unless, withal, pastors be made judges and magistrates too, and come in to your aid? Surely, then, you are a degenerate seed, you are not Christian nobles, gentry, and commons. Let us pray for you, and pity you. If there be able men enough to bear the sword, and serve in all offices of the commonwealth, why should ministers, bishops, and clergymen be called from their employments and spiritual functions, when there is an unobserved want of ministers throughout all the nation? The work of a bishop, minister, and pastor of souls, is to do all the ordinary Lord's-day work in publick; which to do well and substantially will take up no small part of his chiefest time, thoughts, and pains. But this is not all, nor near all of his work, for he is to watch over every soul; he is personally to instruct, and catechise, and confer with all of his charge; he is to visit the sick; he is to admonish, reprove, comfort, counsel, warn, and charge every one night and day, with tears, as a father his children: he is to assist in neighbour-meetings, and church-associations of pastors and brethren, for concord and communion; he is to hear all such causes as need due and regular discipline. And is any one man able to do all this, as it should be done, to any of those parishes, in city or country, which abound with multitudes of souls, that would find work for many ministers, to do it faithfully? Whereas, if there be one in a parish, and, in some, one with a reader or curate, that is thought enough. I confess, at that rate that many do the work of the ministry, it is an easy matter for one man to be a pastor to a parish of a dozen miles compass in the country, and St. Giles's in the fields, St. Martin's, Stepney, and Cripplegate in the city of London; but to do the work of a pastor faithfully and intirely, to all the souls within any one of these, and such-like parishes, would require a whole college and combination of ministers. We see in a troop of horse, of about forty or fifty men, there is a captain, and a lieutenant, besides other officers. In a regiment of fifteen-hundred, much more of fifteen thousand, what a vast number of officers is there! Captains over thousands, captains over hundreds, captains over fifties, and captains over tens, Deut. i. 15. Every tenth man was to have a captain or officer; but there is many a parish in England, that may have ten-thousand souls in it, and but one or two pastors appointed to look to all these souls. When King Solomon built his temple, he set threescore and ten thousand to be bearers of burdens, and fourscore-thousand to be hewers in the mountains, and three-thousand and six-hundred to be overseers, to set the people at work, 2 Chron. ii. 18. but, in the building of the Lord's spiritual temple, there is not one pastor to a thousand souls, in many parishes of England. I know, many will think there are too many ministers: I think there are too many bad ones; but I never read, or heard, of any kingdom, or place, or people, to this day, that had too many faithful ministers; and I shall think it a holy and happy time, when such a thing is, but I despair to see it in this world. Were it not, that there are not ministers enough to do all the pastoral work of each congregation, I should think

most of the godly ministers in England notoriously guilty before God, of gross neglect and unfaithfulness, for want of personal and private oversight of all their people; though, I think, a great deal more might be done by many, than ordinarily is.

Well then, there being so great a want of ministers, and no want of magistrates, would you have ministers to turn magistrates too! Must those few that are be hindered and distracted, by calling them off to worldly and secular businesses? Is it not enough, that ministers have more work upon their hands, than they can do? And would you make them more? And that, too, diverting and alien work, extra-episcopal, and almost, if not altogether, pragmatical work? What is this, but to serve Satan in the name of Christ, and, under pretence of order, to pull down order, and make the church more low and weak by much, than it is? The holy apostles of our Lord were of another mind. When they saw they could not both look to the corporal necessities of the poor, and the spiritual necessities of souls too, they contrived an expedient for both; they appointed a new office of deacons in the church, to see to the bodily necessities of the poor; but, say they, we will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of God's word, Acts vi. 2, 4. Far unlike to those that leave the word of God and prayer, and give themselves to the doing of worldly matters and secular businesses, and teach men so, and plead for it as their privilege, and a means of advantaging the church, and of promoting holiness and peace:

Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget.———

15. Arg. VIII. Those, who maintain it to be good to have clergymen armed with secular jurisdiction, do urge, for reason, the practice of the ancient bishops churches for the first three-hundred years, while the church was without Christian princes and magistrates. It was usual, in those times, for the people to refer their dissensions about worldly things to the decision and arbitration of their bishops, who, to prevent going to law before heathen magistrates, and to prevent and compose differences and strifes, and keep peace among their people, would give themselves the trouble to hear and arbitrate causes, and pleas, and worldly differences, referred to them. And hence it is argued, that, if it was lawful for clergymen to be arbitrators and elected judges, to decide between brethren, it is lawful for clergymen to be judges, made and constituted by authority, and commission from the higher powers.

16. As to this, I take it to be true, as to matter of fact, that it was usual for the bishops of those times to hear and arbitrate civil causes and rights: And it grew by occasion, I was a saying by a misconstruction, of the apostle's words, 1 Cor. vi. 5. I speak to your shame, is it so, that there is not a wise man amongst you? No, not one that shall be able to judge between his brethren? Thinking none more wise, and consequently more fit to arbitrate and decide their causes, than their bishops. And, this continuing to the time of Constantine, he, finding them in possession thereof, continued it to them, and con-

firmed it in their hands by law; which was the beginning of clergymen's lordliness domination, the fruits and consequences whereof have been very calamitous to the church ever since.

17. I have many things to say as to this: As, 1. That it is very likely the ancient bishops, who took upon them this trouble of hearing and arbitrating the civil rights and causes of their people, did it with no joy; they were not fond of it, they thought it a burden, and, if they might have had their choice, would rather have been free from all such trouble. So much is intimated in a passage which Davenant in his *Determ. quæst.* 11. aforenamed, quoted out of Augustine. They did not esteem them privileges or easements, but *molestias;* for so are Augustine's words, as cited, molestations and troubles. But the bishops and clergy of our times seek them, contend for them, and are tenacious of such things as privileges.

2. Either the bishops, employed in the hearing and arbitrating those causes, were the same with our diocesan bishops, or they were not. If they were, then what discretion could there be in the people, to refer all the causes, within the bishop's diocess, supposing it to be of the same extent and bigness with the diocesses of the bishops in England, to one man their bishop? And what discretion could it be in such a bishop, as among us, the Bishop of Norwich, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Lincoln, &c. to take upon him the trouble of hearing and arbitrating all civil causes, controversies, and differences of the people inhabiting so vast a compass as his diocess? He must do nothing else but merely hear civil causes. He must be but a bishop in name. How expensive, and very inconvenient would it be, for all the Christians in any the least diocess in England, much more in the greatest, to travel with their lawsuits to the bishop of the diocess? His house then must be a mere Westminster-hall, and all the days in the year, scarce the Lord's-day excepted, must be term-time with him. To think that the apostle ever meaned any such thing, when he counsels them to refer their matters to a wise arbitrator, is a gross wresting of his words: For he wrote to the church of Corinth, which was but one particular church, Is there not a wise man among you? He must be a wise man among them, one near at hand, easy to be resorted to, to whom they might refer their causes. And therefore it could not be, that the Christians then referred their causes to a diocesan bishop, such as ours.

And, if not, then the cause of our diocesan bishops will receive a deep wound, and it will make way for an unwelcome truth, that the bishops, to whom the people referred their causes, were the pastors of every parish, the very same with our parish-ministers, and the rectors of parsonages. These, of the clergy, were the fittest to arbitrate the causes of all the people within their parish. A parish-bishop, or minister, may, with far more ease, arbitrate and compose the dissensions and suits of all in his parish, than the diocesan bishop can do of all the pastors and people in his diocess.

3. It is not the intent and meaning of the foresaid words of the apostle, that pastors should be employed in hearing and arbitrating the secular causes of their own people, or of the people of other parishes. I will not say, it is absolutely and universally unlawful; nor will I say

it is expedient in no case at all. There may be cases rarely here and there in parishes, so circumstanced, both under Christian and pagan magistrates, in which it may be both lawful and expedient for the pastors, to arbitrate and compose suits and differences among the people. But, generally and for the most part, it is inexpedient. For either he will do right, or do wrong. If he do right, it is well if one side be not displeased, and fall out with him, and take a grudge against him, and either turn from him and not hear him, or hear him with prejudice; and so by this means the pastor may be an occasion of much sin and damage, and damnation to his soul, which prudence, and piety, and compassion in a minister, doth forbid, and will make him watch against. If he do wrong, then it is hurtful to his own soul, it is a wronging of the innocent, and a perverting of justice, and a scandal to his ministry.

Besides, he can scarce do it but with distraction. If he do it but a little, it will be a hinderance to his other work, and distract him; much more will it hinder and distract him, if he should use it, and do it frequently. And the words of Christ are considerable, and worthy to be thought on, Luke xii. 14. Man, who made me a judge, or a divider, an arbitrator, between you?

4. The words of the apostle may be well understood in this sense; either there is, besides your pastor, a wise man among you, and one that is able to judge between brethren, or there is not. If there be, refer your contentions and civil causes to him. Neither go to law before the unbelievers, nor do you trouble your pastors and bishops: but single out a wise man among you, one that is able to hear, and decide your causes, and make him judge and arbitrator between you. If there be not one such wise and able man among you, then it is a shame and reproach to you all. What? Do you call yourselves saints? Do you not know, that the saints shall judge the world, even angels themselves? Are they not then fit to judge on earth small matters, and to decide a petty controversy, about mine and thine, between brethren, but brother goeth to law with brother, and that before the unbelievers? This is to your shame.

5. When Constantine came to the crown, and magistrates became Christians, the most expedient way had been to have eased pastors of all those molestations and avocations, and left the pastor nothing to do but his own part, and the magistrate his part. To make the clergy worldly judges and magistrates is no benefit, but a burden; it is nothing that a wise man should rejoice in, but rather groan under, as a pressure and hinderance, and pray to God to be eased of it, and rejoice in being free from it, and at liberty to employ all the time which was wont to be spent in such secular affairs, in religious and sacred exercises, which have a more special tendency to souls good, and are most becoming a pastor.

18. Lastly, I will set the worthy Davenant against himself, who, going about to prove, that the Bishop of Rome hath no temporal power over kings, lays down this position, *Bonum spirituale non postulat, ut ulla temporalis potestas a Romano pontifice exerceatur.* And, if not by him, then by no other bishop or pastor whatsoever: *Non est enim*

in ordine ad hunc finem, aut necessarium medium, aut accommodatum, aut licitum, aut denique cum spirituali censura excommunicationis ullo jure connexum. 'Spiritual good doth not require that any temporal power be 'exercised by the Bishop of Rome; for it is not in order to this end, 'either a necessary mean, or fit, or lawful, or lastly, by any right, 'knit with the spiritual censure of excommunication. *Determ. quæst.* 4.' And he gives very substantial proofs. I am at a loss, how to reconcile him to himself. But, whether he be consistent with himself or not, I lay not my cause upon that, the other proofs and evidences do overpower my understanding.

19. Now, if it be manifestly inexpedient to make clergymen magistrates, and grant them civil jurisdiction, then it must needs be manifestly inexpedient to make them supreme magistrates, and to confer upon them the highest jurisdiction which subjects are capable of, as to be lords in parliament, and to have equal votes with the peers and nobility of the realm, and sit as princes there, to be many days, and weeks, and months from their flock, and to be, all that while, taken up in state-matters, civil and secular affairs. If the other arguments be good against granting any temporal authority and jurisdiction at all to pastors and clergymen, and the reasons for it be exceeding weak, and but shews and shadows of reason; then it must needs be much more inconvenient to heap secular honours, dignities, greatness, pre-eminence, and authority upon clergymen, and trust them with the highest jurisdiction, by making them lords in parliament.

20. They that will be rich fall into temptation, and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition, 1 Tim. vi. 9. It holds good most strongly of those that seek both worldly wealth, and outward height, grandeur, and state; that would be great, and sit in the highest seat, and be accounted lords and princes, and have dominion over the liberties, the estates, yea, and souls of men, and would have wealth and riches, to support their grandeur and preferment. It is this which hath let many evils into the church, and given occasion to the Roman bishop, to lift up himself above all other bishops, yea, above kings and emperors themselves, and to assume the title of universal bishop, and Christ's vicar-general upon earth, and to usurp authority, dominion, and supremacy, above all that is called God, 2 Thes. ii. 4. Constantine, the Christian emperor, thought he did the church a kindness, in heaping civil honours upon clergymen, and putting them into places of state and preferment; but, in truth, he did them, and the church, no kindness. It had been well for the church of God, that bishops and clergymen had continued mere bishops and clergymen, without any worldly honours, preferments in parliament, outward greatness and jurisdiction.

21. Nor is there any hope that the church of God should enjoy true rest, and be settled in happy and lasting concord, and flourish as it should in holiness and peace, till its bishops and pastors be reduced to the primitive and apostolick pattern. One would think the words of our Saviour were plain enough in this case; when there was a strife among the twelve apostles, which should be greatest, our Saviour quickly ends the controversy, by telling them, the princes of the Gen-

tiles exercise dominion over them, and they, that are great, exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be great, and chief among you, let him be lowest, and servant of all, Matt. xx. 25, 26, 27. Luk. xxii. 25, 26. It shall not be so among you, and consequently it shall not be so among your successors. But so it hath been, and so it is to this day: God grant it may be so no longer. There is a striving, which shall be high and great, striving for worldly honours, preferment, and votes and authority in parliament: There is not a striving, who shall be most humble, and self-denying, and do the work of God faithfully. There is a striving, who shall be like the pope, rather than Jesus Christ; who shall have worldly lordship, wealth, and preferment, and exercise domination; not who shall be most good and holy, most faithful and diligent in the work of the ministry.

22. Ambition and domination is not good in any: but it is worst, and most odious in bishops and clergymen. By seeking themselves, and their own honour, rather than the honour of God, they lose themselves, and do but prepare themselves for a fall. Is it not a most sad thing to read, in church history, the contentions and strivings of bishops, and patriarchs, and clergymen, about names, and places, and dignities, and worldly greatness, and authority; and all the doleful evils, which clergy domination, and worldly prelacy, hath produced? And to see Christian emperors, kings, princes, states, and parliaments, to inslave themselves to a dominating clergy? This it is, which makes wise and good men to think, it were much better to let bishops and clergymen be mere and simple bishops and clergymen, and no more; and for the magistrate, to keep the sword in his own hands. For, if once you take up this for a principle, that the example of Christ, and of his apostles, and of the pastors and bishops of the churches, for the first three hundred years, is not a sufficient pattern, yea, and the very best pattern for all Christian pastors and churches to conform to; if once you leave this, you depart from the simplicity that is in Christ, 2 Cor. xi. 3. It is not possible to keep out pride, contention, and domination; these will be, and they will prove a scab, yea, the plague of the church, and danger to eat out its vitals, or so to weaken and consume it, that it will want much of its strength and beauty.

23. Sound prudence is always to go by a sure and stedfast rule. Christ's pattern, the way and practice of the apostles, and first and most pure churches, is a sure rule to go by; keep to this, and we are safe. God will not find fault with us for holding us to his rules, and seeking to be no more wise, no more holy, no more great, and honourable, and good than his rule and standard requires. But, if you alter your rule, and once think, and say, the clergy must have some more honour and jurisdiction than so, you let in confusion, contention, domination, and a troop of evils, and mischiefs, not to be told. As in the case of ceremonies, and namely, that of the cross in baptism, if it be prudent and advisable to add, unto God's institution of baptism, a dedicating symbolical sign, and say, that baptism, without it, is not best as Christ ordained it, you may, by the same reason, add cream, and

salt, and spittle, and a multitude of vain and foolish things; no just bounds can be set.

24. And, therefore, bishops, pastors, and clergymen in parliament, should make their humble address to the king, the nobility, and commons in parliament, to this effect:—Our office is to be bishops, and shepherds of souls, to give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word, and to take heed to ourselves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made us overseers. Had we more time than we have, had we more wisdom and goodness in our souls, could every one of us do the work of ten of the best, and ablest, and most godly bishops and pastors that ever the church of God had, the souls in England and Wales would find us all work enough. We may not leave our work and calling, unto which we are separated, without injuring you, and us, and the souls of our people, and procuring far more damage to all sides than the benefit can countervail. These honours that you put upon us, these places of dignity and jurisdiction that you put us in, are a snare and a burden to us; they are no privilege, but a let. To strive for them were to strive to bring fire and gunpowder together. All the while we are here, we tread as upon coals of fire. We are as if we were upon a high towering steeple, or the top of a pinacle, we cannot look upwards, nor downwards, behind us, nor before us, nor on either hand, but we are in extreme fear of falling. For God's sake, for your own sake, for the church's sake, ease us of these burdens, deliver us from these snares, let us not be pragmatical and busy bodies; you do not love to hear divines pragmatical in the pulpit, and why should it please you, or us, to be pragmatical out of the pulpit? We thank you for your love and well-meaning zeal; but you would not have us undone by you, and church and state suffer by us, and by our standing for worldly honours and preferment. We had rather be pure and simple bishops and clergymen, than neither pure clergymen, nor pure laymen, but mongrels between both; simple bodies are the most solid and compact. Gold and silver mixed is not so pure and firm as pure gold. We had rather be simple followers of Christ, and Peter, and Paul, and the first and most ancient bishops, than any thing that man can make us. Never fear that we shall want honour, countenance, reverence, and due maintenance, while we ourselves fulfil our name and place, and there are men and Christians amongst us; if we want any outward desirable reputation, esteem, or conveniency, God will be to us an all-sufficient good, and our very wants will be sanctified to our good. Let us go to our flocks and several charges whence we came, hinder us not. Let us not be advanced in wealth, in honour, in preferment above the rest of our brethren, who are equal with us in wisdom, holiness, and industriousness; and many of them do exceed us. We had rather die preaching, and praying, and visiting, and instructing the souls of our people, than die voting in parliament, and agitating state matters there. If you need our advice at any time in things pertaining to the church, and which come within the sphere and compass of our calling, we are ready, night and day, to do the best service we can. And we desire you will not look upon us as a divided party from the rest of our brethren, and pro-

testant divines in the nation, but that you will, in all your consultations about church affairs, use the advice of the most sound, and holy, and impartial, and prudent, and experienced divines in all the nation, and, by all means possible, keep the sword and coercive power out of the hands of such as are proud and lordly, and usurp over their brethren, and would set us all on a flame, and are plain worldly, hypocritical, self-seeking men, and rather papists and infidels in heart, than sincere Christians and protestants. You need consultation with divines for your souls, as you do with lawyers for your estates, and physicians for your bodies: but, as you can make due use of lawyers and physicians, by advising and consulting with them in all necessary cases, without making them statesmen, and peers, and lords in parliament, and loading them with secular greatness, honour, and jurisdiction; so you may make all due and faithful use of us, as bishops, spiritual pastors, and casuists in God's church, by using our advice and consultation when there is need, without loading us with worldly honours, and making us statesmen, and peers, and lords of the realm, and lords and law makers in parliament; such things be extra-episcopal: they will be small honour and comfort to us, when we come to die, and give up our accounts to God. Bend your endeavours to unite all protestants, and to strengthen the common cause of Christianity, faith, and holiness, against the reigning errors and vices of the times, and the most malignant distempers of mankind, now degenerate, and far departed from God. If you find us such as we should not be, do right and justice, and let no man's crimes go unpunished, nor any scandal lie upon the churches by any person or party whomsoever. Fidelity to God, to you, to our own souls, and to the church, compels us to make this address, and to quit our hands of all such matters as will not stand with sound prudence and integrity. The first and best part of wisdom is not to err and do amiss; for then there will need no repentance: but, having erred, the next and only wisdom is to repent and reform, that God may forgive us, and men may have forgiving goodness and charity in their breasts towards us.

25. In case bishops and clergymen shall stand for their worldly dignities and places in parliament, and plead prescription, and the example of their ancestors, and the right of their successors, and think it hard measure to be reformed, the sovereign, with the nobles and commons in parliament, should say to them, We are God's ministers, bearing the sword, and are to be a terror to evil doers, and a defence to them that do well. We are to correct all disorders and abuses. Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. If we find you to be out of your place and calling, we are to take cognisance thereof; and, see that Archippus take heed to the ministry which he hath received in the Lord, that he fulfil it, Col. iv. 17. As we may not forbear to use your advice and consultation, both publick and private, when there is cause; so neither may we call you to counsel and consultation needlesly, and avocate you from your studies, and episcopal and pastoral work, in prayer, and preaching, and overseeing your several flocks, without cause; unto you belongeth the power of the word and keys, unto us belongeth the power of the sword. If you see any misdemeanors in us, do your duty faithfully, kill us not by kindness, flatter us not to our ruin,

make the utmost use of that authority God hath given you in his church to edification, conceal nothing from us and the people which is godly and profitable for us to know; spare to reprove no sin which is a sin, and which needs reproving; do your duty faithfully, be prudent, be pious, be peaceable, be diligent and blameless in your place, and we shall defend you, and be a terror to all that would harm and oppose you. But if it will not content you to be as Peter and Paul, and the holy bishops and pastors of old, but you will needs be usurping the magistracy, and seeking domination, and make your brethren of the clergy your underlings; if you will needs be pragmatical and busy bodies, and neglect the work of prayer and preaching, and suffer the souls of your people to want due oversight and pastoral care; if you will beat your fellow servants, and causelesly fall out with your brethren and the universal church, we must not wink at such offences, but declare them to be crimes punishable by a lawful magistracy, which we are, under God. We will hear of no plea or prescription against piety, prudence, and peace. Usurpation, domination, pastoral negligence, and unfaithfulness, and gross imprudencies, are not privileges, but sins and crimes; to say, they are ancient, is to say, they are more odious, and call for the more deep repentance, and speedy, and sound, and thorough reformation.

26. There are, in this, as in most other cases, two extremes, which are alike equi-distant from the true and right mean. The one is to make no use at all of divines, nor to consult with them in any case. This I take to be a dangerous extreme, contrary to the light of nature, the true office and institution of the ministry, and that duty which all Christian princes, and parliaments, and people do owe to the Lord Jesus Christ, unto whom they are vowed and sworn to observe his laws, and to be sincerely subject to his government in all things. And he doth govern his church by pastors, teachers, and spiritual overseers, with whom all persons, of what degree and rank soever they be, are to advise and consult, not in every small and little matter, but in cases of weight and concernment, if they cannot otherwise satisfy themselves; as they will do with lawyers about their estates, and physicians about their bodies. The papists do grosly tyrannise over all, both kings and subjects, by binding them to make a particular recitation, or confession of their sins, to their priests, at certain times frequently; thereby making them masters, in some sort, of men's consciences, and unjustly privy to their secrets, and abusing the name, authority, and ordinance of Christ to rigour and tyranny, and thereby deceiving and deluding souls into much superstition, vassalage, and hypocrisy. To avoid which, anti-papists have run into a quite contrary extreme, forgetting of what daily and standing use and concernment God's ministers are, both to persons and societies. The priests lips are to keep knowledge, and the people are to seek the law at their mouth, Mal. ii. 7.

When the Philistines were to send back the ark, they consulted with their priests and diviners, 1 Sam. vi. 2.

Ministers are not only to be heard in publick, but to be consulted with in private, and to be made use of in all cases and questions ecclesiastical, which concern the general interest of the church, its holiness, and its unity, and which cannot well and soundly be determined without

the assistance, advice, and direction of impartial, wise, and holy divines. I am so far from being against this, that rather I judge it a common error and mispractice in Christian states, as well as particular persons, that they do not make that due and godly use of ministers and divines, which they ought to do; whence it is, that they do so often miscarry in their ways and counsels, because they do too much lean to their own understandings, and either consult not at all with God's ministers, or, if they do, they consult with those only who are partial and unfaithful, or they do treacherously and hypocritically conceal something of the case from them, or do, like the papists, make confession a mere ceremony, resting in the work done, imitating her in Proverbs vii. 14.

People can send for ministers to advise with upon their sick beds; they should do it when they are in health. There is parliament-humility and self-denial, which Jesus Christ doth bind all Christian states and rulers to, Luke ix. 23. The long parliament had their assembly of divines.

27. The other extreme is of making more and further use of ministers, than need requires, and than will stand with the prudence, conveniency, and quality of their work and calling; and in making an undue disparity and inequality among ministers and divines, appointing some to be lords and dominators over the rest, advancing them too high in worldly dignities, authority, and preferment, and thereby establishing pride and partiality. It is grounded upon a mistake, which is, that, by God's law, bishops and archbishops have a majority of power and jurisdiction above the rest of the pastors, though they excel, or be equal to the bishops and archbishops in true wisdom and holiness, and ministerial graces and diligence; whereas it is evident, from the very nature of the thing itself, that a bishop and overseer of souls are but two names for the same thing; and that to be an archbishop is to be *episcoporum primus*, an eminent presbyter, the chief of all the bishops, presbyters, and pastors, not that he hath a greater commission than they. The authority and commission of bishops, pastors, and ministers is but one, Matth. xxviii. 19, 20. and it consisteth in these three: 1. An authority to christianise souls, and admit disciples into the family of Christ, which is his church, by baptism. 2. An authority to use them as disciples and members of the family, when admitted, by feeding them with knowledge and understanding, watching over them, and doing all necessary and convenient episcopal and pastoral acts and offices to them. 3. An authority to discommon and cast out of the family, by penal and judicial church-censures, contumacious and grosly disorderly livers, whom no other remedies will amend.

28. This three-fold authority every right ordained presbyter or parish minister hath, and no archbishop or bishop hath more; for more is not necessary, nor is there any place for more; and less will not suffice to make a man a complete pastor, and Christ makes no incomplete pastors: *qui aliquid alicui concedit, concedit et id, sine quo res ipsa nequit concedi.* He, that gives the end, doth inclusively give the due, and regular, and subservient means; and, *qui adimit medium, destruit finem.* We must not, for fear of making every pastor a pope, deny him to be a pastor. Grant him to be a pastor, and thereby you grant unto him pas-

toral power; and then you grant him authority to cast out, as well as to take in; to have an expulsive, as well as a receptive faculty. Ministers may abuse their authority; so also may magistrates, parents, &c. but is that any ground to deny them the authority of magistrates and parents? If they be not fit to be trusted with the pastoral office, let them not be pastors at all. If they be fit to be pastors, let them be complete pastors. An incomplete pastor is *terminus diminuens*. No scripture, nor sound reason, doth give any warrant for making men but half-bishops, half-pastors and presbyters. I say again, that an archbishop is but an eminent presbyter, as Peter among the apostles, or as the foreman of a jury. The rest of the apostles are complete apostles, as well as Peter, and have equal commission and authority. The rest of the jury are jurors, as well as the foreman, and are equal judges of the fact. True it is, that, among apostles and pastors, who are equal as to office and commission, there may be much inequality as to gifts and graces, and the faithful and wise execution of their office; as all parents have alike authority over their children; but all parents are not alike wise, and good, and officious in their places; unto some God giveth ten talents, unto some five, unto some two, unto all at least one; and it is God's will, that he who is best be best esteemed, and that the less wise do learn of the more wise; that the younger submit themselves unto the elder; yea, all of you be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility, 1 Pet. v. 5. Ministers cannot always be executing their office, as, praying, preaching, baptising, &c. and there may be some parts and branches of the office, which they may never be called to exercise, as ordination, authoritative excommunication, and absolution. And no authority is given, but for use and edification; and, where there is no use of it, or where it cannot be used without making things worse, and doing more hurt than good, it is to be forborne. But it is fit that ministers be ministers, and pastors and bishops be pastors and bishops, and be invested and intrusted with complete pastoral and episcopal power; and that they do use and exercise every branch and part of their office and authority, when, and so often as sanctified conscience and sound prudence and discretion shall say it is convenient, and they cannot forbear to do it without manifest damage and inconvenience; as it is convenient a captain have his sword, though he may not be put to use it in fight against any; and it is fit, that a schoolmaster have power to use his ferula, and moderately to correct untoward and unruly scholars, though, possibly, he may have none such, and so never be put to use the rod.

29. This being so, I must needs grant, that, if it be convenient and advisable, that the whole tribe of ministers, who are of the order of presbyters, be accounted lord bishops, lord presbyters, lord pastors, and lord preachers, and have equal right to be lords and statesmen in parliament, and supreme judges in all causes and questions, both political and ecclesiastical, which shall come before that honourable assembly, then I yield the cause, my position is erroneous, and I do ill to say, it is inconvenient, that clergymen be lords and statesmen in parliament. But, if it be inconvenient, and against sound prudence, to honour, or rather burden, the whole tribe of ministers, and right ordained pastors

and presbyters, with these honours, preferments, greatness, and authority, then I see not but my position will hold sound and good; for, if all appearance of evil is to be avoided, then all appearance of partiality is to be avoided, and of that partiality which hath conjoined with it many snares, and which a wise man is bound to avoid, as distractions, precipices, and burdens. I have no envious partiality against archbishops and bishops; I am neither against the name, nor the office and thing imported by the name. Every pastor, unto whom God doth give more than ordinary gifts and graces, is, in my judgment, a real archbishop in God's church, *jure divino*, a chief pastor and eminent prelate in God's church above his fellows; of which rank I do estimate the famous Usher, Augustine, Athanasius, Calvin, Zanchy, Bradford, Davenant, Cranmer, Dod, Baynes, Hildersham, Preston, Sibbs, Gataker, Joseph Hall, Babington, Joseph Alleine, and many more, both ancient and modern divines, all burning and shining lights in God's church, more eminent than vulgar divines. I think myself not worthy to carry their books after them. I think they better deserve the title of lord, than many a temporal carnal lord that is honoured with that name. The fifth commandment bindeth me to honour my father and my mother; and my catechism teacheth me, that by father and mother are to be understood all superiors in office, age, and gifts. Good Obadiah says to Elijah, 'Art thou that my lord Elijah?' 1 Kings xviii. 8. The truth is, our ordinary word master, or sir, which we give to almost all, importeth the same with the title lord, it being, in Greek *Kurios* and *Kurie*, and, in Latin, *Dominus* and *Domine*, save that custom, which is the great arbiter of speech, doth appropriate this title lord to the temporal nobility. If we must give honour to whom honour is due, and honour all whom God doth honour, or else we are disobedient to God's word, and unholy, then both clergymen and laymen, magistrates, pastors, parents, and private Christians are to be honoured with decent and seemly honour, without denying them what all wise and peaceable Christians account to be their due, and to be safe and decent to be given to them; or giving them more, out of flattery and baseness, having men's persons in admiration, because of advantage. See Job xxxii. 22. Jude 16.

30. But now it is not the custom with us, nor with the churches of Christ and Christian people, and custom, in this case, creates a law, 1 Cor. xi. 16, to give the title lord to the parish-bishops and presbyters, though never so eminent; and it is but meet, that, according to the use of all nations, and the scripture itself, a difference be made between the temporal nobility, and the clergy. And why it should be given to a popish bishop, merely because a bishop, such as Bonner, Gardiner, and many of the popes, and cardinals, who had been wretched men, or to a Ridley, a Hooper, a Davenant, rather than to a Bradford, a Philpot, a Dod, a Joseph Alleine, I know not. If the honour be due to the office, then all ministers must be counted lord bishops, and lord pastors, I am clear in that, Acts xx. 28. Phil. i. 1. This I know will not please our lord archbishops and bishops, and those whose zeal upholds them. All that I contend for is, that all, that be equal in office, be equal in honour, and no one partially preferred; no one assume to himself carnal state,

and superiority over his brethren. Jam. iii. 5. Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth! This advancing of equals above their equals, and brethren above their brethren, and pastors above pastors, in God's church, is not good.

31. I do not impugn bare names and titles, but my aim is to impugn factious partiality, and pride in clergymen, occasioned by the over-indulgence of princes, and supreme magistrates. It is simplicity, humility, and sincerity in bishops, which I contend for. Either the archbishops and bishops must come down, and abate of their honour, their lordliness, their principalities, and worldly state, and be upon even ground with the rest of their brethren, who have as good insides as they, and are as real bishops and overseers of souls as they, and have equal office, authority, and commission with them, Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. John xx. 23, and will pass for as much at death and judgment as they; or else the rest of their brethren, who are equal in office and merits to them, must be heightened and advanced, and made to be upon even ground with them. This latter is not advisable, nor will be granted; it is not fit it should: The other is both feisible and convenient. It will make our archbishops, and bishops, to be no worse men, nor worse archbishops and bishops, if they be but mere and simple bishops of souls, and meddle no more in state-matters, and secular affairs, than needs they must, and will stand with the order, and quality, and greatness of their work.

32. Do you think in good earnest, that church and state will all go to rack and ruin, if our two archbishops, and the diocesan bishops, be not present in parliament, and sit as lords and princes there? Must they have the hearing of every cause, and be supreme judges and magistrates, and political officers under the king? Were it not more becoming you to be among your people, preaching and praying, and visiting the souls and families under your charge, in imitation of the apostles, Act. xx. Act. vi. 2, 3, 4, 21, 28, 31. than striving for worldly greatness, and secular precedency? Is not the way to heaven streight enough to you, but you will make it more streight? Cannot traytors and murderers be tried without you? Would it be any disparagement to the best of you all, to be as Peter and Paul, yea, as Jesus Christ himself, rather than like the pope? Do you stand for these worldly honours, and pre-eminences, out of pure zeal for God's glory, and the churches good? Why then do you beat your fellow servants, and use them more unchristianly than Pagans have used Christians? Act. xxviii. 20, 21. and give your votes, that all the pastors in the land be silenced, and put down, for not assenting and consenting to many things, which you yourselves confess to be in their own nature indifferent, all moderate and sound conforming ministers confess to be burdensome and inconvenient, and multitudes of conscientious, and learned, and peaceable dissenting divines and protestants do say, are flatly unlawful?

33. It is an error to think that episcopacy, and arch-episcopacy, cannot stand, unless bishops and archbishops be made lords, and legislators, and princes in parliament, and have worldly grandeur, authority, and greatness, to support the simple office of prelacy and episcopacy in God's church. These worldly additions and cumulations of secular

office and honour, are things extrinsical to right and simple prelacy and episcopacy. Right and simple prelacy and episcopacy do not stand by the will and donation of princes, but by a superior law, even by divine and unchangeable right, by the word of God, and by the law and light of nature, and the intrinsick goodness, and expediency of the thing. For, if there were no Christian magistracy or parliament, yet would there be prelacy and episcopacy in God's church. It is of the law of nature, that the best be best esteemed, and that vulgar pastors and divines, that have but one or two talents of ministerial and episcopal learning, holiness, wisdom, and usefulness, give place to those who are more eminent, and whose graces and virtues do render them singularly excellent, above their brethren, though they have but one and the same commission and authority. Authority is one thing, spiritual and mental qualifications and endowments are another thing. Now, we see how that God himself doth difference among the pastors, by conferring on some extraordinary abilities and qualifications, and thereby notifying to all the churches the singular reverence and esteem, which he would have such eximious persons to have from all the churches; as Daniel was preferred above the presidents, Dan. vi. 3, and Esther and her maids, above the women, Esther ii. 9.

34. Every man naturally hath a pope in his belly, is the common saying: pride is an inborn sin. It is excessive pride in the pope, to think himself more than a man; and it is excessive pride in an infant, to think himself a grown man; and in pastors, that are but of infant understandings, to think themselves equal with such as be of grown, and large, and singular eminent understandings.

Simple prelacy among divines is a divine thing. Every eminent, holy, and wise presbyter is a real archbishop in God's church: this he would be, were there no Christian magistracy to uphold him. There is a subjection due from one pastor to another, as from one man to another, 1 Pet. v. 5. As it will not stand with true Christian humility, self-denial, and subjection to Christ in all things, that pastors do dominate over pastors, and lord it over their brethren, 1 Pet. v. 3. so it will not stand with the same Christian graces and duties, for one minister of inferior and smaller parts, gifts, and graces, not to acknowledge the greater gifts and graces of others, whom God hath made more eminent.

There is as great variety of pastors, as there is of men and of saints; some are as eyes, some as hands, some as feet, in God's church. The weakest sincere Christian pastor is a pastor, as truly as the highest and most excellent pastor, and is of use in his place: in this there is no difference between the most eminent archbishop Usher, and the meanest honest parish-minister. But then, as to wisdom, and holiness, and usefulness, there is great difference and inequality; and out of this ariseth natural, simple, divine, and unchangeable prelacy, episcopacy, and arch-episcopacy; which is not a thing pleasing to flesh and blood, and it doth neither favour, nor make against any of the three forms of church-government, called prelacy, presbytery, and independency: further than they do favour, or be against true impartial godliness: of which this divine and simple prelacy among divines is one essential

branch. I do not say, it is an appendant or appurtenant of godliness and religion; but is an essential branch. It is of the essence of my religion, that I put a difference, as between a godly and ungodly pastor; so also between a godly pastor, that is almost ungodly, and hath but one talent of godliness; and a godly pastor, who is of the highest rank of godly pastors, and is full of the wisdom, and grace, and joy of the Holy Ghost, and is of extraordinary usefulness and eminency in God's church.

We must not, for fear of inclining to the pope's lordliness and supremacy, run into another dangerous extreme, and tempt infants to think they are men, and scholars to think that they are fit to be teachers; and learning disciples, novices, and children, that they are equal in wisdom and knowledge to their parents, masters, and tutors, between whom there is no compare.

35. I make no doubt but there have been holy and eminent men lord-bishops and archbishops, peers in parliament: God forbid that I should think or say otherwise. But either they were no more but mere and simple bishops and archbishops, chosen and singled forth from among their brethren, to be consulted with in matters and cases ecclesiastical, and proper for divines and bishops; or they were more.

If the former, and they kept in the rank and station of bishops and divines, for my part, I am not he that shall oppose it. And, if there be any word, in all this disputation, against such use of bishops and divines, *indictum volo*, I wish it unsaid.

But, if they were more, and took themselves to be more than simple bishops and pastors in God's church, and to be superior to their brethren in power and authority; if they took themselves to be supreme magistrates and judges, under, and with the king, in the house of lords, and to have jurisdiction and lordship, proper to magistrates and supreme coercive judges, and to the nobility, peers, and princes, in parliament; this I hold to be extra episcopal, to be a swerving from the simplicity that is in Christ, and an undue prelation of pastors above pastors, and a deformity added to the beauty and lustre of simple episcopacy; and it is a cause of more evil than good, and, upon a just computation of all, both conveniencies and inconveniencies, it will be found a truth, that church and state have been both losers; that bishops and archbishops themselves, who have had such external honours, pre-eminences, and authorities, have been losers in their souls by them, and that it had been better for all sides, that they had kept in the station and quality of simple bishops and divines.

36. The archbishops and bishops with us have three ordinations; first, they are ordained presbyters, then they are ordained bishops, then they are ordained archbishops. Now these two last ordinations are rather nullities and corruptions, and do suppose that there is a majority and superiority of power in bishops over presbyters, and in archbishops over bishops; and the next step must be in the pope over all. For to be a bishop and shepherd over all the souls and shepherds which are in England, is a vice of the very same kind with that of the pope's, who says he is Christ's vicar upon earth, and bishop over all the bishops and

souls which are in the world; which is to claim and usurp the office of Jesus Christ, and to attempt the doing of that which is absolutely impossible. It is indeed more impossible for one man to be bishop and pastor over all the souls and bishops which are in the world, than it is for one man to be bishop and pastor over all the souls and pastors which are in England. Both are alike simply impossible, though the one is more impossible than the other. And they do both savour of proud self-ignorance, and gross affectation, and self-seeking, as though one man could be in a thousand places at once, baptizing, preaching, giving the Lord's-supper, visiting the sick, instructing souls, and doing all other the acts and offices of a scripture-bishop, and spiritual overseer of souls, Acts xx. 28. To the creating of a bishop or archbishop, there needs no more but an election and nomination of him to the place, as is done by the house of commons, when they chuse a speaker. His office is no more but to be as the foreman of the quest. If he have not wisdom, holiness, and ministerial worth and usefulness, answerable to his name, he is but an archbishop in name, he is rather a post or cypher, than a man.

37. Also our prelates do take upon them to be ecclesiastical legislators and canon-makers to all the churches, and to all other pastors; and they constitute them a lay-chancellor, and require of all the clergy an oath or solemn promise of canonical obedience to them, and their chancellors. They call their chancellor their vicar in spirituals, and unto him is committed the power of discipline and jurisdiction ecclesiastical over all, both clergy and laity; and the church-canons are his law and rule, which being too crooked for honest men to conform to, he spares not to excommunicate them; and, upon a *significavit*, made by him into the Chancery, out comes an *excommunicato capiendo*, and the party must either go to prison all his days without bail, or make his composition much to his shame or damage, or both. And excommunications and absolutions in the bishops court are bought and sold for money; and the worst men are spared and countenanced, whilst the best men are harrassed and anathematised, and accursed from Christ and his kingdom.

38. Now the bishops, being conscious to themselves, that this kind of prelacy, and domination, and jurisdiction, is not good and equal, but rather like the pope's supremacy over all, and those, whom the Holy Ghost brands, Nehem. v. 15, who ruled over God's people, by their servants, as now the bishops do by their vicars, substitutes, and chancellors; but so did not good Nehemiah, because of the fear of God: they, I say, being sensible hereof, do get to be princes, and lords, and statesmen in parliament, and thereby insinuate themselves with the sovereign, and with such of the nobles and gentry, as love to be flattered and smoothly dealt with; and, by this means, establish to themselves, and to their chancellors, worldly and carnal jurisdiction, and dominate over their brethren, and become the authors of sects and factions, and hinder the holiness, the unity and concord of the churches; and, rather than they shall not be lord bishops, and partial, and factious, and busy-bodies in parliament, church and state must suffer, and the common quiet be endangered. They will not endure to

be upon equal ground with their brethren, as wise and good as themselves; as the pope will not abide to be touched in his supremacy.

39. I shall add this one word of caution, though it be not expedient, that bishops be made magistrates, and pastors trusted with the sword; yet it is fit that magistrates be magistrates, and not cyphers, and that they do not bear the sword in vain; and that they do back the power and authority of the ministry, and countenance and uphold the sacred office, by being a terror to evil doers, and a praise and defence to them that do well. There ought to be a due temperament of magistracy and ministry, that we might lead a peaceable and quiet life, in all godliness and honesty. Though the sword is not God's ordinance, for the conversion of souls, yet, it is God's ordinance for the punishing of vice, and protection of virtue outwardly; and for the just encouragement of worthy pastors, and the discouragement of the unworthy. Anciently God did lead his people, by the hand of Moses and Aaron; they both made but one hand.

And it is a law of universal equity, binding all Christian commonwealths: judges and magistrates shalt thou make thee in all thy gates, which the Lord thy God giveth thee throughout thy tribes; and they shall judge thy people with just judgment, Deut. xvi. 18. And as there ought to be a sufficient ministry in every parish; so, also, there ought to be a due proportion and contemperament of coercive judges, and revenging magistrates, in cities, towns, and parishes, that the people might have both law and gospel; means for their souls, and means for their outward peace and safety, nigh at hand.

It was the custom in England anciently, for the bishop and the sheriff, who was then called earl of the county, and was supreme magistrate under the king in the county, to go in circuit all over the county, the one to teach the people religion, and the way of good living, and to visit all the churches; and the other to decide civil causes, and to chastise and correct offenders and offences, and execute revenging wrath upon evil doers: and, by this means, there was much quiet, and good living, and order in the realm. This course is now antiquated and degenerated into another course, not so profitable and convenient for good order and publick quiet; and that is the circuit of Judges itinerant, twice each year, through the realm, keeping their assizes at one place only, and making all the county to come thither; and having a judge's sermon, preached at the entrance of the assizes.

Though the church and ministry will stand, if the pastors do their duty; yet, if Christian magistrates do not their duty in their place and calling, they do so far unchristianise themselves; and, if they protect the evil, and punish the good, or think that, under pretence of liberty of conscience, men may be allowed to blaspheme God, to teach atheism, infidelity, and soul-destroying doctrines, and act the part of Corah, and his accomplices, against the faithful ministers of Christ, God will make them know one day, that that was not the end, for which he appointed them magistrates, and that they are his ministers, and are, therefore, called Gods, and ought not to bear the sword in vain, and to stand by, and see the church wasted, persecuted, and torn in pieces by violence, heresies, schisms, profaneness, and wickednesses, and they be like Gallio, unconcerned, and care for no such things.

And the truth is, it is no little that the due execution of the magistrates office doth conduce to the success of the gospel, and the promoting of the ministry, and of the word and work of God upon men's souls. And therefore, though I dissent from the worthy Davenant in this, that he would have pastors to be magistrates, and I would have pastors to be but mere pastors, and the office of the magistrates to be an office by itself, and trusted with fit persons who are no pastors, and who may intend it, and make it their work: yet, thus far I agree, that it is most convenient and godly, that, throughout all the churches, there be in every place an heir of restraint, a revenger to execute wrath upon them that do evil, and to protect the good; that these two standing ordinances of Jesus Christ, and of God the father by him, may stand and consist together, and walk hand in hand, and mutually support and conserve each other for the glory of God, and the good of church and commonwealth. And this is no Utopia, or Platonick idea, or form of a commonwealth, which is but a fiction or imagination, no where to be found in this world: but it is obvious and plain to all, and needs not so much any new institution, as a restoration of ancient practice, and a faithful execution of what all sides agree in, consistent with the municipal laws and sanctions of this kingdom.

40. If any shall think I have committed inexpediency, in writing against inexpediency, and have meddled with a point, that will not abide to be meddled with; when I am convinced of it, I will acknowledge my error: till then, I will stand upon mine own defence, and plead not guilty. Almost imprudent is prudent. If any tax me of pragmaticalness: I answer, it is pragmaticalness, that I write against, and I cannot cure the wound, unless I search it to the bottom, and apply to it suitable plaisters. Pragmatical divines cannot content themselves to be divines in common with their brethren; but they will play the bishops in another's diocese, and think, it well becomes them to immerse themselves in state affairs. If it shall be said, that hereby I cast aspersion upon the government of the nation, and censure the judgment and esteem of many generations of princes, parliaments, wise men, divines, and counsellors: I answer, that, if it be lawful for a Davenant to assert in schools, and publish to the world an erroneous position, *civilis jurisdictio jure conceditur ecclesiasticis;* it cannot be thought unlawful by equal judges, for another, though not to be named with Davenant, to assert the contrary, and shew the unsoundness of his opinion, though with all just reverence to so worthy a man. And, in doing this, I do but expound the true meaning and extent of the fifth commandment, and assert the rights of the church universal, and the consentient judgment of the best and soundest divines, and the due bounds of magistracy and ministry, and reduce things to primitive order and simplicity, according to the pattern of Christ and his apostles, and the first and purest times of the church.

DISCOURSES UPON THE MODERN AFFAIRS OF EUROPE,

TENDING TO PROVE THAT THE

ILLUSTRIOUS FRENCH MONARCHY MAY BE REDUCED

TO TERMS OF GREATER MODERATION.

Dì Denári, dì sénno, e dì Féde
C'n'è mancò ché non Créde.

There is commonly less money, less wisdom, and less good faith than men do account upon. VERULAM.

Et digiti pedum partim sunt ex ferro, et partim ex luto; quia ex parte regnum futurum est durum, et ex parte futurum est fragile, Dan. ii. 42.

[From a quarto edition, twenty-four pages, printed at the Hague, in the year 1680.]

The Publisher to the Reader.

The author of these discourses I know not. But the same coming to my hands, beyond any expectation of mine, I thought I was bound to give the publick (whose mark is upon them) credit for the same. And, because it is one essential property of a good merchant to pay well, I also thought myself obliged to render the effects of so good a hit, into the common bank, where they are due. It is true, there are some things in them, which seem not so fit for publick view; but those things concerning the author and not me, who have a stock only going in the publick company, and am no private trader; I pass those considerations over, seeing good things (as the philosopher long since observed) the more common, the better they are. And he that cannot speak within doors, may sometimes take liberty to speak without doors, especially when those within doors seem to forget the most material points. Something I would also say of the discourse itself; but because it is a proverb as old as Apelles himself, its author, 'That the shoe-maker must not go above his last:' I will pray in aid of my Lord Bacon,* and desire him to be of council for me. And first, for the method and manner of handling, thus he speaks, 'the form of writing, which best agrees with so variable and universal an argument' (as is the handling of negociations and scattered occasions) 'that would be of all others the fittest, which Machiavel made choice of for the handling of matters of policy and government; namely, by observations and discourses, as they term them, upon history and examples.' For knowledge, drawn freshly, and, as it were, in our view, out of particulars, knows the way best to particulars again; and it hath much the greater life for practice, when the discourse or disceptation attends upon the example, than when the example attends upon the disceptation; for here not only order but substance is respected. And as to the matter, who would not but be in a passion, to see the world undone by insufficient counsellors? Or, to speak in our own dialect, so many good ships lost, as it were, in the very mouth of the haven, through unskilful pilots? And to see fighting armies neglected, and impertinent things relied on? Let him therefore speak to these two things. To the first, the speech of Themistocles, taken to himself, was indeed somewhat uncivil and haughty; but if it had been applied to others, and at large, certainly it may seem to comprehend in it a wise observation, and a grave censure; desired at a feast to touch a lute, he

* Advancement of Learning.

said, he could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city. These words, drawn to a politick sense, do excellently express and distinguish two differing abilities, in those that deal in business of estate. For, if a true survey be taken of all counsellors and statesmen that ever were, and others promoted to publick charge, there will be found (though very rarely) those who can make a small state great, and yet cannot fiddle: as, on the other side, there will be found a great many, that are very cunning upon the cittern or lute (that is, in court trifles) but yet are so far from being able to make a small state great, as their gift lies another way, to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay. To the second thus: walled towns, stored arsenals and armories, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like; all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay, number itself in armies imports not much, where the people are of a faint and weak courage: for, as Virgil saith, it never troubles a wolf, how many the sheep are. And a little after, a man may rightly make a judgment, and set it down for a sure and certain truth, that the principal point of all others, which respects the greatness of any kingdom or state, is to have a race of military men. Farewel.

THE great thing which has disturbed the peace of Europe, filled it with blood and slaughters, and shaken the dismembered kingdoms and states thereof, has been the huge design of the universal monarchy; a design which (by a kind of fascination) has possessed the genius of the Spanish and French monarchies, which therefore, in their turns, have been dangerous to all Europe. But the French have made nearer approaches to the throne of such extended Empire, than the Spaniards. Let us then look upon the means and advantages the most Christian king has, to pursue so vast a design, as if he would plow up the air: to the end our minds may be stirred up (if any thing will stir them) to raise up those banks, which (under that providence, to which nothing is so high, to be above it; nothing so low, to be beneath it; nothing so large, but is bounded; nor, nothing so confused, but is ordered by it) will circumscribe such wild and boundless ambition, within its own limits.

And, for our encouragement, let us, by the way, hear the judgment of that excellent man, Sir Walter Raleigh, in the case of the Spanish monarchy, which then was, what France now is, to the rest of Europe. His words are these: 'Since the fall of the Roman Empire (omitting that of the Germans, which had neither greatness nor continuance) there hath been no state fearful in the east, but that of the Turk; nor in the west any prince that hath spread his wings far over his nest, but the Spaniard; who, since the time that Ferdinand expelled the Moors out of Granada, have made any attempts to make themselves masters of all Europe. And it is true, that by the treasures of both Indies, and by the many kingdoms which they possess in Europe, they are at this day the most powerful. But, as the Turk is now counterpoised by the Persian, so, instead of so many millions as have been spent by the English, French, and Netherlands, in a defensive war, and in diversions against them, it is easy to demonstrate, that with the charge of two hundred thousand pounds, continued but two years, or three at the most, they may not only be persuaded to live in peace, but all their swelling and overflowing streams may be brought back into their natural channels and old banks.' But to go on.

France then is come to the greatest perfection, in respect of domestick empire, it is capable of. For, 1. Whereas heretofore the body of that kingdom was not intire, but subject to several great barons, who were able not only to expostulate, but to contend with the king; they are all brought now to a dependence on the crown, and become most obsequious to it. 2. All those mighty members, into which that kingdom was formerly divided, are now annexed to the crown: So that, for largeness of territory, and compacted and united strength, it is become the most formidable kingdom in all Europe. And as, by the former of these, they have secured themselves against all intestine wars, which many times, through the interests and feuds of those barons, shook the whole frame of that kingdom: so, by the latter, they have fenced themselves against all foreign invasion. For, heretofore, all the neighbouring princes were ready upon every occasion to invade the kingdom of France, the Dukes of Burgundy, Britany, Guienne, or Flanders, being always tempting them thereunto, and giving them access, passage, and reception. By this means England made two conquests of France, and at other times forced them to buy peace of them, and pay them tribute. But now, whosoever would invade that kingdom, shall not only want these for their confederates, to invite and assist them, but shall have them for their enemies. Thus far Machiavel has observed for substance. 3. By abrogating the convention of estates,* that king has spoiled the people of that power and share in government, which they have originally had in all the mixt monarchies of Europe, and made himself absolute, even in the point of raising money; which is the blood that fills the veins of that mighty body. By this means he has changed the constitution of that kingdom, from mixt to absolute monarchy, for the kind of it; which is the form that enables a prince to do most mischief, both at home and abroad. 4. But that which is the crown of this perfection, and may be the strongest stay of it, is the naval force, NOW added to the other strengths of that powerful monarchy, wherein it now† equals, if it be not an overbalance to, either England or Holland. For this is a maxim, 'That the power of a prince, whose dominions border on the sea, cannot be perfect without a force in shipping able to command the sea.' Wherefore, in my opinion (which nevertheless is exceeding weak) one of the greatest mischiefs, this war has produced, is, that it has given occasion to France to become mighty in naval power. And that mischief can never better be demonstrated than by this consideration: That there was never before any example, upon earth, of a triumvirate of mighty nations in a vicinity of neighbourhood one to another, and bordering upon the same seas, equally powerful in naval strength. The consequence of which must of necessity, in time to come, be a perpetual emulation and jealousy, greater, by how much either an union or division of three is more perfect than of any other number. Whereby it must necessarily come to pass, either that some two of the three shall alternately, or by turns, fight against the third; or that two of the three shall agree to extinguish the power of the third; that themselves may remain in indifferent terms, without jealousy one of another. It is now long since France wanted but one

* Viz. The power of their parliament. † Anno, 1680.

of three things to help them to drive on that huge design of ambition for the universal monarchy, which has so long swelled their hearts. To bring Holland under a kind of feudal protection of that crown, by which means they might serve themselves of their ships and seamen: Or to make themselves masters of the Spanish Netherlands: Or lastly, to grow great in naval strength at home. For France has been dangerous enough to the rest of Europe, whilst they were in a manner without shipping: Insomuch that those two things were observed of them in the time of Queen Elizabeth, 'That France could never abstain 'from war, for above two or three years together.' And, 'That they 'could never be poor.' 5. And lastly, To all this may be added, the new conquests and acquisitions of the French. But nevertheless it may be doubted, whether that monarchy has received any real accession of strength by those conquests, in case it should come to feel the shock of a powerful and vigorous enemy. It is true indeed (what Machiavel has said) 'That the conquests of commonwealths that are ill governed, and 'contrary to the model of the Romans, do conduce more to the ruin, 'than advancement of their affairs.' But, when we shall a little penetrate (what he elsewhere says) That, when we have observed the histories of former times, we shall find, that commonwealths had generally but three ways of enlarging their empire. One is that which was observed by the Tuscans of old, who entered into a league of confederacy with several other commonwealths, with condition of equality, that no particular should have any degree or authority above the rest, and that comprehension should be left for all their new conquests to come in, not much unlike the practice of the Switzers and the Hollanders of late, and the Achaians and Ætolians of old. Another way of extending your empire, is, by associating with several cities, but so, as that the dignity of the command, the seat of the empire, and the honour of the enterprise, may remain with you, which was the way observed by the Romans, and it was peculiar to them; no other people has observed it, and certainly no better is to be found. The third is the way of the Spartans, and Athenians, who entertained no confederates, but whatever territories they conquered, they annexed them to their own: Which way is, undoubtedly, the worst of the three, as appeared by the two said republicks, who were ruined upon no other account, but because they had grasped more dominion than they were able to hold. I say, these things distinctly considered, and the last way being that which the French practise in their conquests, it makes the doubt yet greater.

From that of the state, if we descend to the consideration of the person of the king, it gives us these two momentous observations. 1. It shews us how necessary a thing it is for a prince, that would either defend or enlarge his state, to excel in practical wisdom, which consists in application, conduct, and pursuit. For by that means he shall always be served by wise and excellent men. For it ever was, and ever will be true: As the prince himself is, so are his council, and those that are about him. A weak prince will never endure wise men; nor can wise men ever be safe under an inadvertent prince. And it gives him mighty advantages over the princes and states, that are about him;

especially if their administrations be slow, weak, and remiss. And it is commonly seen, when a great man rises in the world, either that he is alone, or that the magnificence of his actions swallows up the weaker efforts of others, as the sea does the rivers. And secondly, That when a wise and martial prince rises, and is succeeded by one or two princes of equal condition to himself, without a pusillanimous one interposed, they may do very great things in the world; since the succession of two such princes alone, Philip and Alexander, in the kingdom of Macedon, was sufficient to conquer the world. I conclude therefore, that, if the present king of France* should be succeeded by a prince of equal virtue to himself, they would swallow up the greatest part of Europe. But because the great things of monarchy begin and end, with one or a few princes; and it is rarely seen, that three sufficient princes immediately succeed one another, without some effeminate or ill-consulted prince between, I am of opinion, that monarchy will sink with its own weight.

Now having taken a view of the force and strength of this monarchy, and the sufficiency of her present king, let us next consider what their next attempts are like to be. In general they will do these two things, what they begun by war, they will pursue in peace; for they had no other design in making peace, than to disarm their enemies, break their confederation, and hinder England from coming into it, that they might insult over the world, by a peace more tyrannical than the war of a gallant enemy. And then, when the injured world can bear their insolences no longer, out of the elements of this peace they will raise up a new war. For that prince, that would make great conquests, must make short wars, and renew them often. Holland they will not attack, at least not this year, for two important reasons: Because Flanders lies between that and France. And besides, they will go as softly as they can, till towards the latter end of the summer, for fear of awaking them out of that sleep, their wasted spirits, and trading humour, have cast them into. And England their stomachs do not serve them to meddle with. For though it be true, that whoever he be, that shall attempt to set up an universal monarchy in Europe, will first or last find England, the strongest bar in the way; I say England, which is not only the strongest, but now the only strong kingdom that is in Europe, next to France. And therefore Philip the Second of Spain, after all his vain attempts and pursuits, turned himself upon England; in which though he miscarried, yet he maintained a long war in Ireland. Yet the French will think to serve themselves of the supine negligence of England, and still hope that they may have prorogations there for their money, till they have eaten up the rest of Europe, as they eat bread. And besides, they will find a better way to distress England, and more effectual than by any point blank attack which they make upon it, as we shall see anon. Lastly, there is yet one very important reason, and that is, they are afraid of England; and truly, if God had not placed in man the irascible affection of fear, he would be much a wilder creature than he is. But, lest the truth of this should be doubted, it will not be amiss to call a foreign witness, and that is Machiavel, whose own words are: 'The French are in great fear of the English, for the

* Lewis the Fourteenth.

'great inroads and devastations, which they have made anciently in that 'kingdom; insomuch that, among the common people, the name of 'English is terrible to this day: But he adds, there was not then the 'same reason for it.' It is true, there are not so strong reasons, why they should fear us so much now, as they did formerly; our advantages, which we had over that kingdom, being most of them lost, and that monarchy come to its full strength, and the greatest perfection it is ever like to see. And yet there be very strong reasons, why they should yet fear us, and, if they do not apprehend them, it is no-body's fault but our own. And I say, that both the Spanish and French monarchies inherit such a remembrance of the English as the Romans did of Hannibal. Nay, I think it may be truly affirmed, that France is more afraid of the parliament of England (that is, the king and the estates of parliament, for they are all comprehended under the word parliament) than of any one, if not of all the princes and states of Europe.

But, if France will do neither of these, what is it then that they will do? I answer, We must not take our measures by those reports they cause to be given out, up and down the world, to cast a mist before the eyes of their neighbour princes and states, as jugglers do; nor when they seem to look far abroad must we regard it; but consider by the exact rules of prudence, what is fit for them to do, and what we ourselves would do, were we in their case. I say then, that the greatest and wisest thing, which France can do next, is to make himself master of the residue of the Spanish Netherlands, and particularly to seize upon Ostend and Nieuport. And when he has done that, to turn his whole force upon the empire, not omitting in the mean time to attempt all that he can do there, as well to amuse and divert them, as to open his way to the compleat conquest of that branch of the miserable house of Austria.

To demonstrate this, I know no better way, than a little to consider, and discourse upon the consequences of this, with respect unto England and Holland. For England, if the French be permitted to become masters of the Spanish Netherlands, and to possess Ostend and Nieuport, then England will not only not have a footing on the main, but all the sea-coast, opposite to the whole body of it, will be in the hands of the French, always enemies to England, in interest and humour. And, if he pleases to look over the sea, he may seize upon Ireland, when he pleases, which will always lie open to him, and where he will find papists enough to entertain and join with him. And let it be remembered, that Ireland is in a manner already cut off from England by the Irish act; and what would England then be, but an island hemmed in by the sea, and their enemy is its master, and shut out of the world? By this means they will be precluded from sending any succours to the rescue or relief of those provinces. And by this means also it must necessarily come to pass (which is worst of all) that England must lose both the dominion of the sea, and their trade; and in time will not be able either to build, or sail ships out of their own ports, without the license of France; and so will be in a fair way to become a feudal province of France. And thus we see England may be distressed without warring directly upon it. It is the greatest blemish in the reign of Henry the

Seventh (celebrated in our histories for one of the wisest of all our princes) that he suffered Britany to be lost, and annexed to the crown of France; a foul spot in so beautiful a picture, as he is taken by the pencil of my Lord Bacon. And the more I think of these things, the more I am confirmed, that we shall stir up the just indignation of those that are to come after us, against our memories; and it will be the wonder of succeeding generations, that so great a king, as the King of England; in a war that had for its ends an universal monarchy, for the most Christian king, and the subversion of the protestant religion and interest; the one as foolish and impossible to be effected, as the other is full of monstrous detestable impiety towards God; and to which ends our enemies have been travelling through a sea of blood, and all those crooked ways the first attempter against God beat out to those that travel with pride, ambition, and impiety: I say that such a king,* in such a war, and such a peace as followed it, should sit still, and suffer himself to be (as it were) besieged in his own kingdom, whilst he suffered France, not only to grow to an over-balance to England in naval force, but to plant himself all along on the opposite shore of the main continent, and in the mean time to suffer the greatest part of Europe to be consumed with the flames of an unjust war, and be sacrificed to the ambition of France. An aggravation greater, by how much England has been famous for holding and casting the balance of Europe, and protection of the protestant religion. Since therefore it is a royal virtue in kings, not only to avoid flatterers as a pest, but to encourage some body to tell them the truth roundly, still preserving the dignity of their persons, and the majesty of their state; I think a man cannot do better than to bring things home to them; for if princes would but a little reflect, and look back upon the times past, where they might see the beauty, that is upon the memory of good princes, and the deformity of that of the bad, they would see the excellency of plain dealing, and the odiousness of pernicious flattery.

For Holland. It will be enough to say, that if they suffer the Spanish Netherlands to be lost, France will not only claim, by a title prior to theirs, all the conquests and dominions of this state in Flanders and Brabant, but may set up the title of the house of Burgundy to the whole seventeen provinces; and finally, that they will have a very bad neighbour.

I conclude therefore, that it is the interest of England and Holland, by all means, not only to preserve the rest of the Spanish Netherlands from falling into the hands of France, but to make him vomit up what he has already swallowed of them. For, besides what I have already said, if France once becomes master of those provinces, Holland, and the rest of the provinces of the league, will become an easy and cheap prey to him; which concerns England not a little, in point of interest. And to keep those Netherlands in the hands of Spain is (I think) more the advantage of England and Holland, than it is of Spain itself. For of Spain we are secure,† because he is weak, at that distance, and

* This was the case of England, under King Charles the Second.

† So long as it was governed by an interest opposite to the French. But now the case is changed, since Spain is in possession of a French king, and swayed by French counsels.

neither will, nor can incroach upon his neighbours; and so we preserve the greatest bank of security to both, against the inundations of France.

To conclude this part. For the most Christian king, we are no doubt to look upon him as the minister of God's indignation, howbeit he meaneth not so, but has done all these things in pride and cruelty, and attributed their success to his strength and wisdom: For the power both of Satan and wicked kings is from God, but the will and malice is their own. Therefore the French King has made use of all these powers and advantages to do evil; evil I say, than which the most merciless tyrants and destroyers of the earth (whom God has said he will destroy) have not, in any the most barbarous age of the world, committed greater, or more crying to the righteous God for vengeance. And a prince, affected with so vast and wild ambition, is to be looked on as an enemy to mankind, as a proud attempter to destroy the bounds which God has set. And therefore if so excellent hope, that God will stop the way against our enemies, if we return to him; if the preservation of the true religion, the liberties of our countries, the great interests of mankind, or whatsoever other excellent consideration we can propose to our minds will move us, let us behave ourselves like men, and do some great thing worthy of our remembrance.

And this brings me to the second part of my discourse. In the first we have seen the mischiefs, let us now consider of the remedies.

Now, because there is no separate kingdom or state in Europe sufficient to balance the weighty body of the French monarchy, nor any of their strengths, in disjunction, competent to be opposed against so formidable force; therefore there must be a new fund of power and interest raised up, sufficient to keep the balance of Europe from being called back into a chaos, out of which the French may form an universal monarchy, according to the idea they have conceived thereof.

And this can by no means better be done than by England and the United Provinces, entering into a new league, for the mutual and reciprocal defence of themselves, and their confederates, that shall be admitted into such league, and for preservation and defence of the Spanish Netherlands; and for restraining the further growth and increase of the French monarchy, and hindering their incroachments upon the rest of Europe. The excellency of which league will appear by this, that the ends of it are in a manner common to all Europe: for, though the preservation of the protestant religion be most the concernment of England and Holland, yet the special and immediate end of the preservation of Flanders, and the general end of holding the balance of Europe, is universal.

Upon occasion of the beginning of the war between the Latins and the Romans, Machiavel has delivered this rule: 'That, in all consultations, 'it is best to come immediately to the point in question, and bring things 'to a result, without too tedious a hesitation and suspense.' And the reason of this is founded upon divers observations which he gathers out of several parts of the Roman story, as, 'That weak commonwealths 'are generally irresolute, and ill-advised, as taking their measures more 'from necessity than election: that it is the property of weak states 'to do every thing amiss, and never to do well but in spight of their

'teeth; for there is no such thing as prudence amongst them: that 'weak and irresolute states do seldom take good counsels, unless they be 'forced; for their weakness suffers them not to deliberate, where any 'thing is doubtful; and, if that doubt be not removed by a violent ne-'cessity, they never come to a resolution, but are always in suspense: 'and that is a fault peculiar to all weak and improvident princes and 'governments to be slow and tedious, as well as uncertain in their coun-'sels, which is as dangerous, as the other.' With divers more of the like nature. Wherefore there may seem to be but one thing that may perplex us, and that is, whether this course may sort to the nature of the times and our circumstances? Touching this point, the same author gives this rule, 'That the occasion of every man's good or bad 'fortune consists in its correspondence and accommodation with the 'times.' The wary course that Fabius took against Hannibal was good, because the times and the condition of the Romans suited to it: but, had the same course been holden on, when Scipio undertook the war, Hannibal might have staid in Italy; but, the times being changed, they also altered the method of the war. And it is certainly true, that to every purpose there is a time and a judgment, therefore the misery of man is great upon him; because the time is hard to be discerned: for, if the time be missed, things cannot succeed; for man knoweth not his time. If a man chuses a wrong time, he may labour and travel, not only in vain as to the issues designed, but may bring forth his own destruction; for the universal influence and concourse of the first providence is wanting. But when we shall seriously consider, that there is no other way left; that the French king will neither be quiet himself, nor let any body else alone; and that we must either throw up the cudgels, and let him domineer as he pleases, or do something that may either deter him from attempting further, or, if he does, may shew him that there is as good iron in the world as any he has in France: I say, things being thus, I can foresee no objection of weight against the proposition, 'That state, that will defend itself, must be in a condition to offend its enemies.' And, so long as this state shall give occasion to France to apprehend that they are afraid of him, he will use them as dogs.

Therefore, since this is like to be a league of as great importance as has been made in the world a good while; to render the same secure to the parties; to add majesty and grandeur to it; to render it more sacred, and to give it weight and reputation in the world; it will be necessary, that the same be approved, ratified, and confirmed both by the parliament of England, and the general estates of the Seven Provinces, in an extraordinary assembly. I confess the thing is both very extraordinary and magnificent, and will make the times famous. But the arguments that inforce the necessity thereof are irrefragable; the demonstration whereof I shall leave this whole discourse, and the dignity and weight of the matters themselves, to give evidence unto; and shall say no more in this place, than that there is nothing that princes and states may more justly value themselves upon, than faith and sincerity, in their leagues, and treaties, and negotiations with other princes and states: and insin-

cerity or state-hypocrisy less becomes the majesty of state, than it does private persons in moral and civil actions.

But, before we go any further, it will be but necessary to answer an objection that may be made on the part of England; and that is, that to confirm a league, by the parliament, will weaken the king's prerogative. To which I answer,

1. *Ad hominem*: That which has been done in the time of former kings, and those the greatest and wisest of our princes, and did not lessen their prerogative, may be done again without weakening the prerogative of the present king: but this thing has been often done in former parliaments, as our rolls of parliament, records, law books, and histories shew. But I shall content myself to name two or three of the most principal, as sufficient.

A league and alliance was made between King Henry the Fifth, his heirs and successors, and Sigismund king of the Romans, his heirs and successors, kings of the Romans, and was confirmed by act of parliament. *Coke Inst. pars* 4. 156. *Rot. Parl* 4. H. V. No. 14.

That illustrious peace, 9 H. V. made between Charles the Sixth of France, and the said Henry the Fifth of England (who was the very Alexander of the kings of England for magnificence) by which the king of England had confirmed to him the regency of the kingdom of France, during the life of Charles; and the succession of the crown, after his death, was ratified by the three estates of France, and sworn to by the King of England in parliament, and by the same parliament ratified.

And 11. Henry VII. the same case happened again. The three states of the kingdom joined with the king in the ratification of a peace with France in the same manner. This king was a prince of great wisdom and sufficiency (as I said before); he invaded France with a royal army, made them buy a peace of him, and pay him tribute, which continued yet in the times of Henry the Eighth, his son; nevertheless he ratified a peace by the parliament. So you see two kings, one the greatest conqueror, as the other was the greatest politician of the kings of England, ratifying their leagues (which nevertheless they purchased with their own swords) by parliaments.

And so sacred were our leagues and truces held to be in those times, that 2. H. V. c. 6. it was enacted by parliament, that the breaking of truces should be high treason in the subjects of England.

But 2. I answer *ad rem*: It is said the king's prerogative is to make war and peace. If the king then make a league, and the parliament confirm that league, it is so far from lessening that it confirms that authority.

That there must be a new league, and that it must have not only more, but larger dimensions, than the present league in being, is evident: because the house of commons in the late long parliament voted, that the league offensive and defensive, between his majesty and this state, is not according to their advices given to his majesty, nor pursuant to the ends by them proposed. Which vote has blasted the present league: and, if you should call twenty parliaments, they would all be of the same opinion.

And, because all human providence is short-sighted, there may be a provisional clause added; that, where the ordinary provisions and

remedies of this league shall fall short or disproportionate, the parliament shall be called to deliberate of supplemental complements of provisions, that may be adequate to the force that shall attack the league; which will yet add both strength and reputation to it.

But, not to enter into common-place discourses, I will insist upon but one thing more in this place, and it is this: There is a rule which Machiavel has observed, 'That the best and most secure way, to repress the insolence of an ambitious and powerful state, is to preclude and stop up those ways by which he would come to his greatness:' And that there is not a better or more secure way to suppress the insolence, or cross-bite the designs of such, than to take the same ways to prevent, which he takes to advance them. Now then, I think it would be of great advantage to this league (as every body may easily apprehend) to put Ostend and Nieuport into the hands of England. And, if Spain will suffer themselves to hear reason, and be persuaded to do it, I am without all doubts a way may be found how they may do it with infallible security to themselves, of having the said places restored to them, so that their end may be obtained, and their hazard prevented.

Having now spoken to that part of the parliament's confirmation, I shall discourse, and that very briefly, the other part of the ratification by the general estates; and the more willingly, because I think it may import this state in a double respect. And I have conceived it thus: the prescience, predetermination, and concourse of God none denies, though all have not conceived of them in the same modus.* But the politician has said, that it is a certain truth, that the things of this world are determined, and a set time appointed for their duration; but those run through the whole course which is assigned them by their stars, who keep their body in such order, that it may not alter at all, or if it does, it is for the better. And the way to preserve such bodies (mixt bodies, he speaks of, as commonwealths) is renovation; for no mere bodies are of long duration, unless they be often renewed; and the way to renew them is to reduce them to their first principles; and they are reduced partly by external accident, and partly by internal prudence. Those alterations are therefore salutiferous, which reduce them towards their principles. But my design is not to enter into the common place of renovation, therefore I go on. And since it is in the nature of all things to decline, and tend to depravation, it is the wisdom of governments to look often back to their first constitutions, which are the very *formalis ratio*, and fundamental laws of their governments. Therefore let the general estates of the seven provinces be summoned to meet in the great Zael in the Hague, to these two general ends.

First, To renew their common league among themselves, which will have these two admirable effects:

1. To cure their internal disease, and especially that kind of politick paralysis of the two provinces of Groeningen and Friesland, which tends to mutilation.

2. To restore a kind of new life and vigour to their government. No government can live, that has not extraordinary remedies to have recourse to, in extraordinary cases: Rome had its dictators, which kept

* Manner.

it in health; and England has its parliament, without which its government could not stand. For this cause have our parliaments so often renewed our Magna Charta; near forty times. And,

Secondly, To ratify this league with England: for as the first defends them against internal diseases; so this against external force; the two diseases of which all governments die. And this will also give reputation abroad to the states thus recreated and fenced. And, if there be any other argument necessary to inforce the proposition, it may be drawn from the nature of the government itself. There are, in story and politicks, but three divisions of commonwealths.

First, They are either single, as Athens, Lacedemon, &c. or by leagues, as the Achaians, Ætolians, Switz, and the States.

Secondly, They are divided into such as are for preservation, as Lacedemon and Venice; or for increase, as Athens and Rome. Or,

Thirdly, Into equal and unequal in libration.

This is a government of a league, and for preservation only, and very unequal; which whosoever shall thoroughly penetrate, shall find cause to apprehend the weight of this proposition; for such another war would shake the states in pieces. And there is but one of three ways for them; war, submission to France, or a league with England.

And, if there was time, I think a man should not fear to want either matter or words, to set home the argument. They are now but newly delivered from the most dangerous crisis that ever their state passed under since its first formation; wherein they have laboured under, not only very dangerous domestick convulsions, but the powerful assaults of foreign force. And, therefore, what physician, that is not a mountebank, would not prescribe some potent restorative in such a case?

I have now but two things to do, to finish this second part of my discourse. The one is, to set down some just praises of the English nation, to the end these people may be moved to rely upon their friendship with the greater confidence. And I would have done it elaborately, but that my discourse has already drawn itself out to so great a length. The other is, the admirable effect that will be produced by opposing the English courage to the French fierceness. Let us then but run them over.

The English have always been sincere in their leagues, alliances, and treaties. I know presently what will be cast in our teeth, and that is the infamous breach of the Triple League. But as he shall always be very far from making a true judgment, that shall determine upon one or a few single actions; so nothing can be more injurious than to impeach the faith of a gallant nation, for that which no body has regretted more than themselves. The philosopher has said, that actions denominate not the subject to be such. And it is true in divinity, that a man is not to be judged by a few, or many single actions; but by the course and tenor of his life. I say then, that the excellent virtue of faithfulness has been the general tenor of the English in all times. Let not so foul an indignity therefore be charged on them; but let the crime lie at the doors of those few men, who were the authors and counsellors of it. And in the mean time, I will comfort myself with this hope, that, when the sanction of our parliament shall come to be put upon this

league, his majesty, and the whole nation with him, will be restored to the good opinion of all, whose interest it is not to believe lyes. And let me say this, that I have not found in story any nation to be preferred to them, for the above-mentioned excellent quality: wherein I may affirm that they have exceeded the Romans themselves. For the Romans, passionately affecting an universal sovereignty and dominion, were not seldom constrained shamefully to prevaricate, to make strained constructions of their leagues, to violate their faith, and to pass over all whatsoever respects of honour, to travel to the ends of their ambition. Whereas the English never can have any interest to propagate their empire upon the body of Europe beyond these bounds, which God by nature (his instrument) prescribed to them: The most they pretend to is, to be arbiters between the princes and states of Europe, as we may see in the example of Henry the Eighth, who living in an active time, when three such great-spirited princes met, as himself, Charles the Fifth, and Francis the First of France, might have made his own markets; yet sought no more than to keep the balance equal between those two. England then, in peace, has been famous for the excellent virtue of loyalty and faithfulness; and, in all times, for keeping close to that righteous maxim of holding the balance of Europe steady, a maxim they took up above six-hundred years ago. In war they have been renowned for their courage, redoubted strength, and great atchievements. In a word, in war they have been just, as well as valiant; in peace kind; and in both sincere. And for the profession of the true religion (without which all other things are either nothing, or as good as nothing) they have been celebrated above all the nations of Europe. It began there early, and continued in the worst of times; and, since the Reformation, her divines have been the most learned and pious of the Christian world; as all foreign divines will be ready to testify. These methinks should be powerful encouragements to this state to join with England. England, in whom the publick virtue of true meaning is inherent; from whom both in peace and war we may expect not only justice but even generous goodness, to allude to the most ancient distinction of the Jews: And who against all other nations are zealous against popery.

But that it may appear we do not lay our stress upon general and rhetorical discourses, there are other considerations of a more particular nature, which must not be passed over. England has been the principal instrument of saving this state twice from destruction; once in the infancy of their commonwealth, in the time of Queen Elisabeth, against the Spaniards; and now again in the late war, from the French. Again, nothing can secure this state for the future, against the mischiefs impending from France, but the friendship of England. And that England, in conjunction with this state, is able to balance the French monarchy, I shall thus demonstrate: France is larger than England, but England will always afford more soldiers than France, I mean foot; and the strength of all armies consists in the infantry. The reasons of this are these two:

1st. The division of the people.

In France, and generally in all other countries, there are but two di-

visions of the people, the nobless and peasants; but in England we have three.

1. The nobless, that is, the nobility and gentry, competent to furnish a sufficient cavalry.

2. The yeomanry, or middle sort of people, which make up the great body of the kingdom, and who are sufficient to furnish the greatest and strongest infantry, of any kingdom or state in the Christian world.

And, 3, The inferior sort, or servants; I mean such as work for day-wages, which are very inconsiderable, in number, to the yeomanry. The division of the people is one of the principal foundations of empire: And the division of the people of England, being the best and most perfect of any other in all Europe, it must necessarily follow, that England is capable to endure stronger shocks, than any other kingdom or state, founded upon the same balance of government, and is the most perfect government, of its kind, in Europe.

2dly. In England, the people, that is, the inferior gentry and yeomanry, are an over-balance, both to the king, nobility, and church; which is a defect in monarchy, and tends to the generation of a commonwealth. In France and Spain, the king and the nobility have destroyed the people; but, in England, the king and the people have destroyed the nobility. I say, then, the strength of the kingdom of England is in the inferior gentry and yeomanry; and these exceeding all other kingdoms in number, strength, and courage, it must needs follow, if the business should come to be tried, where blows must decide, that England would be found an over-match, even to France itself, if demonstration be demonstration. But the cause and occasion how these two things come to be so, that is, why the nobility of England are so depressed, and the people become so formidable, as you may see they are, if you look but upon the house of lords, and the house of commons, in our present parliaments: I say, the cause is, those popular statutes of population, against retainers of the nobility, and for alienations of their lands, made by Henry the Seventh (the Romulus of the English kings) which shews the unwariness of that politick king, who, in seeking to cure that dangerous flaw in the government, of the nobility's being an over-match to the people, made a far greater of making the commons formidable. For the one strikes only at a king they dislike, the other at the throne itself: although it be true, those effects came not to manifest themselves till above one hundred years after his death. Therefore a wise prince indeed he was, but not long-sighted.

To the second: The French have beaten and baffled the greatest part of the Christian world without fighting, and have oppressed them at their own charge. But, if ever they should come to deal with an enemy that would force them to fight, they would shew themselves to be Frenchmen, that is, would suffer themselves to be persuaded to submit to more reasonable terms.

If you look upon the carriage of this whole war, you may presently see, that the wisest thing, which the French thought they could do, was ever to avoid fighting; supposing surely, that, therein, they imi-

tated the wisdom of Fabius Maximus. But this is most certain (as the discourses upon Livy prove) that a general, who desires to keep the field, cannot avoid fighting, when the enemy presses, and makes it his business to engage him. For, in such a case, there is but one of three ways: The first is the way of Fabius, of standing upon your guard, and keeping your army in places of advantage; and this is laudable and good, when your army is so strong, that the enemy dares not attack you, as it was in the case of Fabius and Hannibal; for, if Hannibal had advanced, Fabius would have kept his ground, and engaged him. The second way to avoid fighting, if your enemy will needs attack you, is flying, and fight or fly you must. Philip of Macedon, being invaded by the Romans, resolved not to come to a battle; and, to avoid it, he took the way of Fabius, incamped his army upon the top of a mountain, and intrenched himself so strongly, that he believed the Romans durst not have ventured to come at him. But, alas! the Romans were another kind of enemy; they not only adventured, but removed him from his mountain, and forced him to fly with the greatest part of his army; and, had it not been for the unpassableness of the country, which hindered the pursuit, the Macedonians had all been cut off. The French were strongly incamped at St. Dennis, and did not at all believe that the Prince of Orange would attack them; and yet, for all their confidence, they could find no other remedy, than to betake themselves to their heels. And this was the greatest and most famous action of the whole war. The third way to avoid fighting is, to shut yourself up in some strong town, which is the most pernicious way of all, as making your ruin inevitable. Therefore (as Machiavel says) to keep the field, and avoid fighting, is to be done no way so securely, as by keeping fifty miles off, and sending out store of spies and scouts, that may give you notice of the enemy's approach, and opportunity to retreat.

Nor is it necessary, to do all this, that your army should be very numerous. The Romans and the Greeks always carried on their wars with a few men, depending more upon their great order, and the excellence of their discipline, than great numbers; but the Eastern and Western nations did all by their multitudes. Alexander conquered the world with thirty-thousand men; Pyrrhus was wont to say, that with fifteen-thousand men he would go through the world; and yet Pyrrhus fought against the Romans, and beat them in two battles, and was, in the judgment of Hannibal himself, one of the greatest captains of the world. The ordinary Roman army consisted of about twenty-four thousand men, and, if they were, at any time, overpressed with numbers, they exceeded not fifty-thousand; with which number, at one time, they opposed two-hundred thousand Gauls, or, if you will, call them Frenchmen.

There are two nations, whose genius resembles that of the ancient Romans, the Germans and the English, who are descended from them. But there are these two differences between them: The Germans you shall never bring up to make a point-blank attack in the mouth of cannons, in such fashion as the English: nor again, after a rout, shall you hardly make them rally, as you may the English. From all these

things I make this conclusion: That, if the French renew the war again, the best way will be to oppose them with an army of English, and, by all means, to force them to fight continually, till the field be too hot for them; and, when they can keep that no longer, their towns will be of little service to them. The English have fought many battles with the French, and always beaten them; and yet the French have exceeded them much in numbers, as in the memorable battle of Poictiers, when the English were but about eight-thousand, and the French were sixty-thousand.

And thus I come to the third and last part of my discourse, the office whereof is to dispose into method such arguments, as will be necessary to be used to the several parties, that is to say, the king, parliament, and this state, to draw them on to such a league; and they are as follow:

TO THE KING.

1. It will serve to conciliate, and beget a better understanding between him and the parliament, and to remove some part of that jealousy, which the people travail with, of the king's administration, and which will never leave burning, till it burn to the foundations of the throne, if not prevented. And, if it attains not the end of introducing other co-operative acts of concord, it will, at least, avert the hastening on of greater evils. There be some of those things which the parliament would have, which the king would consent to, upon condition he might not be pressed in the rest, as the case of the Duke of York, &c. Therefore let them begin with some popular great thing, that may involve the interests and affections of all.

2. As to that point of the confirmation by the parliament, I have shewed the precedents of former times.

3. The ratification here, by the general estates, will be equipollent to the ratification, in England, by the parliament, which saves the king's honour. For, thus, the parties rather conspire in one, how to render this league illustrious and great, than, on their respective parts, to be forced to any thing.

TO THE PARLIAMENT.

1. Let it move from themselves, that is, let some of those in the house of commons, who are of unquestionable reputation for wisdom, honesty, and integrity, be engaged; let them engage others, and let them communicate their counsels with my Lord Shaftsbury, and that party in the house of lords. Then let the scheme and project be proposed in the house of commons; then the commons seek the lords concurrence; and then let it be offered to the king, as the advice of the whole kingdom; for every man is there in person, or by representation.

2. This will shut up those avenues, those back-doors, by which the French have had accesses to our councils, and have influenced them; and, consequently, will render the sitting of parliaments more calm and secure, when that mighty trade of theirs, of buying prorogations, shall be spoiled, and their factors rendered less malignant.

3. This is an infallible argument, As the end of a thing is, so is the thing. The two general ends of this league are, to preserve the protestant religion, and to preserve and restore the balance of Europe, by lessening the power of France. And those are the two greatest ends in Christendom; therefore that thing, that has those for its ends, is the greatest thing; and the minds of gallant men are exceedingly moved with great things, and strongly carried to the pursuit of them.

TO THIS STATE.

1. The first argument is prudential. Prudence is that virtue, by which, when several things are offered, we are directed which to chuse, and which to refuse; what to do, and what not to do. Holland then must either make a league with France, or with England, or remain neuter.

To make a league with France is utterly imprudent, for these two reasons:

1. Because France aiming at, and designing an universal monarchy, would only secure himself of them, till their own turn come, that is, till he hath swallowed up the Spanish Netherlands and Germany, when he would turn his force upon them.

2. By such means they would lose the best and surest friend they have had from their foundation of their state, and that is England. And where a state is not sufficient by its own proper force, in respect of the weakness of the one, or the mightiness of its neighbours, to defend itself, it must of necessity rely some where else for protection.

To remain in a neutral condition cannot be; for so, instead of making one friend, they would make three enemies. And, in case France should renew the war upon them, England would be won, upon such terms as France would offer, either to join with them, or to stand still, and see Holland ruined. Besides, how impolitick a thing neutrality is, any man may see that will consider the observations made thereon. Mach. Prince, cap. 21.

It remains then, and I know nothing else that remains, to make a league with England. For that will have one of two effects: Either France will be wholly deterred from attempting upon their state; or, if he does, they will be able, with the assistance of England, to defend themselves. This is the first argument.

2. The authority and reputation of the proposers; it is a league proposed by the parliament of England, to be entered into with the king and kingdom of England. The parliament represents the whole people of England, and commands both the parts and persons of a great, rich, and valiant nation, from whom neither money nor soldiers will be wanting to beat down the power of that proud and insulting nation of France. But these people here are afraid of France, why then let them make a league with those of whom France itself is afraid. And withal, let them remember this league is to be made with a people, from whom they have received the greatest benefits, as I have shewed before. And this argument alone will beat down the most, if not all the objections that would arise against such a league, proposed in any other manner.

3. The great reputation and security such a league will give to this state, which will cover them as with wings of protection against France, and whosoever else would prey upon them.

If I have not expressed these things so as I would, I have done it as well as I can in a short time. And so, submitting it with all decent humility to the grave considerations of those excellent personages whom it may concern, I leave it to its fate.

Hague, May 24, 1680.

ADVICE TO A SOLDIER,

IN TWO LETTERS,

WRITTEN TO AN OFFICER IN THE ENGLISH ARMY,

PROPER TO BE EXPOSED AT THE PRESENT TIME,

While the Peace of Christendom (if not the Liberty of it,) seems to be very short-lived.

From a quarto, containing fourteen pages, printed at London, by John Shadd, 1680.

The first of these letters endeavours to convince every candidate for a field-commission, that he is petitioning, not for a small and trivial matter, but for a preferment, on the due execution of which depends his own and his king's and nation's welfare; and that therefore the author adviseth every one first to engage a voluntier in some action in the wars, before that he accepts of the post of the meanest officer; because the military arts of battles and sieges are as little to be learned by reading and theory, as any other worldly employment; and they that have the commission, and must be beholden to the instruction and direction of a subaltern in the execution of their duty, lie subject to this dilemma, 'To lose the credit of their success when fortune favours, or to bear the blame when it happens otherwise.'

The second letter contains the moral part of military discipline; and that not only in regard to the soldiers in general, but to the officers in particular. And they are both not only now, but at all times, worthy the perusal of the gentlemen, who serve their king and country with their hearts and swords.

The first Letter to a young gentleman, who, by the mediation of great friends, had obtained the grant of a considerable command in the English army, against the prevailing power of France, in the year 1678.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I DO highly approve the resolution you have taken to serve his majesty in the wars, if any happen, it being a duty which every good subject owes him, especially the gentry, who derive all their streams of honour from that original fountain. But it may possibly seem strange, that, while all the rest of your friends are congratulating your good fortune, in the preferment proferred you, I only shew myself dissatisfied;

I will assure you I am so far from envying your promotion, that no man living does more heartily desire it than myself; it is the reality of my friendship makes me jealous, that preferment is arrived at your port, before you are ready, before you are fit for it. It is no small or trivial matter which he undertakes who receives a commission from the king, how light soever you and other young gentlemen think of it; and I should not be worthy any place in your esteem, if I did not deal very candidly and plainly with you. And in the first place I will tell you, 'He cannot be a fit man to command, who knows not the duty of those that are to obey him.'

I doubt not but you have read books relating to war, and may understand something of the theory of it; but all the reading in the universe will not enable a man to perform well the meanest of the mechanick arts We usually allow seven years experience for attaining the skill to make shoes, &c. and do you believe that the military science (upon the success whereof depends the safety or the ruin, the standing or falling of towns and citadels, kingdoms and empires) is to be learned amidst the softnesses and ease of courts, and rich cities, and reposing on the laps of ladies? or by the imperfect ideas of a battle, and a siege represented in a play? or at best by a little superficial reading of commentaries? No, the art of war is to be attained by other methods and means more studious, more laborious, more manly; and, if you accept of a command at this time, it is odds that you neither efficaciously serve the king, nor yourself; not the king, 'for the obtaining preferments by favour, without merit, is the greatest discouragement in the world,' to men of low fortunes and high spirits, and such, in times of danger, are the usefullest men to a commonwealth;' who, having served many years in the wars, and made themselves capable of the greatest offices, shall on the sudden find themselves defeated, by such young gentlemen as you; although, if you come to speedy action, you must necessarily be baffled, and disappoint his majesty's service, or else owe your success wholly to chance, for which none but fools will commend you. You cannot serve yourself, because the main thing you aim at is honour. Now you must know, 'they lie under a vulgar error, who think that to have a great office, or great title, is sufficient to make a man honourable. True honour does not so much consist in possessing great offices, or great titles, as in the using those great titles, and in discharging those great offices so, as the prince may be well and faithfully served, and the publick good advanced and promoted.'

Which can never be done by one who wants experience, unless, as I said before, it be by chance, or by the discreeter menage of the under-officers. I will add further, that what miscarriage soever happens under you, will be imputed, right or wrong, to your want of conduct, and the credit of all good service you do, shall be carried away by those of your officers who have more skill, even then when they do not deserve it. Wherefore my advice is, if you would serve your prince and your country, as becomes a good subject and a gentleman; if you would bring an addition of honour to yourself and family; 'let your advancement be the reward, rather than the obligation of your merit.' Content yourself, for a time, to serve as a private gentleman, a voluntier, and

you will find, that one year's experience, in time of action, will instruct you better than twenty years' reading without it. It has been always my manner to express my mind freely, and so I do now, when I assure you, I am,

London, Aug. 20, 1678. *Your faithful Friend.*

A second Letter to the same young gentleman, after he had received his commission, wherein is chiefly discoursed the moral part of military discipline.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

It seems, before my letter came to your hands, you had received the commission, from which I was too late endeavouring to dissuade you. The wisest men do many things in their lives, which they are sorry for when done, but cannot undo without greater disadvantage. This act of yours I look on to be one of those; it was the desire of honour made you take a commission, and though now you wish it had been deferred till another time; yet, since you have put your hand to the plough, you must not look back, you cannot lay it down without shame, without disparagement. Therefore, I will give you such general advice as I can; for particular or practical, you know, I do not pretend to.

It will be impossible for you, at first, to conceal your unskilfulness in arms, from your men, and therefore all attempts of that nature will be fruitless and ridiculous; wherefore it will be your best way to own it, to such of your officers as are ingenious, and do not think it any disparagement to learn of your inferiors. 'It is no shame not to know that which one has not had the opportunity of learning; but it is scandalous to profess knowledge and remain ignorant.'

In regard your experience in martial matters is green, as well as your years, it will be needful that you use all the helps you can, to make some amends for that defect.

And, first, I would have you get intimately acquainted with some of the best of our English officers, especially some of those who have been either on the side of France or Holland, or both, engaged in the present war of Christendom; and, by a frequent converse with them, and by your own heedful observation, you may the sooner make a good improvement of your time; and you would do well to get yourself provided with some of the best books, describing the modern way of military discipline, for books are great assistances to those who every day compare their reading and practice.

When you have made a choice of persons with whom you intend to be intimate, be careful you are not by any of them drawn into private or particular quarrels; and if any such accident happens in your presence, between others, endeavour what you can to compose, not widen the breach. If the difference grow so high, that nothing less than a duel can reconcile the feud in point of honour, make them sensible what a shame it is for men of true merit, to receive the laws of honour from faint effeminates, the hectors and huffs of the town, who possess none themselves but what they are indebted for to their schools of honour and

morality, the play-houses. Ask with what justice they can expect the king's pay, or hope for his favour, or his pardon, while they shew such contempt of him and his laws, and hazard their lives in a quarrel, destructive to his service. Remind them that the French, the great promoters of duelling in a more pusillanimous age, having now shaken off former fooleries, and put on the bravery of a warlike people, look on that man who offers to send a challenge, as a fellow fit to be kicked by their foot-boys; and that is the usual way the gentry of France think themselves obliged in honour to answer him. He who charges most briskly at the head of his troops; he who first mounts the enemy's wall; and he who is forwardest in attacking their fortifications; are the only men among them, who now obtain the title and the esteem of honourable.

But if you meet with any so fond of false honour, so false to the principles of loyalty and true glory, that no reason can divert them, even in a foreign country, from assisting the enemy, by diminishing our strength, and making factions in our own party; let them alone by themselves to destroy one another, for it is pity they should live, and it is pity they should die by any worthier hands than those of the hangman or their own.

If you would ever arrive at greater preferment than you have, or deserve that which his majesty has already bestowed, you must be beholden for it chiefly to the valour and affection of your soldiers; therefore endeavour, what you can, to get them their pay in due season, and, if that cannot be done, at least let them see that it is not your fault; observe and abhor the example of some others, who detain the soldiers wages, the price of their blood, and throw it away on the turn of a dye, or spend it profusely on their pride and their lusts.

Despise all base ways of inriching yourself, either by cheating the king with false musters, or defrauding or abridging your men any part of their due; such practices have been the undoing of many a good cause, and are so far more worthy a gallows, than common robberies, by how much the loss of a battle is more considerable than the loss of a bag of money, and the ruin of the publick, than that of a private single person. Consider, your men are equal sharers in the danger, though not in the profit or honour of the war; and that as you are the head, they are the body, containing, beside the trunk, the usefullest members, hands, arms, legs, and feet, without whose executive power, all your contriving faculties will prove insignificant. So that you must not think you discharge the duty of a good or prudent commander, when you only shew yourself bold, and bring them on bravely to battle; your care must be, both before and afterwards, to see that they have as wholesome food (and physick when it needs) and as good quarters as the place will afford; and since English constitutions cannot so easily endure famine, as the people born and bred up in less plentiful countries; you must make it a principal part of your endeavours, to have them sufficiently provided, and when upon any action, your under-officers or others have deserved well, you ought to use your interest to get them encouraged and promoted.

A good commander will use his soldiers, just as a good father uses his children; and he who governs otherwise, through covetousness, negligence, pride, or ill-nature, shall never get any great honour himself, nor ever do any service considerable, for his king or country.

But though I would have you love your men well, because you can do nothing without them, I would not have you spoil them with overmuch kindness. 'It is the wise dispensing of rewards and punishments, which keeps the world in good order. They never had their business well done, who through an excess of goodness reward mean services too highly, or punish great miscarriages too lightly.' Therefore, as you must take care of the back and the belly, the pay and provision of your soldiers, so you ought to be very severe in your discipline; the two former will gain you the love of your men, the latter their fear, and all mixed together, produce compleat obedience. Or, to express it better in the martial phrase, 'Pay well, and hang well, makes a good soldier.'

The frequent company of women, and the tippling strong liquors, debilitate both the mind and body of a soldier, rendering him soft and effeminate, lasy and sickly, unapt and unfit for heroick exploits. Restrain, therefore, as much as may be, the debaucheries of your men, and be careful to refrain your own, and take this along with you as a general rule; that, 'when you teach your men to live innocent, you do at the same time make them valiant.'

To the end you may with greater facility effect so good a design, you ought to be always attended with a good chaplain; and if I were worthy to advise your general, I would beg him to be as careful in the choice of his chaplains as his captains. Nay, I would adventure to say, they are as necessary, and many times have done, and may again, as largely contribute towards the obtaining happy successes. And now there is as great an occasion for able divines in our army and navy, as ever there was, since England professed Christianity. 'For the fops of this age, under the notion of wits, endeavour to buffoon religion out of countenance; talk blasphemy and atheism, in common discourse, speak treason against the majesty of heaven, a crime which no prince upon earth will endure, at an easier rate than mortal punishment.' And so while nothing is allowed for fashionable wit, which is not atheistical, or prophane, or impudently immodest; the young gentry, fond of that foolish humour, called witty, are in a fair way to be debauched. For what shall restrain their exorbitancies, who have learned to despise the supernal power? And by their ill example, a door is set wide open, to let in, among the vulgar, all the lewdnesses and immoralities in the world.

Therefore you should chuse for a chaplain a man reserved in his life, grave in his deportment, fixed in his principles, and faithful to his prince; one that will not be abashed, when fools deride him; one that will not be afraid to exhort and reprove, as occasion requires; one that is patient enough to endure scorn and reproach, and bold enough to oppose himself against the greatest torrent of impiety. And then you ought to shew him respect, as unto the messenger of God, and to see that the martial laws relating to religion, and good order, be put in

execution; which truly of late have been just so observed, as if they had been purposely made to be broken. If you begin the good example, you shall hardly need to compel your men to follow; they will be ashamed to be vicious, if their commander be virtuous; and 'shame is a more effectual way to reform vice, than pecuniary penalties, or corporal pains.'

By this means the lives of many men will be saved, who otherwise, to support their vices, neglect their duty, commit thefts, and robberies, and rapes, and the like; and bring themselves under the lash of martial law, great punishments and ignominious deaths.

You should be as frequent and regular, at your publick prayers, as time and your affairs will permit; especially neglect it not before a battle, or other great undertaking. For prayer, by a strange and secret influence, (which none can tell but they who use it) brings from heaven new life, and vigour, and courage to the most weak and timorous.

And now I have happened to speak of courage, that necessary qualification in a soldier, I will give you my opinion what it is, and whence it usually arises.

Courage is either active, or passive, and both are as useful for a soldier, as a sword and a target. Active is that which does prompt and excite a man, to the undertaking and attempting great and hazardous enterprises. And passive is a certain even temper and frame of mind, which dangerous accidents cannot discompose, or divert from his intended purpose. On the contray, fear amazes and distracts, and disappoints the wisest counsels, and most deliberate designs; hurrying men into the danger they think to avoid, or into greater; as the hart in the fable, to escape the dogs, sought shelter in the lion's den; so it commonly happens in battles, that those men are killed in flight, who, by keeping the field, might have won the victory; and it is frequent for a coward, who runs away from a sword, to stumble upon a halter.

Inconsiderate rashness is by some men called courage, when it produces the like effect, but is in truth no better than madness, and I intend only to speak of that courage, which is the product of reason.

True courage springs from a contempt of death, or an opinion that one shall not die. Contempt of death arises from a confidence in God's mercy, or a consideration of honour, or both. Confidence in God's mercy will naturally grow as the fruit and effect of a good and virtuous life, and those men will be afraid of nothing, who are and who believe themselves to be under the sacred protection of Almighty God. And when honour (or the thirst after publick fame for well-doing) is added, I think there is all, which is necessary to make a man truly courageous. Honour by itself (I mean a great title or publick applause) is but an empty name, (not valued by wise men, save only when it comes as the just reward of virtue, the fruit of worthy performances) and the apprehensions of death and damnation are two weighty things, when nothing but that empty name is put in the balance against them; now there are but a few atheists in the world so thorough paced, as to have totally extinguished the fears of a future being; however they may boast of it, when no danger seems to be near them. I have seen some

of those gallants, who talk nothing but honour, in the middle of a sea-fight, look as silly as sheep, and sneak themselves behind the main-mast.

But the far greater number of those, who go to the wars, are persuaded they shall not be killed, and that opinion is the cause of their courage, which, having a foundation so liable to uncertainty, is easily overturned by a little adverse fortune: For when the battle grows hot, when death presents itself in diversity of shapes; when one loses a leg, and another both his arms, and a third is shot off in the middle: When men and horses confusedly come tumbling down together, and a man's best friends lie bleeding by his side; then that confidence, which was groundless, vanishes of its own accord, and quickly follows disorder and rout, and down-right running away.

No man can promise himself before a battle, that he shall be alive afterwards, and every prudent man should be provided, not only for that which must, but as near as one can, for that which may happen. I mean every prudent man should think it may be his turn to be killed as soon as another, and therefore should endeavour beforehand to keep himself from all horrid, flagitious, enormous crimes, such as hinder one in times of greatest danger, from asking or hoping for God's mercy, and make a valiant man turn coward.

I have insisted the more on this particular, because we have lived to see the best king, having the best cause in the world, ruined by his own rebellious subjects, towards which ruin, I have been told, the irregularities of some of the loyal party did in a great measure contribute.

And because it is reported by some, and believed by many, that piety and devotion, virtue and religion, are only to be found amongst those who are dissenters from, or enemies to the church of England: I would persuade you, my dear friend, by your own practice, to endeavour the contradicting that wicked assertion: I would fain have you as eminent for your piety, as your native bravery, and let one add reputation to the other. King David among the Jews, Scipio Africanus among the Romans, and King Henry the Fifth among the English, were, in their times, the most pious and most prosperous generals in the world.

It is very convenient, I think I may say necessary, that your men be possessed with the justice of the cause they fight for. Let them be told by your chaplain this truth, that they are doing God's work, by endeavouring to restore those to right, who suffer wrong; to bring an universal peace to Christendom, and preserve it from falling into the slavery, wherewith, at this time, it seems to be threatened; to put an end to that blood and slaughter, ruin and devastation, which it has, for several years past, suffered under.

You may also do well, at convenient times, to relate to your officers and men, the great things their ancestors formerly performed in France, and be stirring them up to a like emulation. But I cannot, by any means, approve of their policy, who persuade their men to despise their enemies; instead of that, I would have you let them know, that they are not now to fight against France, lulled a sleep by a long peace, and

drowned in the pleasures of ease and idleness; but against France awakened, grown watchful and wise; against men, whom a long war has made martial, and taught to be as good soldiers, perhaps, as are in the world; and against men, who have taken the strongest towns in Christendom, with greater facility, and defended them, with greater obstinacy, than any of their enemies, with whom they have hitherto been contending.

In my opinion, the contempt of a crafty enemy is one of the greatest advantages you can give him, and he who commands valiant men, as the English are, need not be afraid to make them sensible of danger. It will rather serve to inflame, than abate their natural courage; whereas, if they be taught to slight their enemy, they will be apt to think of a victory without labour, without dangers; such an imagination will teach them to be careless, and carelesness will lay them open to inevitable ruin and destruction. But you must not dwell too long on this subject, you must put them in mind, that, although the French are politick and powerful, they are yet very far from invincible; their courage will give way, when attacked by men of resolution, who are not afraid of dying (the truth whereof appears by the shock and disappointment they lately received before Mons.) And atchievements against them will be so much more glorious, by how much they seem more difficult and dangerous.

Remember your soldiers how unkindly the French used some of their fellows, who had faithfully served them many years, and to whom they owed a good part of their success. Use any arguments which may heighten their courage, or whet revenge, to a sharp and vigorous prosecution; and always let them know, they are in a place, where they must owe their safety and success, and the very bread they eat, only to the effects of their own valour and vigilance.

The season for action, this year, is now almost over, however you should not be absent from your men oftener, or longer than you need, although you have nothing for them to do; for vulgar minds are generally busy, and depraved, and will rather be contriving ill, than doing nothing. It will therefore be an act worthy your prudence, to exercise them at convenient times (above what is usual) in matches at leaping, running, wrestling, shooting at marks, or any other manly and innocent sports, which may render them healthy, and hardy, and give them no leisure to study mutinies, or other mischief.

If thus by your example, by the strictness of your discipline, by the veneration you shew religion, by the encouragement you afford the dispenser of it, you can persuade or compel your men to live well and temperate, you will find when you come to fight, that soldiers so well paid and provided for, so kindly used, and so strictly disciplined, and prudently managed, will enter trenches, mount walls and fortifications, endure steadily the shock of enemies, run upon the mouths of cannons, and perform actions becoming gallant men, even such as seem to others impossible.

FOR YOUR OWN PART.

As long as you have a superior commander, you must be a punctual observer of orders, and, when you are employed on any particular

design, endeavour to get your orders in writing; so may you best avoid committing mistakes, and best secure yourself from fathering the mistakes of other men. In any thing, especially if the hazard be eminent, never attempt less than you are commanded, and, without a very good reason, do not attempt more; for, in such case, if it succeed well, you shall only share the honour; but, if ill, you shall bear all the blame by yourself.

In a word, when it depends on your choice be wary in undertaking, speedy in prosecuting your design: Caution in resolution, and quickness in execution, being the two greatest characters of a wise man.

Thus, my dear friend, I have touched upon several particulars, which I did not think of, when I first set pen to paper, and doubt I have too much exceeded the limits of a modest letter; and perhaps a part, if not all of it, will be rendered useless to you, by a general peace, which is the end of his majesty's arming; and if it can be had on safe and reasonable terms, without more contending, is that which all good men ought to wish and pray for. If it happen otherwise, I shall then venture to write you something else, in another strain, which for the present is not convenient. I hope you will accept kindly, what is kindly intended, from

Your faithful Friend and Servant.

Aug. 30th. 1678.

A LETTER FROM A MINISTER TO HIS FRIEND,

CONCERNING THE GAME OF CHESS.

From a broad side, printed at London, in the year 1680.

Sir,

I Here send you my reasons for my disusing and declining the game of chess. This I premise, that I think recreation to be in itself lawful, yea, that like physick it is to some persons, and in some cases very needful. Also that this game of chess is not only lawful, but it may be the most ingenious and delightful that ever was invented. Others seem to be calculated for children, this for men; in most others there is much of contingency, in this there is nothing but art. But, though it be never so lawful and eligible in itself, yet to me it is inexpedient. And there are some particular reasons why I am fallen out with this exercise, and, I believe, shall never be reconciled to it again; and they are such as follow:

I. It is a great time-waster: How many precious hours (which can never be recalled) have I profusely spent in this game? O chess, I will be avenged of thee for the loss of my time! It is a true saying, that it is more necessary thriftiness to be sparing and saving of time

than of money. One offered on his death-bed a world of wealth, for an inch of time; and another, with great earnestness, cried out, when she lay a dying, Call time again! Call time again! This I heard, says a worthy minister, and I think the sound of it will be in my ears so long as I live.

II. It hath had with me a fascinating property; I have been bewitched by it; when I have begun, I have not had the power to give over. Though a thing be never so lawful, yet I ought not to suffer myself to be brought under the power of it. I will not use it till I find I can refuse it. Reason and religion shall order my recreation.

III. It hath not done with me, when I have done with it. It hath followed me into my study, into my pulpit; when I have been praying or preaching, I have (in my thoughts) been playing at chess; then I have had, as it were, a chess-board before my eyes; then I have been thinking how I might have obtained the stratagems of my antagonist, or make such and such motions to his disadvantage; nay, I have heard of one who was playing at chess in his thoughts (as appeared by his words) when he lay a dying.

IV. It hath caused me to break many solemn resolutions, nay, vows and promises. Sometimes I have obliged myself, in the most solemn manner, to play but so many mates at a time, or with any one person, and anon I have broken these obligations and promises, and after vows of that kind I have made enquiry how I might evade them; and have sinfully prevaricated in that matter; and that not once only but often.

V. It hath wounded my conscience, and broken my peace. I have had sad reflexions upon it, when I have been most serious. I find, if I were now to die, the remembrance of this game would greatly trouble me, and stare me in the face. I have read in the life of the famous John Huss, how he was greatly troubled, for his using of this game, a little before his death.

VI. My using * of it hath been scandalous and offensive to others. Some godly friends (as I have understood) have been grieved by it; and others (as I have reason to fear) have been hardened by it. Great inconveniences have arisen from the places where, and the persons with whom I have used this game.

VII. My using of it hath occasioned much sin, as passion, strife, idle (if not lying) words, in myself or my antagonist, or both. It hath caused the neglect of many duties both to God and man.

VIII. My using of it doth evince, I have little self-denial in me. If I cannot deny myself in a foolish game, how can I think I either do or shall deny myself in greater matters? How shall I forsake all for Christ, when I cannot forsake a recreation for him?

IX. My using it is altogether needless and unnecessary to me. As it hinders my soul's health, so it doth not further my bodily health. Such is my constitution (being corpulent and phlegmatick) that, if I need any exercise, it is that, which is stirring and labouring. I can-

* Being a minister of the gospel, and charged with the care of souls.

not propound any end to myself in the use of it, but the pleasing of my flesh.

X. My using of it hath occasioned (at times) some little expence of money. This is the least, and therefore I mention it last. I should think much to give that to relieve others wants, that I have wasted this way at several times upon my own wantonness.

I conclude with the passage of Mr. Baxter, in his Christian Direction, p. 464. Thus he writes: 'I know not one person of an hundred, or of many hundreds, that needeth any game at all, there are 'such variety of better exercises at hand to recreate them. And it 'is a sin to idle away any time, which we can better improve. I confess, 'my own nature was as much addicted to playfulness as most, and 'my judgment alloweth so much recreation as is needful to my health 'and labour, and no more; but for all that, I find no need of any 'game to recreate me. When my mind wants recreation, I have 'variety of recreating books, and friends, and business to do; that, 'when my body needeth not it, the hardest labour, that I can 'bear, is my best recreation; walking is instead of games and sports, 'as profitable to my body, and more to my mind. If I am alone, 'I may improve that time in meditation; if with others, I may 'improve it in profitable chearful conference. I condemn not all 'sports and games in others, but I find none of them all to be best 'for myself. And when I observe how far the temper and life of 'Christ, and his best servants, was from such recreations, I avoid 'them with the more suspicion. And I see but few but distaste it 'in ministers (even shooting, bowling, and such more healthful games, 'to say nothing of these and such others as fit not the end of recreation) therefore, there is somewhat in it that nature itself hath 'some suspicion of. That student, that needeth chess or cards to 'please his mind, I doubt hath a carnal empty mind; if God, and 'all his books, and all his friends, &c. cannot suffice for this, 'there is some disease in it that should rather be cured than 'pleased. And for the body, it is another kind of exercise that 'profits it.'

THE

CHARACTER OF AN ILL COURT-FAVOURITE:

Representing the mischiefs that flow from Ministers of State, when they are more great than good;

THE ARTS THEY USE TO SEDUCE THEIR MASTERS, AND THE UNHAPPINESS OF PRINCES,

THAT ARE CURSED WITH SUCH DESTRUCTIVE SERVANTS.

Translated out of French.

Quarto, containing twenty-two pages. London, printed in the reign of King Charles the Second.

HE that stands by, and observes the simple addresses and sedulous applications of courtiers; how greedily men, reputed to be wise, sell their liberties, and sacrifice their time; with what patience they undergo attendance, more grievous than the toil of Algier galley-slaves, or popish pilgrims, will be ready to imagine, that it must needs be some wonderous mystery, which deserves such superstition; nor can expect less than the philosopher's stone, where he sees so many furnaces set on work, and so rare alchymists engaged.

If he cast but a superficial eye on the lofty flights of the favourites of princes, how, in effect, they manage all the reins of the commonwealth, though their masters sit in the saddle; how they give laws to the people, by recommending judges; nay, bias religion itself, by bestowing ecclesiastical dignities, and the fattest benefices, and make the bravest swordmen kiss their feet, since they can neither get, nor hold any command of honour and profit, but through their good graces.

He, I say, that remarks all this, and also how their seeming virtues, and, perhaps, but imaginary abilities, are magnified and multiplied, and even their errors, with veneration, concealed, extenuated, or justified; with what ease they trample upon their adversaries, and prefer their dependants, how can he refrain from drawing at so tempting a lottery, or escape those delicious charms, which would almost delude a Stoick to mistake such a fortune for his *summum bonum?*

But, alas, these are only outsides, to amuse the ignorant; these stately escutcheons serve but to hide a dead corpse, and these excellent odours to perfume a sepulchre: the factions wherewith every court and state is perpetually pregnant; the envy and emulation, which, though not so loud, is yet, perhaps, fiercer than open war; the spies which (like eunuchs in Turky) are there set upon all men's actions, and the

slippery paths on which they walk; the keen and pestilent slanders against which innocency itself is scarce armour of proof. These, and a thousand other inconveniencies, are not presently discovered; and, indeed, it is, perhaps, fit they should be concealed, lest, otherwise, men of sense and integrity avoid courts as persons in debt do prisons, and dread greatness like infection.

Which would yet be more apprehended, if they could have either the prudence or leisure to reflect, how many persons, that, in a private station, were honest, just, and resolute patriots, when once preferred to the misfortune of being great, have abandoned all thoughts of the publick weal: their integrity retired to give place to their fortune, too rank preferment stifled their honesty, and thenceforward they aimed only to advance their own narrow interest, and blow short-lived sparks, to warm their private fingers, out of the publick ashes of their ruined country.

Their innocency lasts scarce so long at court, as the first man's did in the terrestrial paradise. Though they were not wicked before, yet they believe they ought to become so; and, therefore, as the foolish wise man of old flung all his goods into the sea, that he might more freely philosophise: they resolve to rid themselves of their consciences, that, with less incumbrance, they may manage the affairs of state. They conceit pride necessary to support their dignity, and that, should they not swell, and look big, their condition would be nothing changed; that civility would reduce them to that equality, whence they had forced themselves with so much trouble; to avoid contempt, not being able to render themselves respected, they study to make themselves feared. They esteem, that there is no way left to blot out the memory of their former quality, but by the present objects of their tyranny; and, that they shall not hinder the people from laughing at their infirmities, but by employing them to weep for their own miseries, and complain of their cruelties.

One would think it bedlam-folly, that men, not unacquainted with history, and sufficiently warned by experiences of their own times, should adventure on the very same precipices, on which all, that went before, broke their necks; but, we must remember, that ambition is as blind as love: they (like the famous fond philosopher) are gazing at stars, till they tumble into the ditch: their eyes are always fixed on the glittering vanities above, suggested by a deluded imagination, so they never look down on the wrecks and shattered fortunes, and dismembered bodies and forfeited heads, and infamous memories of their predecessors. For few have the wisdom to foresee, how hard it is, in greatness, to pursue honest and safe maxims, what resolution is required for the potent to be innocent, what sordid interests they are forced to espouse, and by what insensible degrees they are brought at last to swallow those actions and compliances without reluctancy, which, at first, they looked upon with detestation: what, long since, was observed of Sejanus, holds true of many latter tympanies of grandeur, that their favour is not to be purchased without some notable crime: you must part with your honour, nay, your soul, if you expect promotion from such spirits. If this were sufficiently weighed, we may justly presume, such, as have a strict regard to honesty, would not precipitate themselves into publick

affairs, and stand gaping, like greedy camelions, to be puffed up with the tainted air of haughty and luxurious courts, where interest can scarcely be preserved (unless by miracle) without a shipwreck of conscience.

But (to make our approaches a little nearer) if it be so ticklish a thing for even a good man to abide long in honour, without becoming like the beast that perisheth, and acting dishonourable things, what then shall we say of those portentous meteors, that sometimes blaze in that superior orb, noxious exhalations drawn up by the wanton beams of favour, from the slime and filth of the world, and which presage more calamities, than a comet, to those nations in which they appear? insolent giants! that combate, with displayed colours, the authority of the fundamental laws, and all methods of justice, who, in the government of a state, produce a design formed for its ruin, who grow fat and burley from the juice and substance of exhausted provinces, who build their own houses with the wreck and dissipation of a whole kingdom. Princes and great men would be happy, if, without dying by proxy, they could live in person; they are born oftentimes with excellent qualities, and are calm seas, filled with riches and power, that might do good to all the world, if the winds would but let them flow gently, according to their own nature.

But, as extraordinary beauties are courted by variety of lovers, so such exalted conditions rarely want a swarm of flatterers, meer insects, bred out of putrefaction, by the warmth of royal sunshine, that, under the umbrage of adorers, make themselves masters, and, by a colour of service, exercise an empire, even over those that think they command the universe; whose sacred names, in such a case, become but a passport to mischiefs; their authority, a sanctuary of crimes; their revenues, but tinder to debauchery, and supplies for riot; their power, an instrument of revenge, and a scourge and plague to those very people whom it ought to cherish and protect.

What shall we say of these insufferable grandees, who wreck their private spleens, with the hands and arms of their master? Who declare all those guilty of high treason, who do not fall prostrate before them? Who, by fatal wars, and dishonourable treaties of peace, by abandoning the true interest of their country, and playing the mountebanks with the body politick, till they cast it at once into a fever and consumption, endeavour all they can to bring the people into despair, and would gladly reduce the honester sort of men to so miserable a condition, as to be unable to save themselves, but in a revolt; that so they may palliate their own villanies, by others forced disobedience, and trip off with the spoils of a nation, in a general combustion of their own kindling?

Observe them in ancient history (for meddle not with our times) they first ruin the people, and then, if not themselves, their masters, and many times bring destruction on all three. Their courses are all violent and domineering, they own no laws but will and pleasure, their pace is always full speed, they whip and slash like masters of a bride-well, rather than persons intrusted with the governance of free-men. All to them is plunder, all is prey: they cannot feed but on dead bodies; they first rifle the ship they sail in, and then wilfully strand her, to conceal

their own robberies. Though they came only out of the dirt, and, to speak truly, are of kin to no body, yet they believe themselves the heirs of all the world; there is no officer of the crown, no governor of a place, whose succession they do not pretend unto; they think they are not in safety, so long as there is any man in credit or authority, that is not a creature of their own raising.

Such people commonly introduce themselves by low means, and, for the most part, such as are dishonest and vile; they not seldom owe the commencement of their fortune to a well danced saraband, to agility of body, to the beauty of their face, or the interest of a strumpet: they make themselves valued by shameful secret services, whose payment is not publickly to be demanded. In a word, though wise antiquity allowed no entrance into the temple of honour, but through that of virtue, yet these croud themselves into credit, by the recommendation of vice; their crimes, which truly deserve the halter and the ax, are the sole rondels, whereby they mount the ladder of towering preferment.

Nor is their progress unsuitable to their rise; their design being only to make complaisant propositions, they enquire not whether they profit or incommode; if they do but please, it is enough. They insinuate themselves into their master's favour, by the intelligence they endeavour to keep with his passions. And, having once possessed themselves of his mind, they seize on all the avenues, and leave not so much as an entrance for his great or privy council, nay, scarce for his confessor: how weak and tender soever his inclinations may be to evil, they water and cultivate them with so much art and diligence, that presently there springs up a great tree, from a little seed, and a violent and opinionated habit, from a light disposition.

These are the Petroniusses, and the Tigillinusses about Nero; these are the advocates of voluptuousness, the pest of a realm, and the evil genii of kings.

It is incredible to think how many charms they use, without employing those of magick (of which yet the people forbear not to accuse them). How ingenious are they to invent new pleasures, to a sated and disgusted soul, and with what pungent sharpnesses do they awaken the sleeping lusts, which languish and can no more?

Yet do they not, at the first onset, become absolute conquerors, but for a time dispute with virtue, which shall gain the ascendent in the court of a prince of eighteen; sometimes she gets the better, sometimes is repulsed, so that, for a short season, there is a divided or alternate empire over his affections; a kind of twilight between good and ill, just government and tyranny, party per pale. Projects brave and good are resolved upon, but, before they can come to execution, the humour is altered; good counsels are given, but, before they take impression on his mind, a debauch is contrived, which dashes them out of his memory, and they are thought of no more. Honest Burrhus is hearkened to perhaps, but these court-earwigs will take care he never shall be believed.

However, thus far, they are like Seneca's balance, and things are not yet grown desperate, but, at last, they carry away all before them. The Epicure destroys as much in three days, as the Stoick built in five years. Having undermined or stormed the fortress, they by piecemeals dismantle it, and undo the whole frame: they assault their masters good parts

one after another, from petty sallies of humour, and sociable revels, and a refreshing glass, and blushing gallantries, they lead him on step by step, to the utmost degrees of debauchery, adulteries, perjury, cruelty, and tyranny.

At first they content themselves to breathe in his ears, that it is not necessary for a prince to be so precisely religious, so strictly just, so nicely temperate, or so very much an honest man. That it is sufficient, if he is not wicked; that wine and women were designed to sweeten the toils of empire, and the fair created on purpose for the diversion of the great. That he would put himself to too much trouble, to make himself beloved, that he only ought to prevent his being hated: or, if that cannot be, to render himself feared will do as well. That solid and perpetual probity is too heavy and too difficult, since its umbrage and counterfeit hath no less splendor than the original, and produceth the same effects; that a virtuous action or two, kind and popular (which is no great matter of cost) being fitly performed, may serve to entertain his reputation; nor will they leave him in so fair a way; after having made him esteem good, as an indifferent thing, they make him approve ill as reasonable, and afford vice the colour of virtue, and represent those things, which are the shame of all the rest of mankind, as peculiar ornaments of majesty.

To authorise his worst actions, great examples shall not be wanting. They tell him, it is not in Turky, and amongst Barbarians, that he is to look for precedents, that all things are lawful to the powerful, or, at least, any thing may be made appear to be so, to the simple. God's own people, the Holy Nation (say they) sir, will furnish you with instances, more than enough. The very king, that built the temple, was also the founder of a seraglio, and we, at this day, see, at Constantinople, but a copy of what was formerly to be seen at Jerusalem; you content yourself, even in the heat of full veins and vigour of youth, with half a score, or forty or fifty women only, whereas he that was the wisest prince, the earth could boast of, even the superlative Solomon, in his old age, had six hundred, which the Holy Scripture implies to be legitimate wives, without reckoning those, which were his concubines; and, have you not heard of the last will of his father David, and of those gallant things he commanded by his testament? We shall not exaggerate them, only beseech you to consider, by how many deaths he counselled his son to secure his own life.

Nay, sir, since the law of grace, and amongst Christian princes, you cannot find more sweetness; you are nice, perhaps, to abandon a child, or stagger to expose a son, that never disobliged you. But (to omit the practice of Mahometans, and the modern example of the most catholick king, in the unfortunate Don Carlos) the great Constantine, that most holy, most religious, and most divine emperor (as he hath been called by the mouth of councils) did much more than this, for he caused his own son to be put to death, upon the first suspicion, which was falsly suggested to him. It is true, he regretted his execution, and acknowledged his innocency, but this acknowledgment came too late, and his regret lasted but four and twenty hours; he thought himself quit, by causing a statue to be erected in memory of the de-

ceased, with this inscription, 'To my son Crispus, whom I caused to die unjustly.'

Do you reserve your absolute authority? Will you always stand upon justice and title, and vain punctilio's of equity? Dare you not use force, when the good of your affairs requires it? The example of the mighty Charlemaign, who is one of the saints of the church, as well as one of the nine worthies, may secure you against all the scruples, your conscience can make; he knew neither a better, nor greater right, than that of arms; the pommel of his sword served him for his seal and signet. To this day, there are privileges found granted, and donations of lands made, by that good and orthodox emperor, Rowland and Oliver being present, sealed with the pommel, and, which he swore, he would warrant with the edge of the same sword.

Would you rule absolutely? At your pleasure levy taxes, and dispose of both the goods and lives of your subjects? You shall therein do nothing new or extraordinary, all the mighty monarchs of the east have done it these many hundred years. And the most Christian king practises it, at this day. Discover not so much weakness, as to regard the sighs and groans of your people, who are but animated dirt, prattling beasts, creatures designed to be slaves, as well by nature as fortune; what else were they born for, what else are they good for, but to be instruments of your pleasures, and sacrifices to your glory? The only way, to preserve your authority, is to curb the vermin; and keep them miserable; do they winch under your rods, then scourge them with scorpions. Are they not your vassals? Why then do they complain? Shall slaves be allowed to murmur and capitulate? If their tears grow troublesome, wash them away with their blood.

There have been favourites mentioned in histories, that have instructed princes, in these, and the like pernicious lessons, and being at last tired out with defending crimes, with precedents, to excuse some new unparalleled extravagance, they freely have told their prince, that, when there was no example to be found, he might make one. That what had formerly been unheard of would, being done, cease to be so: that it would be shameful for the sovereign authority, to give an account of any thing it commands, and misbecome him, who hath armies and fleets to maintain his actions, to seek words or pretences, either to disguise or justify them.

There is not a man (this is the language of the Sejanusses, and the Plautusses) innocent in all the parts of his life, and who in his soul envies not his superiors, and whom they envy, they hate. Therefore the prince cannot but condemn the guilty, nor strike any, but his enemies; consequently he gratifies him, whom he bereaves only of his goods, in that he takes not away his honour, and leaves him his life. Honesty and justice are virtues proper for merchants and lawyers, not for sovereigns; that to be slaves to their words is to depose themselves, and abandon their prerogatives; that even in heaven (if there be any such place above a lady's lap) the oaths of princes are put in the same scales with those of lovers. That Jupiter commands them to be thrown into the wind, as things of no obligation, and never to be regarded farther than present interest requires.

Thus, in a way of fooling and telling of fables, they persuade the prince, that he is not obliged by his promises, nor ought to hearken to the fancies of preachers or dotages of legislators, but stands exempted, by his quality, from all laws divine and human, nor is obliged by ties of justice or prudence: and that it belongs to him, *jure divino*, to define unto men what is good or ill, to declare unto the world, what, for the future, he will have to be just or unjust, as well in morality, as policy.

Thus are tyrants made, from this stock monsters are ingendered; from such commencements, we are to set Rome on fire, to butcher the senate, to dishonour nature with debauches, and declare war against it by parricides. These wheedling whisperers are the first causes of so many miseries, and, did not these winds blow, we should be sensible of none of these tempests and hurricanes, able to discompose the harmony of the best settled governments in the world.

Wherefore, since, in the whole bulk of sublunary beings, there is no good of so great use, and which so universally communicates itself as a good prince, nor any ill, which disperseth itself farther, or is more pernicious than a bad one: can there be any punishments great enough, in all the extent of human justice, for those who change this good into ill; who corrupt so salutiferous and so excellent a thing? They had far better have poisoned all the wells, and all the fountains in their countries; nay, should they infect the rivers themselves, water might be gotten from elsewhere, even heaven would still furnish us with some refreshing drops: but here of necessity we must either choak, or drink poison; against these domestick ills, we are not permitted to use foreign remedies; we are obliged to continue miserable by the laws of our religion, and to obey furies and madmen, not only out of fear, but for conscience sake.

For which cause, since the persons of princes, whatsoever they be, ought to be inviolable and sacred, and that the characters of God's finger makes an impression, which we are to reverence, on what matter soever it be engraven, no wonder if subjects turn all their hatred against these flatterers, which cast them into these miseries without redemption. If they pursue, with all manner of execrations, these evil counsellors which give them ill princes, which provoke innocents to murther, and good natures to barbarous cruelties; it is their pernicious advice, which occasions all fatal resolutions. Their maxims of fire and blood assure and fortify malice, when it is as yet timorous and doubtful; they sharpen what cuts, they precipitate what is falling, they encourage the violent to run after the prey, they inflame the desires of the avaricious to invade their people's goods, and those of the lascivious to debauch their daughters, and ravish their wives.

But, if they meet with natures, which are not susceptible of those strong passions, and which, by their complexions, are, in an equal degree, distant from vice and virtue; if they light on those soft princes, who are without sting or spirit, and have small inclinations to great and mighty evils, but rather propense to ease and effeminate delights, such as divide time, between the cup and the bed, and are more intent at the theatre than the council-chamber: it is still so much the worse for

those people, who live under them, for abusing the simplicity of their pliant master, and taking the advantage which their spirit hath over his, they reign openly, and their just dominion adds, to the weight of tyranny, the shame that occurs from suffering it from a particular private person and fellow-subject.

You cannot imagine the wiles and artifices, they use to attain hereunto, and totally to subject to themselves the prince. Their method is, to spur him with glory in the establishment of their fortune. They give him to understand through several trunks, that his predecessors, who were nothing more powerful than he, made some far greater creatures of their own; that it is more safe to raise up new people, who have no dependance, and who shall only hold from his majesty, than to use persons of ancient birth, and of known probity, whose affections and party may be already made; that it concerns his honour, not to leave his works imperfect, but to labour for their embellishment, after he has established their solidity. That he ought to put them in a condition, that they may not be ruined, but by themselves. That, if he yields to the desires of his ancient nobility, who will endure no companions; or if he consents to the complaints and petitions of his people, who are ever enemies to all growing greatness, he will not for the future have the power to reward a servant, or to gratify those that oblige him: but must live a precarious king, a meer duke of Venice, a shadow of royalty, and be forced to call an assembly of the states, to dispose of the least office in the kingdom. Besides, they represent, that he cannot abandon a person, who hath been so dear unto him, without condemning the conduct of many years, and rendering a publick testimony either of past blindness, or present fickleness. Nor wants this argument its force, for it is certain, that, having begun to love any object, for the love of itself, time presently adds our own interest, to the merit of the thing; the desire that we have, that all the world should believe, that our election was good, makes the action of necessity, which before was voluntary; so that what hath been done against reason, being not to be justified, but by an headstrong perseverance, we never think that we have done enough, and upon this fond conceit, though never so much reason be offered to discontinue our affection, yet it seems, we are obliged, in point of honour, to defend our judgment.

Now, if these temptations can shake stable minds, and sometimes make wise men fail, we need not be astonished, if they easily overthrow weak princes, who make use only of borrowed reason, and who will yield themselves to be persuaded by a very mean eloquence, so it but suits with their already biassed inclination.

And when once a prince is engaged in the making of this subject (whom as much without merit, as beyond measure, he dotes upon) great, he speaks of him no more, but as his enterprise, and the utmost effort of his prerogative and creative power, and so goes on in a blind zeal, till, without minding it, he even adores what he hath made, like the statuaries of Athens, who, from their own handy-work, chose their gods; his thoughts, which should be employed for glory, and the publick good of his realm, and have no other object, but the safety and wel-

fare of his people, are all at an end in this pitiful design, in blowing up a gaudy bubble of honour, as vain and trivial, and yet no less gay, than that which children raise with a quill from water and soap. He opens to him all his coffers, and pours out treasures on him, as much in despight of others, as to benefit him; and, at last, when he hath conferred on him all the offices of the kingdom, and all the ornaments of his crown, and has nothing left to give him but his own person, he surrenders that too with so absolute and so total a resignation, that, in the very monasteries, there is not an example of a will more subjected, and more perfectly renouncing itself.

Henceforward he appears at council, but when his presence is necessary to authorise some extravagant pre-resolved design, in the debate of which he never bore a part, and is content to shew himself for no other purpose, but to justify what those, that advised him to it, are both afraid, and ashamed to own. He is amused with petty divertisements, unworthy of his condition, and of his age: they take from about him all that dare speak truth; they ruin, under several pretences, all that is eminent and virtuous in the state; and he imagines, because they tell him so, that all this is absolutely necessary for his service, and the support of his government. Thus Seneca must be butchered, before Nero could turn perfect monster, and Boetius banished by Theodoricus, at the persuasion of his three fatal favourites, because that good and wise statesman was an obstacle to their lewd designs.

To ruin honest patriots, that would stop the unhappy torrent, slanders are raised, and calumnies advanced, and false informations encouraged; they are seized on general rumours, without specifying their crime, and condemned unheard, as enemies to religion, and the state. Those that are rich and peaceable, are entrapped by informers, and penal edicts let loose upon them. Those whose past services and undoubted loyalty maintain them in repute, and whose fidelity is without reproach, are employed in chargeable, or put upon hazardous attempts, and ungrateful offices, either that they may lose their reputation, or themselves. Some are driven away by an absolute command to retire, others honourably banished by an ambassy; and, in the room of all these, the ambitious domineering cabal place persons at their own devotion, who never look farther than their benefactors, and stop at the next cause of their fortune, and therefore study to serve and advance their interests, who raised them, not the prince's, though still they call themselves his servants, and would be thought the greatest zealots for his honour.

Thus may an unfortunate prince come to be at the mercy and discretion of his favourite. He shall not cast a look, but presently a spy renders the other an account, nor utter one word, but what is told him again; so that, in the midst of his own court, and amongst all his guards, he shall be invironed with none but savages, that prey upon him, not having one faithful tongue about him, that dare truly represent his people's sufferings, nor one honest ear, to whom he may tell his own. Besides, he quickly becomes so far engaged, that there is no way to release himself, the other making all the world his real enemies, or

suspected for such, that he may have none but him to trust: and by having long had the possession of affairs, which he communicates with none, he alone understanding all, and knowing the state, he at last becomes a necessary evil, which neither can the prince be cured of, but by a dangerous remedy.

After this manner, in an absolute peace, being at amity with his neighbours, no foreign enemy appearing on the frontiers, without striking a stroke, or having ventured farther than from the palace to the theatre, may a prince insensibly fall into another man's power, which, after the defeat of an army, is the worst thing that could happen. And, to speak home, the battle of Pavia was not so fatal to Francis the First, nor the taking of Rome to Pope Clement the Seventh; for, if their disgrace was great, it was not voluntary; if they lost their liberty, they, in their afflictions, preserved the glory of their courage; and, if they were taken prisoners, it was by a great emperor, who was their enemy, and not by one of their petty subjects. There is no captivity so miserable, so base, nor so infamous, as that of a prince, who suffers himself to be shackled in his cabinet, and by one of his own; he can never exercise a more cowardly patience, nor be more shamefully happy. Suppose a king should eat his people to the very bones, and live in his own state as in an enemy's country, he would not so far estrange himself from the duty of his place, as when he obeys another. There is, it is true, a vast difference betwixt tyranny and royalty, yet the former resembles the latter a great deal more than servitude. It is at least some kind of government, and one way of commanding men, although a very ill one. But, for a sovereign to give up himself as a prey to three or four petty fellows, in the knowledge and conduct of all his affairs, certainly there cannot be a more miserable interregnum, than such a prince's life, during which he doth nothing, and yet doth all those evils which may happen to the people.

In this condition he is civilly dead, and hath, as it were, deposed himself. It is only his effigies, which is used in publick, which, out of custom, and for a show, hath some homages paid, and useless congees made to it. But, in effect, royalty is forsaken, and favour only courted, and a civil idolatry committed: for, as some superstitious bigots say ten *Ave Maria's* to one *Pater Noster*, and call an hundred times oftener upon St. Francis, than on our Saviour, so, in this case, where one addresses himself to the king, forty suitors apply themselves to the favourite; for, indeed, to go to the prince, without his mediation, would be a certain course to spoil your business, though never so just in itself, or advantageous to the publick.

What a brave thing it was in former times, to see a king of Castile, who durst not walk abroad, nor put on a new suit, without the permission of Alvares de Luna; all favours, which others demanded of his majesty, he himself was obliged to obtain from him. The most he could do was, to recommend their petitions to his favourite, and to do good offices with him, for those whom he loved. How preposterous would it be, to see such a courtier as he was, who revoked the elections of his prince, turned those out of their places, to whom his master had

granted them, nay, proceeded to that height of insolence, that he took it very ill, that his master should, once in his life, offer to read a paper, which he presented him to sign, and complained, that this was to upbraid his fidelity, and forget his past services.

But there are she-favourites, as well as bearded ones; and, tho' this be the weaker sex, yet both their passions and enchantments are the stronger of the two. Hercules and Achilles, were not the only heroes that truckled to the distaff: love has often governed the politicks, and the fortune of a whole kingdom become the pastime of a debauched woman: for it is too true, that such persons have strangely derided the authority of the laws, and the majesty of empire; more than once they have trampled under foot crowns and scepters; they have taken pleasure, and sported themselves with the violation of justice, and gloried, in their cruel pride, in afflicting, and rendering human kind miserable.

It is not long since there appeared one of those heroina's, who was risen to so high a degree of insolency, that, having been solicited about a certain affair which had been represented unto her, as just and facile to be done, that she might the more willingly employ herself therein, she answered, with a fierceness, worthy of her sex and profession, 'That she used not her credit so lavishly; that another might serve, on so slight an occasion, to do just and possible things; for her part, she accustomed herself only to undertake those things which were unjust and impossible.'

How many mischiefs do you think follow such an one, how many violences are committed under the shadow of these fatal overgrown meddlers? Such a puffed up succuba hath not a groom or a lackey, who believes it not to be his right and privilege to abuse, at his pleasure, any other subject, and, by alledging only that he belongs to such a great minister, commits all outrages with impunity, affronts justice, and dares tell to your teeth, after he has cheated and abused you never so grievously, that you are obliged, and ought to thank him for his civility, that he did not murder you.

All this while, you will say, what is this to the prince? And yet, with all deference be it spoken, he cannot be said to be wholly innocent of the miscarriages. His ignorance is not unblameable, his patience herein is not virtue, and the disorders which either he knows not of, or which he suffers, are imputed to him before God, even as if himself had done them; and therefore that prince, who was according to God's own heart, in express terms desires him, and that in the fervency of his most ardent prayers, that he would cleanse himself from his secret faults, and acquit him from the sins of others; which last word intimates, that kings ought not to content themselves with a personal innocency; that it is not enough for them to be just, if they lose themselves, and destroy their people by the injustice of their ministers, which becomes their own, because they tolerate it, and countenance it, by conniving, and not punishing it with severity. *Qui non prohibet, quum potest, jubet.*

Not to multiply examples: can King Ahasuerus be justified, who, in a moment, abandoned, to the vengeance of a pernicious Haman, so many thousand innocent lives, and those too of the select people of God, without enquiring into their crimes, or making any reflexion on what he

granted? He had, doubtless, no bloody design, nor any imagination, whither that inhuman commission, he so readily delivered with his royal signet, would tend; and his ordinary idleness, or over conceit of the justice and prudence of his favourite, suffered him not to take any farther cognisance of it, which rendered him doubly culpable, to permit so many murders, and yet be ignorant of it. For so, no less wittily, than judiciously, Seneca brings in Claudius in the other world, and some men reproaching him with abundance of murders, done under his name, who pleaded not guilty, and protested he did not so much as know what they meant, nor ever heard of those sufferers names before; upon which the ghost of Augustus rose up, and said, 'Thou miscreant, we talk not here of the slaughters thou hast committed, but of those thou hast not known: for it is a more shameful thing to a king to be ignorant of the evil that passes in his kingdom, than to act it.' *Turpius ignorasti, quam occidisti.*

Great events are not always produced by great causes. The strings are hid which move these vast machines of state, that externally appear, and when those springs happen to be truly discovered, we are astonished to see them so small, and so weak, and half ashamed of the high opinion we had before conceived of them. A fit of jealousy, in an amorous intrigue between two particular persons, hath more than once been the cause of a general war. A little reflective joke, uttered in a gay humour, an affront to a page, a whisper, and a nod, a tale told at the king's going to bed, is, in appearance, nothing; and yet this nothing hath been the beginning of tragedies, wherein a sea of blood hath been shed, and an hundred heads made fly. It is but a cloud which passes, a small stain in the corner of the air, which vanishes, rather than abides; and yet it is this light vapour, this almost imperceptible cloud, which raiseth the most fatal tempests, which shake almost the foundations of the earth. The people, whenever war is proclaimed, think it their sovereign's interest; that it is to revenge some insufferable affronts, or have reparation of vast damages sustained, that it is to prevent an invasion, or secure their tranquillity; to increase traffick, or force by arms the necessary conveniences of peace: when, in truth, perhaps all this bustle and hazard, this blood and treasure consumed, proceeds only from the capricio's of two or three pensionary courtiers, that are content to hazard the ruin of their own master and country, to advance the designs of some powerful neighbour, that underhand feeds them with gold; or from some other unthought of whim, if not altogether so base, more ridiculous.

I doubt not but the mighty Xerxes made most specious pretences to justify his arms, when he made his inroad upon Greece, and his manifesto's told wonders of his intentions; he received (I'll warrant you) injuries, which he was bound to chastise, and had a right which he was obliged to assert; so that he could not, without diminution to his glory, refrain the expedition; for he forgot not to tell them, that he laboured the repose of the world, and to unite Europe and Asia; that he, the mighty monarch of the east, came to chastise the petty tyrants, and that he came purely out of compassion to the people, and offered them a rich glorious liberty, instead of a poor and shameful servitude. There

is no doubt, but he falsified his design several ways, and perhaps swore, that it was immediately inspired him from the immortal gods, and that the sun himself was the author of this march; yet, notwithstanding all this parade and colour of justice and religion, the bottom of the business was, in truth, only this: A Greek physician, the Queen's domestick, having a mind to review the port of Pyræum, and taste the figs of Athens, put this fancy of war into his mistress's head, and got her to engage her husband in the attempt. So that the king of kings, the puissant redoubtable Xerxes, raised an army of three hundred thousand combatants, levelled the mountains, drank up rivers, and overburthened the sea, &c. only to bring back a mountebank into his own country. Surely the quack might have gone the journey with less expence and a smaller equipage.

The Greek history affords us another notable example in the kingdom of Macedonia. Long before the birth of King Philip, there happened a famous conspiracy, which of one saint made two, and divided the court, the towns and the families, upon the most trivial occasion imaginable; one Meleager, governor of a frontier town, and general of the cavalry, having an handsome wife, and withal so good natured, as seldom suffered any of her lovers to die of despair. The king, hearing of her beauty and gallantry, had a mind to give her a visit in private; but, finding her no such exquisite beauty as fame had represented her to his fancy, he at first sight betrayed his disgust, and presently went away in a huff; which affront our stately dame, who had no ill opinion of her own merit, resented so briskly, that from that very hour she vowed revenge: and not being able to effect it better than by corrupting her husband's fidelity, and debauching him from the service of his master, she employed all her charms to that purpose; till at last, by the continual croakings of this night raven, the poor man had lost his reason, and forgot his duty, and, by this bosom cockatrice, became so impoisoned, that he quitted the service of his king, and imbarked himself in the party of a tyrant, without knowing truly what motion drove him, nor what passion he revenged; he acted a part he understood not, and was but his wife's soldier, when he thought he was the head of the revolt.

It is undoubtedly a truth, that kings cannot reign without ministers, and scarce less certain, that they cannot live without favourites. The wisest princes in the world, the Augustusses, and the Antonines, the Constantines, and the Theodosiusses, if they should revive, would once again, as well as formerly, give testimonies of human affection, and might with reason love one man *(cæteris paribus)* rather than another; for virtue is not so austere and savage, as to destroy nature, nor do the politicks oblige a prince to divest himself of humanity; his motions need only be just and well regulated: let him shew his bounty and his kindness to particular persons, let him enjoy his diversions, his complaisances, and his friendships too, but still it were to be wished he would observe a proportion and measure in the distribution of his favours. Let not Nero make his horse a consul, nor every fiddler a minister of state; let not a mighty monarch debauch nobility (the screen of majesty) by conferring honours on the sons of earth, and little people as void of quality as

merit; let him not encourage villainy by preferments, the proper dowry of virtue; nor impoverish the publick, to make one man unmeasurably rich. Let there be a man (the dictates both of religion and reason allow it) who is the prince's confident, and on whom he may, like the sun, more peculiarly dart down his beams; but let there not be any who day and night besiegeth the king, who by a violent usurpation (the most abhorrable monopoly in nature) appropriates him to himself; for he who impales a good, which ought to belong to the publick, attempts the same injustice as if he hid the sun from all the world.

There is nothing that recommends a prince's judgment, or that is of more importance to his safety, than a discreet choice of his ministers. A man cannot conduct a boat, nor guide a chariot, nor manage an horse, without making use of address and method; and shall those who are to direct mankind, jump into the employ without any preparatory discipline? We come to the knowledge of affairs, and the dexterity of ordering them, by experience and reason. A place does not presently make a man wiser than he was before; nor are we to expect revelations, nor think heaven obliged to endow a prince's ministers with the spirit of well governing, and render his precipitate election valid and successful by a sudden illumination. Courtiers are the matter, and the prince is the artist, who can easily render this matter fairer, but not better than it is; he can add to it colours and shape on the outside, but cannot give it any interior goodness. He can bestow the office and the title, but he cannot confer qualifications: the knowledge of things past, the penetration into things to come: that light which disembroils the intrigues of the court, the science of making war, and the dexterity of treating peace. In a word, he may make an idol, but he can neither make a spirit of it, nor an able man.

Yet even in Christendom such idols are to be seen; there have been always unworthy persons happy; monkies caressed in kings cabinets, and apparelled in cloth of gold; there often happens an authority which is blind and dumb, which neither knows nor understands, which appears only and dazzles, pure refined authority you may call it, for it has not any mixture of virtue or reason. There are grandees, who are only remarkable by their greatness, and their greatness is all without them; they resemble certain fruitless mountains in some parts of the world, which produce neither herb nor plant; they seem to touch heaven with their stately tops, yet serve the earth for no use, and therefore their sterility makes their height accursed.

Princes therefore should make a strict inquiry into the abilities and virtues of those they employ; they should not suffer themselves to be led by occasion, but take for their instruments such as are able, not such as stand next, or first offer themselves; wherein too, they should regard not only a general sufficiency, but a particular fitness for discharging those charges in which they place them; they must not think an expert soldier, that hath signalised himself in divers battles, is therefore qualified to be sent on an ambassy; nor make an old prodigal lord treasurer, and submit the exchequer to his dispose, because, having in his youth profused away all his own estate, he now speaks admirably well of frugality.

Nor should a prince presently thrust into his council all those whose

conversation is grateful to him. We ought to make a difference betwixt persons who delight us, and those who are profitable to us; betwixt the recreations of the mind, and the necessities of the state; and, if a sovereign take not special care in this examen, he will commit irremediable errors, and such whereby he may render not only his own reign miserable, but also his memory accursed and reproached in ages to come. He therefore ought not to follow his own private affections or inclinations, but abandon all capricio's and fancies in this matter. Let him in other things sport and divert himself as he pleaseth, but, in a choice of so high concernment, he must use the severity of his judgment, and at first bring with him an indifferency of will; it ought to be a pure operation of reason, freed and dispoiled of love or hate.

For the mischiefs, arising from ill ministers, are no less fatal, than various; part of which we have already recounted, and to sum them up all is almost as difficult, as to prevent them. If they are ignorant, they ruin the state, their master, and themselves, by their weakness; if they are false and treacherous, they set the publick to sale, and betray its interest for money. If they are men of ill principles, they blow up their prince to vanity by flatteries, and banish truth from the palace. They put him upon extravagant designs, or endeavour to drown him in voluptuousness; they exhaust the royal treasury by their profuseness, and strip poor people to the very skin, to feed their insatiable avarice; they rob the prince of his noblest and most stable throne, the hearts of his subjects, by creating fears and mutual jealousies between them; and whilst, in vain pretences and endeavours, no less impracticable, than unjust, they would seem to make him more absolute than his forefathers, they render him less considerable at home, and consequently less revered abroad, than any of his ancestors; they manage affairs according to private fancies and hate publick councils; having committed extravagances that render them liable to justice, the rest of their life is spent, not to serve their master, but to save their own necks; so that in all their following councils they consult not his advantage, but their own defence, and make his interests stoop to their conveniences; what care they how much the people be provoked? They had rather their country should be involved in all the miseries and desolations of a civil war, or be made a prey to a foreign invader, than they themselves brought to an account before an impartial tribunal; since, in the first case, they hope to shift amongst the croud; but, in the second, can expect nothing but certain ruin, for their conscious fears presage what will happen; they know well enough the ills they have done must be defended with greater, and, if the law live, they must die. Wherefore, these being their courses, and that the plague causes not so great a desolation, as one of these accursed favourites, it might be wished, that this prayer might be added to all the publick litanies of Christians, 'Lord turn away from all states an evil, which is the cause of so many other evils: deny not sovereign princes the spirit of conduct, which is fit for them to govern by: give them understanding enough to counsel themselves well, and to chuse their counsellors as they ought.'

To conclude, as the first advances of ill court-favourites are commonly base and shameful, their progress vile, wicked, and destructive,

their short continuances attended with hazards and anxieties, so their eclipses are ever more fatal, and their falls desperate; they are generally surprised with ruin, and their defeat is like that of forlorn troops, cut in pieces before they can rally, or be reinforced. Private men oftentimes fall upon their legs, and find friends to relieve, at least to commiserate them, and bankrupt merchants are daily seen to rise again like phœnixes out of their own dust; but with courtiers and statesmen there are no degrees of misfortune; those ladders they clambered up with so much sweat, address, and difficulty, upon the smallest misstep, serve but to render their precipitation more notorious. When they are hurled down from all those bubbled glories, their best comfort is not to survive their destiny; and their greatest misery is, when they outlive themselves, to see their families buried in their ruins, and all the advantages of their honour and fortune turned against them, like an army dissipated with the fury of its own cannon. Then, too late, they find themselves forsaken of all those alliances, which they had with so much subtlety contracted, vainly imagining to have laid a foundation of everlasting greatness: their cobweb policies are unravelled in a moment, for no sooner do they begin to decline, but their most obliged creatures shun them most, and, like Haman's wife, are the first harbingers of their ruin. Those that were raised by their countenance, not daring to own any love or honour to their persons, lest they should be involved in their ruin, by being at least suspected, as concerned in their crimes; their own servants conclude it but justice, as well as prudence, to expose their faults; their enemies triumph over them, and even their friends think it charity enough to afford them an insulting pity, and the people, who with reason universally hated, but feared them before, are now privileged to curse them; nay, the prince himself, in whose service perhaps they wounded their consciences, and for whose pleasures they bleed, uses them but as the skreen of envy, and hoping with their ruin to gratify many, and please all, gives them up, when he cannot in prudence longer support them, as a propitiatory sacrifice to the enraged multitude, and becomes as inexhorable to their petitions, as they had been formerly to the more just requests of others in distress.

In fine, having long since forfeited their innocency (the sweet retreat of oppressed virtue) they at last find no sanctuary sufficient to protect them, but are precipitated out of the world, loaded with guilt and shame, and the ruins of nations, and the destruction of their masters, and the execrations of all mankind.

THE LAST SPEECH AND DYING WORDS

OF

THOMAS (LORD, ALIAS COLONEL) PRIDE;*

BEING TOUCHED IN CONSCIENCE

FOR HIS INHUMAN MURDER OF THE BEARS IN THE BEAR-GARDEN,

WHEN HE WAS HIGH-SHERIFF OF SURREY.

TAKEN IN SHORT-HAND, BY T. S.

LATE CLERK TO HIS LORDSHIP'S BREW-HOUSE.

London, printed for C. W. 1680. Quarto, containing twelve pages.

MY GOOD FRIENDS AND NEIGHBOURS,

YOU are come (I thank you) to see me die, and let me request you to take my last breath; I'll make no set speech; the long-parliament loaded you with those (so many speeches, as, if orderly burnt, would brew two-hundred quarters of malt) and had sat speaking still, if his late highness had not bid me unhouse them. I spake none, neither in the commons, nor in the other house; and yet I must either now speak, or else hereafter for ever hold my peace.

My conscience! it is my conscience speaks; and the first thing that is upon my spirits, is the killing of the bears; for which the people bait me, and call me all the names in the rain-bow. But, did not David kill a bear? Did not the lord-deputy Ireton kill a bear? Did not another lord of ours kill five bears, and five fidlers? May bears be killed in Nottingham, in Leicester, and not in Surrey? You know I was high-sheriff of the county, and, if I might not kill a few bears, why was I made sheriff? I thought it our interest to let nothing live that would fight; and, therefore, we made an act against cock-matches. Others have killed far greater things with less commission. But, perhaps they will say, I struck at the prerogative; for kings and protectors have a privilege, when they find a good mastive-dog, to clap their collar upon him, and use him for the game; and so, if kill the bears, hang the dogs; no bear, no dog. But think you the prerogative would reach to bears? Or that Great-Britain were the isle of dogs? Are we, like St. Mallows, guarded by mastives? The French have ever made us

* Was originally a drayman, or brewer's servant; but by the faction in the great rebellion, being advanced to the degree of a parliament-man, was at last thought a proper instrument to sit as a judge against his majesty K. Charles the First.

their apes, and must we follow their dogs too? If an English mastive get whelps in France, they all prove curs: (I wish our English soldiers there may never turn French.)

Can we forget that horrid accident, when major-general Skippon came in a horse-litter wounded to London? When he passed by the brew-house near St. John's-street, a devilish mastive flew (as at a bear) at one of his horses, and held him so fast by the stones, that the horse grew mad as a mad dog: the soldiers so amazed, that none had the wit to shoot the mastive; but the horse-litter, borne between two horses, tossed the major-general like a dog in a blanket. Thus your dogs use horse and man. And for women, remember how Swash, the abominable mastive, took a dispensation with an elder's maid. Nay, not a sow in the streets, by night, but the watchmen's dogs steal privately to her; which makes your London pigs have such round heads. And when I myself had my first brew-house (which was at Pye-corner) I heard a pig bark, whereby I knew it was a city pig.

Here is a sweet stir with bears and dogs, able to make a wise man mad: For, first, they pretend to preserve their dogs, yet rail at me for shooting the bears that kill those dogs; and then tax me for killing the bears, yet set their dogs to tear the bears in pieces: Yes, and the man, that owned the bears, now sues me for destroying his goods.

But what the devil are bears good for? They brag of a weapon-salve, made, forsooth, of the fat of bears killed in the act of generation (though bears never generate but by night, when none can know it:) My sword hath made some wounds, let them anoint the blade of my sword, and try how many cavaliers it will cure. The devil has a hand or a foot in this salve, if it comes from bears: For you know, the beast with seven heads, and ten horns, had the foot of a bear; whence people say, a bear has the devil's foot. You think I mean the bear at the bridge-foot (for God sends meat, and the devil sends cooks;) I mean, a limb of the devil: And is it a sin to destroy the devil? George was sainted for killing a dragon (saints of old, like honest George, used to kill beasts, but now saints commonly kill men;) the dragon and bear are the pictures of the same; for the devil hath divers sutes to put on: He wears not only the beast (a red dragon, an otter, a bear) but a very man, a woman, in silks, in buff, in a long mourning-cloke, to hide his cloven foot, and too often a saint or angel of new light; yet then so like as one devil to another.

An author of ours said, the beast's ten horns are the kings of Europe; which may be the reason why the members, that voted against the king, were so hot for decimation: Those members were not the major part, but the major-general part. I confess, that author wrote after the king was beheaded, when our liberties stood committed to several keepers: and yet I would know that member's name, that would not be a king: Every creature, above and below, hath a monarch in his belly. The devil would fain have been king of heaven, and Adam scorned not to be king of the earth; and each of his sons would be king of all the rest. And, to speak my conscience, if the state should vouchsafe to name me king, I think I should not question the election; no, though it were, as I hear the Persians once chose a king, by the neighing

of a horse. But he, that hath horse, may soon be a king, and therefore I love to save my horse; but why, with a vengeance, should we save bears, that feed upon horse-flesh? My physician says, that an old fellow, one Pliny, told him, that a piece of bears-flesh will grow bigger by boiling; which shews the devil and his dam is in bears; for all things else will boil away to nothing: Had all my beer had a good sound boiling, I had not died worth a pound of hops. Are these your beasts of game? I profess I hate gaming; there is an act against it, though some of our own play deep as any; and the gamesters made dice of some of their bones that made that act: (O, who can tell how a man is used, when once he comes to be a dry bone!) Something there is, that dice run now more than ever, that so many new curses follow these bones. Perhaps the bears come not within the ring of the act against gaming; yet both dog and bear are within the lists of the act against duels. And, though they are out of the act of oblivion, yet some new justices brought them within the act for marriages. It is confessed they fight, but not for us; they are no part of the militia, and never paid so much as pole-mony. They never, with lions, were admitted into the Tower, nor shewed at Westminster among the fine sights: nor ever reckoned among the crown-jewels. There were propositions for bringing in plate, money, and horse, but not for bears: And yet now, must England turn Greenland? The war has made it Red-land, and funerals make it Black-land, and our ministers make it Blue-land. But, if I never answer for killing any thing but bears, I shall do well enough.

Were I arraigned, it could not be murther, but bear-slaughter: Nay, I killed them in my own defence, for they would have killed me; which was more than can be said, for putting many a thousand to death. O, but they say, I killed them not fairly, but shot them dead in cold blood: And am I the first that did so? Have we not done it over and over? I kill them, as we killed Lucas and Lisle, two as brave men as the king had any. What, would they have me bait them to death? Do I look like a bear-ward? Or should I knock them in the head like an ox? There is a major-general can do that better than I. I remember one, now a great lord, who, speaking against Strafford, said, beasts of prey ought to have no law: Shall we grant that to bears, which we denied to Strafford? A cavalier told me, that this was but a quibble upon the word law; for there is, said he, no law for beasts, but that a man may kill them for his use; and the more sudden, and less pain, the better: And if a hare, or stag, have law, that is, liberty to run, it is not for their, but for our sakes, to prolong our sport in their desruction.

However, that quibble was seasonable then, and did our work upon Strafford and Canterbury; but mark how both sides plead for me! The one says, beasts of prey must have no law; the other says, there is no law for beasts: So both say, it is lawful for me to kill the bears. No matter how, hang them, shoot them, chop off their heads, send them to Jamaica, any way is best. For can there be beasts more malignant than bears? I looked but in my almanack, and there I found two dogs and two bears among the stars; and those, I dare say, are

malignant stars, for, within two lines, the great bear is called Charles-wain.

By this you will imagine malignants are in heaven; but we and they shall scarce meet in one place; for else it were madness in us to kill them, because thereby we send them to be happy. But they, as well as we, would fain live, and would have good estates, as they had before, and as we have now. It is in our power whether they shall live, but not whether we ourselves shall die; for, though our army be as strong to-day as yesterday, yet our own bodies draw near death.

Behold it in me, and remember Naseby, which made us what we are; how the king's best men, when the victory was theirs, took a bottomless fancy of running all away, having done the like at Marston-Moor. I have known six thousand, and no cowards neither, fly all like bedlams, when no enemy was within seventeen miles; and, if they were all examined upon oath, they could not tell why. And they say, that one poor wooden horse at Troy did more than all our army in the Indies. It is certain, no woman is so fickle as an army. I speak not for myself, for it is well known I have done my part; sure I have killed better things than bears, and killed them as men should be killed, either in the field, or in a high-court of justice; the best cavalier among them all, the king himself, judged to the block; my Lord Hewson is my witness, for he sat next to me. Perhaps, they think my Lord Hewson and I not fit to be judges, because of our trades; but let them shew me one text of Scripture, where brewers and shoemakers are forbidden to be judges. I confess, in juries of life and death, we except against a butcher, as blooded in slaying of sheep and calves; but, if he only kill bears and men, he may be either a juror or a judge. I knew a judge did use to mend stockings, I spare his name, because he did a business for me, and it is as lawful to mend shoes as stockings; and, if a judge may be a cobler, a cobler may be a judge.

As for me, it is true, I have borne a sling, which made a knave call me, Sir Thomas Slingsby; but I made the Slingsby's shorter for it by one, and that one shorter by the head; and had done as much for young Mordaunt, but that, having drank white-wine that morning, I stepped forth to the wall, and, before I could return, Mordaunt was quit. Thus the life of man is but a pissing-while. But what if I have borne a sling; did not David so too? The difference is, he laid by his sword and took up a sling, and I laid by my sling, and took up a sword.

Kings, lords, and gentlemen take money for their lands; others sow it, and sell the corn to us; we advance it to good beer and ale, and then sell the drink to those kings, lords, and gentlemen; and thus the cup goes round. They sell for money, and we sell for money; and, if a shilling had a tongue as well as a face, it would say, sir, I am but twelve-pence, whether you meet me in the brew-house or in the exchequer. It is true, there are divers sorts of shillings; some are brass, impudent rogues, who, when discovered, are nailed to a post; some are lead, heavy dull beasts that will not go; others are right metal, but clipped, poor decimated things, that would go and cannot. But brass is brass, and silver is silver, at court and at Pye-corner. I was as warm in my leather-jacket as in my scarlet-cloke.

It is strange, what an eye-sore that cloke was to some, as if the garment itself could sin. Indeed, we had a man that used to hang his cloke in my brew-house, as country folks hang wool over pails of water to make it weight, and so, though not he, yet his cloke was a drunkard. But, cloke and jacket, I was the same man; I never denied, but still kept my trade; and, if others had done so, a hundred thousand lives had been saved. At last I got to be brewer to the navy, and, if each man had drank like the whale of Greenwich, I could have filled them all; for I had three brew-houses, one at London, another at Kingston, and a third at Edinburgh. And why might not I have three brew-houses, as well as assembly-men three benefices? They were my livelihood, as theirs were their livings.

One of those fellows at Margaret's Westminster, who had four preferments given him by the state, would needs teach us now to live by a word. You will ask, said he, what word is that; it is faith; get faith, and I will undertake you may live gentlemanlike; but that rascal brake his own word with me, and died twelve pounds in my debt. I grant, he was the first that told me my sirname came from a King of Rome, called, as I remember, *Turkquinius Suparbus* (there were seven of those kings, but they are long since dead) and thence call me*, one of the seven deadly sins; they may as well call me one of the seven wisemen, or one of the seven planets, or seven wonders of the world. But, if we credit such as he, it is a very hard thing not to be a king. They will prove, if you pay them, that Rhombus and Remus, that founded Rome, were of English extraction; I know not whether we had the same mother, but it is said many of us had the same nurse; but I never cared three-pence for their praise: therefore, I pray ye vex not my corpse with a huge monument, which cannot protect itself, nor me; and many a man's bones had slept in quiet, if his prating tomb had not told where he lay.

And trouble not my ghost with any of their elegies, Latin or English; they make a man but laughed at, and are not worth a handful of grains. I do not mean Mr. George Withers, for he got the statue-office by rhyming; he hath now sold that office, but when will he sell his verses? A statue lies upon them, so as no-body will buy them. It is not a month since one of the state's poets brought me an anagram for me and my wife; but I hear those anagrams should be all fetched into a court of wards; for, although they have not wit enough for lunaticks, they are dull enough for idiots. But now they will all at me: what a heap of paltry quibbles and clinches will they throw upon me? You will hear them cry, Now Pride hath a fall;—now there are but six deadly sins.—O sir, are you there with your bears? They but saw me stand, holding my crabtree-cudgel upright, and they cried, 'Lo, there is the bear and the ragged-staff!' How have they dragged my poor name, and set me back from P. to B. to make me born in Bride's church-porch? It is false, and nonsense, to call me Bride, though my wife was so, when I led her to church. I know they will tell you of my letter to a friend, where, instead of my best beer, I wrote, I have sent my best bear. But all letters and books are false; there is none of them

* Because my name is Pride.

honest, except the Bible. I have an abridgment of an English Chronicle, which drowns the Duke of Clarence in a rundlet of Malmsey; the duke might as soon be drowned in a thimble; but, perhaps, it is a whole tun in the Chronicle, for my book is but a pitome. Hang names and words; Greek and Latin will not make an honest man; and a man may speak truth without true spelling.

I remember, when I dined with the Florida* ambassador at Alderman Nowel's, where we had Florence wines, I told the alderman, that, when that ambassador got home to his country, he would send us more of that Florida wine. They all smiled, but what cared I? It were not two-pence to me, if Florida were in Italy, and Florence in the Indies; they should remember I was a brewer, not a vintner.

But I am posting thither, where there are no quibbles, though I fear (in the weak condition I am now) I myself have been forced upon many; for dying men talk idly, and he, that is sick and talks much, can hardly escape from quibbles and nonsense. And I hope you will pardon my baiting your patience so long with the bears: consider, it was the great action of my life, and the only thing, in the opinion of many, that would lie upon my conscience. I confess, I thought the lease of my life had not been expired; there is breath enough in the world, but I must have no more of it; for death, death, is the grand malignant, and a malignant fever is his lieutenant-general, and (which is worse) the new disease is his major-general; a disease which sweeps through all counties of England. And, though the weekly bills of mortality know not us who die in the country, yet it is my comfort I die here in my own house at Non-such. It was the king's house, and Queen Elisabeth loved this above all her houses; and some say, my wife looks like that queen, though the old Earl of Manchester was said to look like her. That queen might look like whom she pleased, for she by proclamation forbad any to draw her picture; but I would not have my wife like both her and him, and so make her a maphrodite. She hath brought me divers sons, and I leave them good estates; I hope I do, and would gladly leave a good name to keep them company. The very malignants say, my sons are civil persons; but, should I live a thousand years, they would not say so of me. I think it would not trouble them to see me renew acquaintance with my sling. But how many know ye, that, raised like me to power and command, have willingly returned to the place from whence they came?

They talk indeed of a Roman general, who came from the plough, Dick Tator† I think they call him, who, having beat the enemy, went home to the country, rich, and renowned for a very wise man. And they say, if that pitiful pilchard Massanello‡, who had a hundred thousand at his pleasure, had left his command, he had not been rewarded with a musquet-bullet, but had been honoured with a statue of gold. It is true, the Queen of Sweden, though born a king's daughter, resigned her crown, and vows she never lived happy till now: but her successor loves kingdoms better than so, and will only have as many as he can get.

* Ignorantly, instead of Florence. † Ignorantly for the highest title in the Roman republick, Dictator. ‡ The fisherman and rebel in Naples.

He soon swallowed Poland, and as soon disgorged it; and is now in Denmark, holding two forts, with two hard names, which stand like our Gravesend and Tilbury: and, had he strength to take ours too, I think in my conscience, he would make us all Danes. He has many designs, but all my design is only to save my estate and my soul.

Indeed, heretofore I had some little plots, but they did not all take: I thought to make the same horses serve both for my coach and dray, but I found my dray-horses were too high shod, and I might as well have harnessed the bears. And yet I know what belongs to horses; for I was the first that brought horses into Paul's*, and those horses brought saddles; for a saddler hath set up another exchange there.

I was told Epsom water might do me good; but I durst not take it, having used the vicar so very severely, lest the parish-priest should unhallow the well; and, to say truth, from my youth I never used to drink water.

My youth minds me of the late earl of Pembroke; for, when he lay dying, as I do now, I went to visit him; and when they told him Colonel Pride was there, for then I was but colonel, 'Who! who,' said he, 'Pride? Oh, a precious youth!' but what had he to do with my youth? had I such strength and health as in my youth, I would not change with any lord in England. I now die a lord, and, had I lived as long as that earl, I might have been an earl as well as he. And I die the first of all the new lords; whereby you will see, whether our sons succeed us in the peerage.

I would have no barons war, though I fear a world of doubts will be raised about the other house. They will put it to the question, whether our house be within the act against new buildings; and, if within the act, whether as built upon a new foundation, or because it is a cottage? Then, after the foundation, have at the roof; whether it be tyled or thatched; I do not mean by Wat Tyler or Jack Straw, whether it be the upper house, or a garret, where old shoes, old casks, and such lumber is placed? Whether this high-court be a court of war, where none sit but officers? With a hundred such questions, too many for a dying man to remember. And truly, I myself have been much puzzled with the other house; for the commons is one house, and ours is the other; and ours is one house, and the commons is the other. And I would fain know how I should know one house from the other?

If I send my man to my brew-house, he will ask if I mean to London? No, say I, but to my other house; then goes he to Kingston: when he returns, I send him to my other house; then goes he to London: and, when he comes back, I bid him not go to Kingston nor London, but to the other house; and then must he march to Edinburgh.

Thus a man must run through two nations before he can find this other house: for this is the other, and that is the other, and all are the

* Church, turned into a stable by Colonel Pride, &c.

other house; though sure our house of peers is such, as there cannot be such another house.

I hope it is no offence in me, to compare the house of lords to a brew-house; for I am * of both houses: I know how men are at work in both, and what great heats are often in both, and how, in both, they all work for one man, yet every man for himself; with twenty more things, wherein the two houses† agree.

The difference is, that we took the engagement against a house of lords, but not against a brew-house; but that was meant of the old house of peers, not the new; and a new house is worth two old ones; for the state hath a whole year's rent of a new house‡, if it stand within ten miles of London.

But, alas! (my good friends) I am now going to the lower house ‖ whither we all must go sooner or later; and the best and greatest lord of us all, had rather go to the other house, than to the other world; for no brew-house is there, but a great oven that will never be cold. Therefore take heed; for, as we brew, so must we bake.

ARTICLES OF HIGH-TREASON,

AND OTHER HIGH CRIMES AND MISDEMEANORS,

AGAINST THE

DUCHESS § OF PORTSMOUTH **.

IMPRIMIS, that the said duchess hath, and still doth cohabit and keep company with the king, having had foul, nauseous, and contagious distempers, which, once possessing her blood, can never admit of a perfect cure, to the manifest danger and hazard of the king's person, in whose preservation is bound up the weal and happiness of the Protestant religion, our lives, liberties, and properties, and those of our posterity for ever.

II. She hath laboured to alter and subvert the government of church and state, now established by law, and, in the room thereof, to introduce popery and tyranny in the three kingdoms, by her counsels from time to time.

III. She hath, by her persuasion, countenance, and other artifices and insinuations, reconciled several of her servants, and others, natural born subjects, to the communion of the see of Rome, in defiance of the statute which makes it capital, Jac. 3, 4.

* Both a lord and a brewer. † i. e. The brew-house and the house of lords. ‡ By an ordinance of parliament, to enable them to carry on the war. ‖ viz. The grave.
§ *Louise de Querovaille.* This half sheet was published by the favourers of the Duke of York, to ruin her character with the people, because, as it is worded in the twentieth article, she endeavoured to foist herself and son upon the nation, to the detriment of the said duke, and strove to set him aside from the throne by the Bill of Exclusion. ** 1680.

IV. She advised, and still does nourish, foment, and maintain that fatal and destructive correspondency and alliance between England and France, being sent over and pensioned by the French king to the same end and purpose, and consequently hath rendered ineffectual those frequent addresses in parliament for a war with the French king; and, in order to the propagating these her malicious, detestable, and destructive designs against our religion and government, the several French ministers, who have resided here since the breach of the triple league (from whence weof these three kingdoms have, and still groan under) have, and do still resort to her apartment in his majesty's royal palace, where, having several conferences with his majesty, they have pried into his secret counsels, and, by the assistance of her, her agents, and French ministers, have fixed and continued the aforesaid accursed amity between England and France, against the grave and repeated advice of the whole nation in parliament.

V. That she hath endeavoured, to her power, to stifle and vilify the king's evidence, to create a disbelief in the king of the plot against his royal person, subversion of the Protestant religion and government, interceded for by traytors impeached by parliament, and other arch traytors, particularly father Ireland the Jesuit, arraigned, heard, fairly and legally condemned, and most justly executed.

VI. She has, from time to time, intermeddled and advised in matters of the highest moment and importance in government, as peace and war, several dissolutions and prorogations of parliament, matters depending, wherein the very life and soul of the government in church and state was concerned.

VII. That she advised a disgeneral peace, so destructive to Christendom, and particularly to these three kingdoms, it being in our power to have turned the scale.

VIII. That she placed and displaced great ministers in church and state, as she judged might be most serviceable in promoting the French popish interest.

IX. That she not only took upon her to make chief ministers as aforesaid, but either received sums of money in hand, or pensions yearly out of their profits, salaries, and perquisites, which hath, in great measure, contributed to that general corruption in all places; and nothing being more unnatural, for when trust and places are bought, justice must be sold.

X. That she hath been an unspeakable charge and burthen, having had given her, for many years past, prodigious sums of money in other people's names, the better to disguise the matter, as well out of the publick treasury, as the privy-purse; and such is her ascendant over the king, that, in her own apartment, she prevailed with the king there to sign and seal warrants for grants of vast sums of money, and particularly procured the king's warrant to the Earl of Danby, now impeached and in the Tower, for one hundred thousand pounds, and this at one time, which ought to have been applied for the safety, honour, and reputation of this kingdom.

XI. That hardly any grant, office, or place was given, but through her, or her emissaries intercession, and money given to them.

XII. Those vast prodigious sums she hath, for the most part, was to be transported to a nation by religion, interest, and practice, an enemy to our religion and government, to the weakening and impoverishing of our nation, and the strengthening and inriching of our adversaries.

XIII. That she hath procured farms and undertakings of the several branches of the revenue, at lower rates than really worth, having been bribed for so doing.

XIV. That she hath protected several from justice, and particularly the Earl of Ranelagh, who had cheated, defrauded, and abused the king in his revenues of Ireland, supporting him against many representations from the government of Ireland, and many orders of the king and council here, full well knowing several articles were in the secret committee against the said earl, not only for cheating his majesty in Ireland, but for combining with the Earl of Danby in England to defraud the king, and particularly in the excise-farm, undertaken by the Dashwoods; and notwithstanding, such is her power, she still protects the said earl, not only from his accounts, but in his place of treasurer, which does reflect upon his majesty to keep such a person in place, in spight of all the orders in council, and his own convictions; and does wholly discourage a parliament ever to give a supply, when such are employed; and has procured several lords in favour of the said Earl of Ranelagh, as well to the present as former governors, to the dishonour of the king, and interruption of justice.

XV. That she got grants in Ireland, in other persons names, as well to crown-rents, as others, to the great disorder, distraction, and vexation of the subjects, who are liable to have their estates and titles questioned and disturbed by commissions of inquiry, and otherways, as officers for the king.

XVI. That she procured to herself a grant of the revenues, arising by the wine-licences, towards the defraying of her extravagant debts, most contrary to the express letter of the act of parliament, which provides most positively, that the revenues, arising therefrom, shall not be employed or granted to any private use whatsoever; yet such was her power with his majesty, and the Earl of Danby, late lord-treasurer, that she procured three able honest servants to his majesty, to be turned out of their commissions in the wine-licence office, because they would not lend her money upon the security of the said revenue, contrary to the act of parliament abovementioned; and such is her power with the Earl of Essex, and other commissioners of his majesty's treasury, that she hath procured Doctor Taylor, her servant, to be made a commissioner in the new commission of wine-licence office, in prejudice of those persons turned out by the Earl of Danby, as aforesaid, on purpose that he, the said Doctor Taylor, should govern that branch of the revenue (in spight and contempt of an act of parliament, appointing it to a publick end and government) for the duchess's use and behalf; neither can it be for any other end and purpose, for that the said Doctor Taylor, by reason of the many affairs he has to manage of the duchess, cannot attend the king's service.

XVII. That she hath, and doth relieve and countenance in her family and lodgings in Whitehall, several servants, whom she knows to be papists, and ill affected to the Protestant religion and government, giving them frequent and private access to his majesty, to the hazard and danger of his majesty's person, and in contempt of a late act of parliament, whereby all papists whatsoever (except Father Huddleston*, seven women servants, and some foreign servants to her majesty) were prohibited to come within the limits of his majesty's palace or court; notwithstanding which act of parliament, she hath, and still doth not only relieve in her lodgings, as aforesaid, several servants of the popish persuasion, but she hath lately taken into her service a French papist, whom she formerly preferred to his majesty, as a confectioner, and who was entered of his majesty's service upon the aforesaid act; which said confectioner doth daily prepare sweet-meats and other banquetings, in triumph over the late fresh act of parliament, for his majesty at her lodgings, so that his majesty may be in an eminent danger from the aforesaid French papist, who has such opportunity to poison his sacred majesty, by mixing poison in the sweet-meats, whom God long preserve.

XVIII. That, the day before his majesty fell sick at Windsor, she persuaded her majesty, being then in her lodgings, to eat a mess of broth, prepared by some of her papist servants; whereupon his majesty fell immediately sick, it being the opinion of some able physicians, that his majesty's diseases where much augmented, if not wholly created, by the aforesaid broth.

XIX. That, during his majesty's sickness, she introduced several unknown persons, by a back-door, to his majesty's bed-chamber, who, in all likelihood, were Romish priests, French physicians, agents or ministers of the French king's; all which persons could have no honest or lawful business with his majesty, at that time especially, being privately introduced, and his majesty's proper servants, belonging to his bed-chamber, being all sent out, except such as were popishly affected, her creatures consequently, and her footmen ordered to wait in the anti-chamber, as is judged, to prevent any body's hearing or seeing them, as if they had been of his majesty's bed-chamber.

XX. That she has, by her creatures and friends, given out, and, whispered abroad, that she was married to his majesty, and that her son, the Duke of Richmond, is his majesty's legitimate son, and consequently Prince of Wales, his health being frequently drunk by her, and her creatures, in her night debauches and merry-meetings, to the great dishonour and reflexion of his majesty, and the manifest peril and danger of these kingdoms, who may hereafter, by such false and scandalous stories, and wicked practices, be embroiled in distractions, if not in blood and civil wars, to the utter ruin of his majesty's subjects, and subversion of the Protestant religion; it being manifest, she, being a papist herself, will breed her son in the same religion, however she may pretend to the contrary†.

XXI. That, she having that high and dishonourable absolute dominion and power over the king's heart, she has opportunity to draw from

* A benedictine monk. † This proved a mistake.

him the secrets of his government, opportunity by herself, or other engines of her's, to poison, or otherwise to destroy the king; opportunity, at least, to promote a French papist interest, so that it is not only impossible the Protestant religion should live, but it is not possible the king can have a due sense of the danger he was, or may be in, from the Romish conspiracy, which has, is, or may be against his royal person and government.

XXII. That she has had the highest honours and rewards conferred on her, and her's, to the high dishonour of God, the encouragement of wickedness and vice (which by such examples is overspread the nation, and for which God's anger is kindled and inflamed against us) suppressing and discouraging of virtue, whose rewards those high titles and honours ought to be, and this to the eternal reproach of his majesty's reign and government.

A DISCOURSE TOUCHING TANGIER.

In a Letter to a Person of Quality.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

THE INTEREST OF TANGIER. BY ANOTHER HAND.

London: Printed in the year 1680. Quarto, containing forty-eight pages.

HONOURED SIR,

I REMEMBER at our parting I made you a promise to gratify your curiosity, the best I could, with an abstract of my judgment and observations touching his majesty's city and port of Tangier; and had obeyed you long since, had not my head been rather oppressed than employed, by the unexpected difficulties of my toilsome charge; which, to this day, render me so little master of my resolutions, that the few minutes I borrow, like broken slumbers, scarce afford me leave to reflect seriously on any other subject. Be pleased therefore to take this short account only, as an earnest of what you may farther expect, when with more freedom of thought I shall be enabled to send you a present of the same kind, better worth your acceptance.

Tangier, according to remotest accounts, I find to have been a colony of the Romans; which conquering people did from thence lead their armies, by which they subdued all that part of Africa. They called a great province by that name; and thought it so well worth their labour, that they planted, peopled, and built it to the magnitude of the greatest cities; as we find by the fragments of their structures, where-ever we have occasion to break ground in the fields; and by the noble aquæducts, some whereof to this day supply the town with water, said to be the best

in the world. But, by the declension of that monarchy, it shrunk by degrees to the dimension it now bears.

It was here the Moors formed, and from hence prosecuted, their great design of conquering Spain; the advantageous situation whereof is thought to have not only encouraged those infidels to the attempt, but lent them such aids as mainly conduced to their success.

At length, about the year 1474, while the princes of Barbary were at war amongst themselves, this, with other towns upon the coast, fell into the hands of the Portuguese, &c.

Upon his majesty's marriage with our present queen, Tangier was given in part of her dowry: a capitulation much opposed by the Spanish ministers, and gave that government so much apprehension, that, upon his majesty's sending so great a garison as he did upon our first possessing it, jealous what design there might be, withdrew a great part of their army from the frontiers of Portugal, and quartered them along the coast of Andalusia to have an eye upon our motions: by which state-contrivance, as is thought, of the Portuguese, they got the respite of one whole campaign from the incursions of the Spaniard. This I the rather mention to excite our own value for Tangier, which barely our possession of gives other princes so much caution.

This sufficing for the historical part of Tangier, to the time of his majesty's possessing it; I will now proceed, with the brevity of letter to treat upon the four following heads, viz.

The service Tangier has already rendered the crown.

What service it may render it, if improved.

The mischief it may do us, if possessed by any other powerful prince.

Some general observations touching trade.

Tangier is, as I have observed, so advantageously situated, that it surveys the greatest thorough-fare of commerce in the world; having in one view almost the whole sea comprehended between the four capes of Travalgar, Gibraltar, Spartel, and Ceuta; those on the European, these on the African shore; so that no ship or vessel can pass in or out of the Mediterranean, unobserved from thence.

It comes therefore to pass, by means of this narrow gap or inlet, that men of war, pirates and corsairs of all nations, covet to ply and cruise in and about that station, where they are sure to speak with all ships that pass.

Here it was, that a squadron of the Dutch on two several occasions, during that war, lay in wait for our Newfound-land fleet, who had no recourse for safety but to Tangier, where they were protected and secured, till the danger was over: the greatest part whereof had otherwise demonstrably fallen into the enemy's hands.

It was on this station that Sir Thomas Allen, during the first Dutch war, encountered their Smyrna fleet; and here, in the last war with Algier, a whole squadron of Turks fell into our hands at once, and were all destroyed: and both then, and since by Sir John Narbrough, there has been by a manifold degree more mischief done to that enemy on this station, than in all the ocean besides; and we have frequent examples of single ships being chaced into this port for shelter.

To this port, upon the breaking out of the last Dutch war, was sent

us advice of a squadron of their merchant-ships, that were bound from Malaga homeward, but ill guarded, with an exact account when they were to depart: which squadron we encountered; and, had the affair been more fortunately managed, they had all fallen into our hands; though, as it was, the greatest part were destroyed and taken.

To this place, on divers occasions, both by sea and land, we have received notice from Sallee, and other places on the coast, of proper seasons wherein to attack that enemy, and have often succeeded in our attempts upon those intimations: and, I think, I may with good assurance aver, that, by the advantage of this place, we have destroyed more of those pirates, than all nations besides put together, who have been industrious, to their power, to prejudice them; especially the French, Dutch, and Portuguese.

And yet, farther to shew you how this place has been already useful, let it be remembered, that during the plague in England, when it was penal in the highest degree in Spain, to hold the least commerce with us; notwithstanding the hazard they ran, the Spaniards themselves came over by stealth, and, by degrees, did here supply their wants, without paying custom either here or there; this place being the general magazine to all the coast along.

What quantities of French commodities were lodged here, during their war with Spain, and were by little and little in Spanish vessels fetched over, and put on board their galleons when they were ready to receive them, without ever landing them?

With what ease and expedition did Sir John Narbrough, the last year, careen and refit the ships under his command within the mole; where we had neither hulk, nor any sort of provision for that service? When I often heard him say, with great satisfaction, that he would undertake to refit a squadron in half the time, and with half the charge, that it could be done any where else out of England: and I think I do not give him more than his due, if I presume to say, he is as qualified for credit in that particular, as any man whatever of his profession.

How many merchant-ships, in peril by distress of weather, have been relieved and preserved by the assistance they have received from hence?

I could also insist on the damages done on the French, from this place, during our war with them.

Nor have the advantages been small, arising from considerable quantities of English merchandise, manufactures, &c. disposed of hence into Barbary; but, having an eye to my promise of writing you only a letter, I shall, in a word, as to this first head, only say, that Tangier may be justly reckoned to have gone far towards the recompensing to the government the charge, his majesty has been at, in its preservation and improvement: and if, while in its infancy, when there could be no just regulation of the charge, nor the place framed and cultivated fully up to the uses and ends of the government, we can demonstrably make such a calculation, what may be hoped from it, when, besides the large retrenchment, it has already admitted in its charge to the king, we shall be able to demonstrate so many farther extraordinary services, it is capable of rendering the crown, as I doubt not to prove in the following section?

Which is to shew wherein, and to what degree, Tangier is applicable to the ends and uses of the government.

I think I may challenge mankind to point me out, in the whole globe of the earth, a spot of ground so improveable of the honour and interest of the English nation, as Tangier.

What is it has rendered England so formidable, so rich, and so renowned a kingdom, but the strength of our navies, and universality of our commerce? for our fleets might grow till they rot, and our mines remain in the bowels of their mother; our people rust into the barbarity of their ancestors, and our nation become a prey to every aspiring monarch, did not this mighty machine set all heads and hands at work, quicken our understandings, and polish our manners, and, from an object otherwise of pity, or contempt, render us the greatest pattern in the world of the power of industry, the fountain of all the blessings we enjoy; and, because there are many various wheels and motions therein, why should not Tangier be esteemed among the principal of those movements, which keep this vast engine going?

First, in respect of Spain, in a case of a war with that people: he, who knows any thing, is not ignorant, that the damages, we sustain by such a war, are more through the embargo of a free and open commerce with them, so useful and profitable to this nation, that it becomes a doubt, whether it be not of more account, than one half of the trade we have with all Europe besides; I say, the mischief, in such case, will be more by a suspension of our commerce, than any great damage can accrue to us by their hostilities. If so, then I undertake to say, that Tangier is able in a good degree, if not totally, to answer this great objection: for, by vertue of our vicinity with Spain, especially the five principal ports of Seville, Cadiz, St. Lucar, Port St. Mary's, and Malaga; and, by the convenience of a good harbour here (which, by the success of the mole, is now well-nigh effected) our nation there, in case of a war, may remove and settle their factories here; which, both for the safety of their persons, as well as estates, they need not be invited to do, having, to my certain knowledge, sundry times been upon the point of taking that resolution, like one man, by some jealousies they have had of misunderstandings likely to ensue betwixt us and that people; and, affairs being once so settled, the Spaniards themselves, as their occasions press them, will take care to be supplied from hence; as in the instance I have given, during the plague in England. By this means our estates run no hazard of seizure, or confiscation; we shall be able to put off our commodities at better rates, and the King of Spain wholly deprived of his customs. Tangier itself becomes a proportionable gainer by the bargain, and his majesty's subjects rest under the protection of their own country laws and government, and in the liberty of the exercise of their own religion.

Thus, as, on the one hand, Tangier renders a war with Spain less burdensome to us, by so preserving the commerce unbroken; so, by its advantageous situation, and improvement to a good port, it would prove so great a thorn in their sides, by the incessant hostilities we should commit upon them (for it is not two hours sail from Tangier to the coast of Spain) the hazard and obstruction of their West-India trade, the

ruining their commerce one with another all along the coast of Andalusia, which would certainly ensue; and the sundry other damages, by the help of Tangier, too long to enumerate, or not at present occurring to my observation: all this, I say, put together, seems to me to yield matter sufficient to furnish us with the highest sentiments of estimation for Tangier, though no other consideration were put into the scale. For, if this whole theory, or postulata, be true (as a good deal is proved by matter of fact, and the rest not to be disproved, but as time must try) then I may undertake to say, that our nation seems, by Tangier, to have gained this great point, which is, that if, heretofore, the reasons touching the importance of preserving our commerce with Spain have, for the most part, been found superior to the motives, though great, which that people may, by their affronts and injuries, have given his majesty of resentment; those arguments, I say, are, by means of Tangier, removed, and his majesty in a better state of demanding satisfaction, or doing himself right; or the Spaniard, hereby become conscious of the disadvantage, deterred from those provocations. And, that they are apprehensive of the benefits thus accruing by our possession of Tangier, is every day visible from the pains they take to discourage its prosperity, by obstructing, by all ways possible, our supplies of whatever kind from thence, especially of materials for carrying on the mole, &c. whereof they are in great fear; so that, if positive arguments in our favour were less cogent, the bare opinion they have, of the use that may be made of Tangier to their prejudice, ought to beget in any reasonable man, who loves, and has any regard to the honour and welfare of his country, proportionable wishes for its encouragement.

But, leaving Spain, let us proceed to observe what may be of remark touching Tangier, with respect to France.

The French commerce with Spain, and their interest in the Spanish galleons and flota, has been universally concluded equivalent to half the nations of Europe beside; and they have more business in and about this station, and frequent the streights mouth with more shipping, of one sort or another, than any two nations in Christendom; from whence our ships, riding at anchor, may weigh, or slip, and speak with all that pass in, or out. Now, what an awe will Tangier bear on such a people? And what greater blessings can a maritime nation, as England is, so justly jealous of their honour and authority abroad, ask of God Almighty, than to be possessors of a place productive of so many eminent services? a place capable of yielding so many good offices to ourselves and friends, and so much annoyance to its most powerful enemy? This I mean, who, in our age, has succeeded so far in its design, of rivalling us in the darling privilege and prerogative of our dominion upon the sea: and, how far it behoves us to cherish the means, that providence affords, and nature seems to mark out for our improvement, towards the attaining of so important an end, let every honest Englishman judge. And, from France, let us proceed to Holland.

During the first Dutch war, Tangier was in its infancy, the mole of little benefit, nor were the ministers then so much enlightened in its usefulness; insomuch that, during that war, the Hollanders, especially towards the latter end of the war, did, with a small squadron of ships,

scour the whole Mediterranean; and, what with that, and the preference they then found in the Spanish ports, they gained much upon us in those parts. But in the last war it was quite otherwise; for, upon the damage we did their Malaga fleet from Tangier, as I have already observed, and the care then taken to have ships upon that station, it is observable, they scarce had any trade within the Mediterranean afterwards, during the war; for the Dutch are a frugal and wise people, and, when the charge of their convoys grows in any degree burdensome, they chuse rather to suspend their trade, than prosecute it with any extraordinary expence, or hazard, especially that of the Mediterranean.

Now, if Tangier can produce such effects in our favour, in case of a war with Holland, as it has done, and may yet do in a much greater degree; and if it can be in the like manner of use to the Dutch, in case of a war betwixt them and Spain, as it has been to France during that war, then let us allow it an additional share in our praise and estimation, and cherish it in proportion to these farther benefits. And now for Algier:

Algier is a den of sturdy thieves formed into a body, by which, after a tumultuary sort, they govern, having the grand signior for their protector, who supplies them with native Turks for their soldiery, which is the greatest part of their militia; and they, in acknowledgment, lend him their ships, when his affairs require it. They are grown a rich and powerful people, and, by a long practice of piracy, become good seamen; and, when pressed by our men of war, as of late we have experimented, they fight and defend themselves like brave men, inferior, I am persuaded, to no people whatever. They have no commerce, and so are without any taste of the benefits of peace; whence their life becomes a continual practice of robbery, and, like beasts of the desart, they only forbear to worry, where by fear, not honesty, they are deterred; and yet, when hunger pinches, and a good morsel lies in their way, they will venture hard for their prey, as may appear by the occasions given by them for this and the last wars.

The Algerines, I say, having no merchant-ships, nor any trade of their own with other nations, know nothing of the motives, Christian princes generally have, of war and peace; so that their polity and rule is, whom and how they may rob and plunder with greatest impunity. Therefore with some nations they will have no peace at all, because they can despoil them without hazard; with others, as ourselves, they will sometimes listen to proposals of peace, but not so long as they can reimburse themselves upon our merchant-men what they suffer by our men of war. Now it is worth one's while to consider how this wild beast may be tamed, so pernicious to the trade of the kingdom; and how far Tangier may lend a helping hand in the bringing it to pass.

I have already given you an account of the advantage we have of situation, and how improvable towards the obtaining dominion in and about these seas; and of the damage the ships of Algier have already received on this station, by the help of Tangier.

The Algerines, above all others, when at peace with us, do infest these seas; this station being seldom without some or other of them

cruising in sight of the port; where they frequently come to an anchor, and water, and supply themselves with necessaries, sell their prizes, and reap great benefits by the place.

They have it also in their instructions from the government, to call here, and observe how the mole advances, and the place thrives; and I have been told by the captains themselves, who protest, that nothing gives them so much dread, as the apprehension they have of the use we may make of Tangier against them. Insomuch that, when the galley arrived that was presented to his majesty, the Algerines looked upon themselves as half undone; as the captain of the Mary-gold, the last Turks prize, who was taken off of Tangier this war, assured me. Our galley-frigates likewise gave them great awe, as they still do; being a sort of vessels which, by the help of Tangier, may be much improved to their annoyance. And, if his majesty would please farther to order the building of vessels of war proper and peculiar to this service and these seas, he would quickly see the good effect it would produce, in bringing that people to know themselves: for though some of our English vessels sail as well as the Algerines, when clean; yet such are yet but a few, and we must also sail a good deal better than they, to do our business upon them. Nor is it less demonstrable to me than a problem in geometry, however it may seem not so much our present subject, that we may build ships that shall in a manifold degree out-sail our best sailers: these ships need be but few, and of little charge, and should be always kept in those seas, both in war and peace. For it is the occasion makes the thief; and a coast or place unguarded is neglected: what signify the strongest walls unmanned? or all the advantages of nature, if industry be wanting in their application?

Tangier well managed may be rendered the greatest scourge to the Algerines in the world; and may afford them the best effects of friendship. For if in time of war we can force them from this so beloved station, and attack them or their prizes bound in or out; and in time of peace, which we cannot refuse them, they can be admitted to make use of Tangier, and the port, as their occasions require; they may perform their voyages in half the time, and with half the trouble of returning home to refit and victual. For these foxes prey remote from their holes; and, for one prize they take in the Mediterranean, take ten in the wide ocean. So that in their return homewards, if they can dispose of their purchase at better rates here than they can have there, and refit again cheaper; what should discourage their embracing the advantage, which will be great to them, and proportionably so to us, by the sale of their purchase amongst us, &c.?

But, says an honest man, and a good Christian, 'This would be a scandal to Christendom.' To which I reply, 'It is not thought so by the most Christian king; nor must we think so, if we consider them a government, qualified to treat with Christian princes, as we do; for do not we enter into articles of peace with them, which are formally agreed to, and mutually ratified? if so, how can we refuse them any thing to which friendship may give them a title?

Now, if what I have observed, touching the government of Algier,

bear any weight; then this must follow, that, upon conviction of the premisses, they will always esteem peace with England more eligible than war; and no temptation whatsoever, as heretofore, can be believed will supersede arguments of so much force as those we have noted. If so, then upon this single bottom, separate from any of the foregoing remarks, we may build reason sufficient to fortify my position, for the cherishing and encouraging of this important place by all means possible. For, if Tangier shall appear so materially instrumental in preserving a perpetual peace with Algier; then hence alone the expence of keeping it is abundantly defrayed to the government.

For the charge of one Algier war, abstracted from the consideration of the spoils they commit upon our commerce during such war; I say, the money expended for carrying on, and supporting of one such war, being put into bank, would at 6 per cent. produce more than the annual charge of maintaining the place. If so, how may we then reckon of Tangier, considered conjunctively of all the foregoing calculations of benefit that have been produced in its favour? Then, as for Sallee:

Sallee is a government depending on the Emperor of Fez and Morocco. They have but small ships; the bar before the port not affording depth for vessels of above ten or twelve feet draught of water. All the winter they lie still. For, after the south west winds have blown, there comes in so great a swell of a sea upon the bar, that it is not passable: so that this is a summer enemy, and a very poor one too, if we would be persuaded to have an eye to them, as we ought. For I'll undertake, with three or four small frigates, such as the Drake, Lark, &c. which on occasion of neap tides, when they (I mean the Salleemen) have not water to go in and out, should clean and re-victual at Tangier, and so return upon that station; those inconsiderable rogues would by such care be soon reduced to nothing; and yet, when left to their liberty, they do a great deal of mischief to small merchantmen.

The benefit arising by thus awing those people, besides that of our small craft, will be, that it will in two or three years bring the greatest part of the trade of Barbary to Tangier; as by reason of the plague has been already made good: for, while the infection of those countries kept people from trading thither, all, or the greatest part of their commerce was by Tangier; and a war, diligently managed by those small frigates, may produce the same effect. Besides, it will teach them to value our friendship, and help us to a better understanding with them at Tangier, and in all likelihood gain us a point of great advantage; which is, to treat and conclude a peace with them on equal terms. For, to buy a peace, as hath been the practice hitherto, is so mean and dishonourable, and gives them so much contempt for our friendship, that it is not to be supported.

Now, if these ends are to be obtained, as I am truly convinced they may, it will be wholly owing to Tangier. Which having said, I proceed to my third and last head.

If Tangier be a jewel of so many extraordinary virtues, and so pecu-

liar to the use and service of the English nation, it were a great deal of pity it should adorn any prince's crown but his who wears it: for, it is but inverting the argument, and the artillery is traversed upon ourselves, and all these cordials become so many corrosives. For, though the bare loss, or want of these benefits, to a nation in our circumstances, would be misfortune enough; yet, when out of this privation of good, which is a consequential damage, shall be propagated so many more and greater positive evils to us, than its possession promises of service (for such will be the consequence, if Tangier, which God forbid, should come into the possession of the French). With what care and tenderness ought the government to cherish it, and labour to secure it and the nation, against such a hazard? The trade of England into the Mediterranean is equal, if not exceeding all other nations put together. Can any thing then challenge a greater share in our esteem, than the means which insure this mighty benefit to us? Shall princes war one upon another for the sake of a paltry town, upon the pass of a simple river; and shall not we think it worth our while to preserve a place of this importance; so productive of good on the one hand, or evil on the other? A place so improveable of the ambitious purposes of the French, that, were it in their hands, it would wound us in so many tender places, that, as we should be always groaning under the weight, so we should never wipe off the imputation such a loss would fasten upon us. We are just now alarmed with the news of Tangier's being to be sold to the French. But we have a wise prince, learned beyond his predecessors in the interests and advantages of navigation and commerce, and a great promoter thereof. Nor is his royal highness, who has signalised himself so much, to the nation's, and his own glory, by his singular applications to the like study, so ill-possessed of the value of this place, to concur in any deliberations of that kind. So that I reckon this rumour but amongst the other libels against the government.

How clamorous was our nation upon the disposing of Dunkirk to the French, though the charge of keeping it was scarce supportable; and, in case of a war with that people, hardly tenable? Though the use of it was only, in some degree, privative of benefit to an enemy in case of war, but of no positive profit to us in time of peace; and yet, whensoever a privateer or two, sailing out of that port, shall annoy us but never so little in time of war, the complaint is renewed, and that proceeding censured afresh: how would that minister then be absolved with the people, who should advise the parting with Tangier, where our little finger would be more felt, than our loins here?

But I have heard grave men say, Tangier is a great charge to the nation. It is a charge, it is true; but I shew what it has already done towards the defraying it; and, to what an abundant degree it will hereafter come to discount the expence. A first rate ship, in time of war, is as great a charge to the king, as Tangier is; and yet, did ever any body complain that our ships were a burthen, or our fleets too numerous, when there was occasion for their service? Does not Tangier live principally upon the growth and product of England, and the money, for the most part, circulate amongst ourselves? Is the king's

treasure misemployed there? Do not we see every day the place improve; the mole in a good forwardness? Which expence too will soon be at an end. Are there not many useful provisions made, for the encouraging of shipping and commerce? and, are we not sensible of it, by the increase and improvement thereof? For I remember the time, when a boat from Spain would draw down half the town to the water-side; whereas, now, a squadron of ships scarce excites that curiosity.

Leghorn, now a famous port, and scale of trade, was, in this Duke of Florence's grandfather's time, a poor fisher-town. Maturity is the child of time; and, though God Almighty may blast the best formed purposes, yet nothing, humanly speaking, can prevent our fruition of the great benefits I have enumerated, if we but apply the means; which in a few words, are these:

To prosecute vigorously the works of the mole; which, in two or three years, may render it a noble and safe port.

To fortify the town to the landward; which work should go hand in hand with the mole; lest, when it shall appear worth a conquest, our weakness should betray us.

To have a garison consisting of two thousand foot, in two regiments, and three hundred horse, to be well and duly paid, and to be recruited once in three or four years, by draughts out of the guards: by which means we should always have a strong, orderly, and well disciplined soldiery; and not vagabonds, and raw, miserable, shiftless wretches, such as raised men, for the most part, prove; whereof, scarce the one half survive their seasoning.

The punctuality of relieving the garison, as has been of late resolved, will also keep them in heart, chearful in their duty, and not put them upon such desperate courses, as many of them, in melancholy drunken fits, have taken, by running to the Moors, where, to the scandal of our religion, they either turn renegadoes, or remain in perpetual slavery. The health of the garison will also, by this practice, be preserved; for the soldiers diet, being salt meat, disposes them, in two or three years, to inveterate ill habits of body, obstructions, scurvies, fluxes, &c. whereof, by reason of returning to the same diet again, when a little mended by the care of the physician, they relapse; and nothing, but removing them to a better, can recover them.

By this course, I say, Tangier would be the desirablest place, for a soldier, in the world, where they neither feel hunger, or cold, nor excess of heat; the duty easy, unless now and then, when the garison is thin of men; where an industrious man can never want work, and is no where better rewarded: in brief, it is a place that, instead of a sepulchre, as some call it, will, by this method, become a nursery of brave men; where, if they die in the field, as some now and then do, they have their reward in heaven: if they survive to see their country, they will be cherished and considered at home, as men of honour and merit, who have drawn their swords, and served their king and country, against the enemies of our religion, and of God himself.

The use of horse is of so great importance, to the safety and tranquil-

lity of the place, that I take it for granted we shall never be free from the insults of the Moors, till our horse shall be augmented to the aforesaid number.

The strength of all the Christian garisons, upon this coast, principally consists in horse: which example alone might suffice for our instruction, for we are but of yesterday; and their practice the result of some ages of experience, which is the best guide.

This town was once preserved, or rather recovered, by the bravery and opportune service of the horse; for, the castle being surprised in the night, by the enemies privately getting in over a low and defective part of the wall, the horse, taking the alarm in the town, mounted, and, before they could get possession of the draw-bridge, got in, attacked, and defeated them; who had otherwise demonstrably remained with victory.

I am bold also to say, and it is the opinion of others, who were upon the place, that, had our horse, the day the Earl of Tiviot was lost, performed their duty, that great man, and the major part of those with him, had escaped the fatal slaughter.

With such a strength of horse as this I propose, we shall not be only able to perform with ease what is yet wanting for the fortifying and securing the ground we have gained, but deprive the enemy of the profit they make by the tillage and pasture of the country round about us: for they will be necessitated either to keep an army constantly in the field, which we know they cannot; to lose the benefit and fruits of one of the fertilest spots of ground in the world; or allot us such conditions, as shall render us in a safe, easy, and plentiful estate; which I take assurance to affirm we shall, in such case, easily obtain.

As the benefits we shall reap by such a number of horse, prudently managed, will be very great; so the hardships we shall sufier, without them, will be insuperable: for the ground about Tangier being uneven, broken, and proper for ambushes; our foot will never be able to do any thing to the purpose, but in conjunction of a proportionable number of horse, to discover and clear the ground, relieve and succour them when pressed, and secure their retreat when out-numbered, and forced to retire.

Our fortifications also, relieving our forts, and many other eminent services, will be but very imperfectly performed, without the assistance of a good body of horse.

The fruits of this care and change will be reaped, in the benefits resulting by the trade and commerce it will beget and establish here; for, upon a secure prospect of safety to goods and merchandise, both by sea and land, exemption from publick charges and duties, and a general concurrence of all circumstances of ease and expedition in importing and exporting of goods, it will, in time, render Tangier the general magazine of all the merchandise from the Levant appointed for the trade of the Spanish Indies, as it will of our northern commodities of greatest value. For the exorbitant, or rather insupportable duties upon goods in Spain puts all people upon by-ways, and secret hazardous practices, in the shipping and disposing of their commodities; and while Tangier can yield so good encouragement, considered with the benefits of its vicinity

with Spain, all people will covet to lodge their estates there, where the whole charge (besides their being out of the reach of danger of seizure) of register-money, which is our quarter per cent. there collected, commission, porterage, freight to Cadiz, &c. will not amount to the charge of half freight, guard-money, national duties, and warehouse-room for two months.

But there occurs one great and dangerous impediment to the establishing this benefit at Tangier; and that is, the disputes that may arise, betwixt the English consuls in the Spanish ports, and such as shall so transport goods from Tangier, upon which they may expect a benefit. But this must be forbidden by all means possible, by the strictest significations of his majesty's pleasure in that behalf, to his respective consuls upon the coast; for there are so many inconveniences accompanying such a permission, as would quite destroy hopes of success in this affair: and indeed, it is to be feared, this very objection, or rather imposition, has already administered no small discouragement. But, as the interest of private men must submit and give place to publick utility; so, in case it appear that this proceeding shall, in any considerable degree, affect the consuls in the respective profits and emoluments of their office, it may be recompensed to them some other way. But I do humbly propose it, as fundamental and irrevocable, that no consul whatsoever, of the English nation, be permitted to exact or demand a penny for any goods exported from Tangier, to any of the Spanish ports; but that a bare certificate from the government there, of such goods shipped either in English or foreign vessels, shall serve as an ample acquitment, and intitle them to exemption from all scrutinies and demands of the consuls, of any kind whatsoever.

It is also humbly proposed, that all ships and vessels of war, as shall by appointment attend the garison and port of Tangier, may have special leave and permission from the lord high admiral of England, to receive on board, and transport such goods to Cadiz, or any where in the neighbourhood, as the merchants shall have occasion to imbark; but not unless such ship or vessel be bound to such and such a place for his majesty's service. By this means, merchandise will go safer and cheaper, and obtain quicker dispatch; and the trader, consequently, another good encouragement to prosecute this way of commerce.

It is farther humbly proposed, that all convoys outward-bound, which touch not at Cadiz, as the Turkey ships, &c. may have order to call at Tangier; as also all such as are homeward-bound: which being once become an established practice, people, as well foreigners, as others, will lodge their money there, to be imbarked for Turkey, &c. And, from the Levant, merchants will load their commodities designed for Cadiz, or the Spanish Indies, in English bottoms, to be deposited in Tangier, from whence they may require them as their affairs shall govern: by which means our shipping also will be much encouraged. This I urge not but with submission to the sense of the Turkey company, who are the fittest judges how far such a practice may influence their trade. And thus much touching trade in general, with respect to Tangier.

There is no position, as I have observed, that bears more of the evidence of a demonstration, than that of the reduceableness and extirpation (by the help of Tangier) of the piracy of Sallee, and all the coast of Barbary: Which, besides the main benefit of relieving the general commerce, will bring, as a consequence, the greatest part of that trade to Tangier. For those small frigates as shall be employed against Sallee (with whom it is presumed we are never to have a peace, upon no consideration whatsoever) shall have it in their instructions (as the French proceeded during their war with Tunis) to obstruct all commerce with that people, but by way of Tangier; which may be done without any great offence, by compelling such as they find trading upon the coast, to go to Tangier, there to unload, in order to the searching after contraband goods; where, if they are found guilty, as most traders thither are, the forfeiture of their goods, and the trouble that in such case will be given them, will be sure to deter them from a second attempt. If they are innocent, the vexation of being carried out of their way, their detention at Tangier, the incident charge, expence of time, hazard, and one incumbrance or another, will incline them either to forbear trading to Barbary at all, or by way of Tangier; where they will not fail of encouragement. For, by thus obstructing the trade of Sallee, the Moors, pinched through the want of our commodities, will make their next recourse to Tangier, where finding good reception and dispatch, the commodities of the country which were wont to be carried to Sallee, having no vent there, will fail; and the stream of commerce of course be diverted hither: And when once the road is beaten, it will not be easily broken. This too, as it brings the Moors to seek us, will consequently draw such as were wont to trade to Sallee, to Tangier.

But it must be the care of the government here, to discourage to the utmost the residence of English factories any where upon the coast, but at Tangier: By which means men's persons and estates are secure against the insolence and caprice of that barbarous people; who, upon trivial and unjust pretences, make seizure of all; whereof we have recent instances, the effect whereof we yet feel, and we at Tangier often become as it were hostages, and compelled (neither to the praise of our honour, or politicks) to make such concessions as are both dangerous and scandalous, and all out of a tenderness to a stubborn, opinionative people, who, like some animals, rather than make a step out of their way, will go over a house.

And here I may not omit to observe, that, as generous a people as we are, there are yet among us a sort of men of the most degenerate abandoned principles, who continue that sordid, or rather impious practice of supplying these infidels with powder, guns, and all sorts of warlike stores, even while we are in effectual war with them both by sea and land; against not only the law of nations, but even humanity itself: which guilty, scandalous, and unchristian proceeding I trust to see punished, as it deserves; and if our laws prove defective, in that particular, our legislators may be humbly moved to find expedients in this behalf.

The next useful consideration, towards the improvement of the place,

is to encourage, by all means possible, the magistracy and civil government; and this will invite people of substance to settle and abide here: the reputation of our justice and probity will be a means of supplying us with a greater number of able and honest citizens; and those will support the honour of our courts, and maintain the dignity of a corporation. This is very essential to the establishment of new beginners, as we are; and, of all points, the hardest to compass.

In the next place, it is my humble opinion, that his majesty might be prevailed with to let leases to the inhabitants, for such a term of years as might encourage them to rebuild their dwellings, which are much decayed, and will fall to the ground, unless some such provision be made to prevent it: And this, in time, will also much increase the publick revenue.

I do farthermore humbly observe, that the want of a positive decision, touching the freedom of the port, has occasioned much contention and inconvenience amongst us, and great hurt to the place: For unless it be understood to be a free port, as Leghorn, Marseilles, &c. which places ought to be our rule and example in that particular; we shall be rather a trap and a snare to people, than an encouragement and protection. For many an honest man's misfortunes have reduced him to poverty; and when invited hither, by a notion of that freedom and liberty which other ports, bearing that title, yield to such as put themselves under their protection, in hopes of a peaceable application to the repairing their broken fortunes, they shall be here vexed and molested with suits and imprisonments; people will shun us, as an infected place: and that great benefit which other ports of this sort reap, and is so essential to the growth and prosperity of this, is forfeited. I would not here be understood to make Tangier a den of thieves, where Barataria, and other enfamous practices of ill men, should have incouragement; but humbly propose only, that our superiors would please to inform themselves, wherein those ports which are called free differ from others, and what those exemptions and privileges are which give them that name; and from thence form and establish such a constitution, as may for ever put us out of pain: For this constructive, or rather equivocal freedom, as I may call it, which we have hitherto been under, can never turn the place to account.

I might farther multiply instances, wherein, in time, by the wisdom and favour of authority, and the care and industry of the people, this place may be rendered productive of sundry profitable improvements, touching trade, manufactures, fisheries of tunny, anchovies, &c. which in the end would support the government: But I here put an end to your trouble, summing up all in this short animadversion:

That Tangier, like the usefullest elements, as it may be made an admirable servant; so it may be rendered a severe master. 'Tis an outwork of the nation, which you know is a principal strength of a fortress; 'tis a safe port, a magazine, a scale of trade, and a community of brave and loyal men, where there is no appearance of faction against either church or state. 'Tis a place improveable to the utmost degree of the interest and honour of the English nation, of vexation and

damage to our enemies, and service to our friends; and consequently of influencing our treaties and alliances, with the most powerful of our neighbours. I have often heard the Earl of Sandwich observe all this, and more of Tangier; with whom it had so superlative an esteem, that he was wont to say, if it could be walled and fortified with brass, it would repay the charge: and I doubt not, if our misfortunes or sins do not prevent it, but posterity, in the annals of our history, shall read the acquisition and improvement of Tangier among the felicities of his majesty's reign; whom God Almighty prosper, and send us a happy meeting; which is the constant prayer of,

Honoured Sir,

Tangier, *Your most humble*
October, 20, 1679. *and faithful Servant.*

THE INTEREST OF TANGIER.

TANGIER is as pleasant a city as any in the world, in a most wholesome air, pure and free from all infection, situate in a most rich and fruitful soil, able to yield all things needful to the life of man. There is no pleasure or delight, but this country, if open, would afford to the inhabitants, without the assistance of foreign nations. The air is temperate, and cooled with the annual breeses in the summer, called Etesian winds; and often purged from the distempers, which might otherwise reign there, by the easterly and westerly winds. By this means it happens that it is neither very hot in the summer, nor excessive cold in the winter, but temperate, and agreeable with the disposition of human bodies. The Moors thereabouts live commonly to a great age: I have seen many amongst them about eighty or ninety years of age, very lusty. And, since Tangier belonged to England, none can say that ever the plague hath been in that city, or that there hath been any infection to carry away the inhabitants, proceeding from the air or country. I confess many have died in this place, but most through their own follies, debaucheries, and lust; which have destroyed here many of his majesty's good subjects. If we could beg such a wind from Almighty God, as to drive from thence these infections, our English bodies would be very healthy, and Tangier would not be so odious to the nation.

It was built by the Phœnicians, if Procopius may be believed: For he tells us of a pillar near Tingi, where these words were engraven in the Phœnician language: *Nos fugimus à facie Josuæ filii Nun.* They were then the greatest traders of the world; they chose this place for that purpose, to inrich themselves by that art. Of all the cities of the world, I know none better situate for command and trade than this: It lies at the mouth and passage of all the Levant trade: No ship can go in or out of the Streights, but Tangier must see it in the day; and in the night four or five men of war cruising to and fro, some in, others out of the Mediterranean, may take all the ships that sail that way: none can escape, without a strong convoy, which would be too chargeable for the Dutch, French, and other northern merchants. If Algier were situate where Tangier is now, all its enemies must forbear trading;

and if Tangier were in the hands of the Moors, or of the French, or some other prince strong at sea, our nation were undone, and our merchants must bid farewel to the Streights in time of war. It is an easy matter for the Prince of Tangier therefore to command our northern world, and to give laws to Europe and Africa. The situation of Rome, of Carthage, of Constantinople, of London, Paris, and other imperial cities, is nothing near so advantageous for that purpose as Tangier, if all things be considered.

The country and soil is fruitful in corn, honey, cattle, beef, sheep, goats, camels, horses, and buffles. The woods are full of bees, and wild beasts that have excellent furs. The earth would bear good wines of all sorts; for there are the sweetest grapes in the world.

Here are all manner of eastern fruits, pomegranates, oranges, melons, lemons, figs, &c. So that, if our English did husband the ground about Tangier, there is nothing that we fetch from Spain, Italy, Greece, or France, but we might have it there. It is the nearest plantation that belongs to England, within a fortnight or three weeks sailing from the Downs. So that, if all things be considered, it seems no little wonder that Tangier hath not flourished, since it is in the hands of such a powerful nation as the English. But our unhappiness there is not to be ascribed to the place, the air, or country, but to several other things, which I shall here set down, not only for the publick satisfaction, but that we may understand the true causes of the people's aversion for Tangier, and be better able to remove them for the future.

First, I shall begin with religion. It was never there truly encouraged, but in the short governments of the Earl of Tiviot and Colonel Norwood. We can never expect a city will flourish, when all manner of debaucheries, profaneness, irreligion, and idolatry, shall have the liberty to appear without a check; when the governors themselves have been the examples to encourage the contempt of virtue and piety; when either openly or privately they have made it their business to ruin the Protestant interest, and to call those persons in question for their lives, who have been the greatest supporters of it. Let profane men think what they will, there was never yet a city or a nation that ever prospered since the beginning of the world, that slighted the religion of the country. The Romans prosperity is ascribed by St. Austin to their sincere profession of their idolatries. In Tangier too many have cast off all respects due to the God that hath made them, and mind nothing but debauchery and lewdness: others have hearkened to the sollicitations of some popish priests, and make profession of that religion, that they might, by the means of their absolutions, enjoy their vices and filthiness without remorse of conscience. For the benefit of trade and the encouragement of strangers, all sorts of religions should be allowed; but it is against all policy, that the English subjects and officers, that receive from the king their livelihood, should be suffered to change their religions as often as their garments, and want only to profess which they please. Not only from hence but from several other passages, religion hath received great discouragement, to the open scandal of the Protestant profession, and the dishonour of the church of England in the eyes of the nations round about.

The second cause of Tangier's unhappiness is, that most of the persons, that have been sent thither, have never intended to inhabit there, but have been needy, and greedy, and have only designed to live there a while to fill their purses, and then to return for England with their gains. By this means the sober inhabitants of Tangier, from whose industry and good behaviour only we can reasonably expect prosperity, impoverish the city, and discourage the rest. And many other inconveniencies proceed from hence, to his majesty's prejudice, and of the place. To remedy this inconveniency, such laws should be enacted as might encourage men to live there, and discourage their departure upon such unhandsome terms as they commonly leave the garison.

The third cause is, the difference and variance between traders and soldiers, encouraged too much by the rulers covetousness, and the citizens poverty and wants; and the unreasonableness of both, unwilling to comply with one another: for this discourageth all wealthy persons from inhabiting there, because they are not countenanced, nor have those liberties which it hath pleased his majesty to grant them. Some in a late governor's time, for frivolous accounts, have been called in question for their lives, condemned contrary to all law and reason to gratify his displeasure, and others of the female sex. These, and such like proceedings, ruin Tangier, and hinder it from that prosperity and wealth which it might easily attain to.

Fourthly, Tangier's ill fate, since it is in the English hands, is due to the ill reports spread abroad of the place by the vulgar sort, encouraged by the many persons dead there through their own miscarriages, and the ill usages of popish officers, who to my knowledge have valued more ten or twelve shillings at pay-day, than the lives of their soldiers; and have not treated them like men, much less like Christians. I have saved the lives of a great many of my neighbours, when they have wanted necessaries. For which good deeds I have been reproved by some Irish officers, who expected their pay between their death and the following muster. The meanest soldier must be encouraged, and not suffered to want when fallen into a sickness, though most times through his own intemperance. I dare affirm, and will offer to prove, that the unmercifulness of the officers, and the neglect of physicians and apothecaries, who, though paid for that purpose by his majesty, have killed three parts of those that are dead in Tangier. I have sometimes buried three or four in a day, dead for want of that which his majesty hath provided for them in case of sickness.

Fifthly, another cause of Tangier's unhappiness, is the strange victories of the Moors, and the sad massacre of the English, when they have gone out against them in the open field; with the vast opinion of valour they have gained amongst us, through our unadvisedness, and their successes. The defeat of Fines's party on the first and third of May, and of my Lord Tiviot, and his company, on the second, have struck a great terror into our English hearts, and caused us to look upon a Moor as an excellent soldier: but truly we are mistaken; I know their valour, and the strength of their country, more than any that hath yet been in Tangier; for, when I have been amongst the Moors, I

have enquired many things concerning their order, militia, numbers, &c. which I perceive we are ignorant of.

The greatest strength of the Moors army, is in the horse and lance foot they have, armed partly with guns, and partly with lances; but they have no great guns, neither do they know how to manage them, nor carry them into the field. They fight in disorder, without rank or files, the horse by themselves, and the foot by themselves. In set battles, which have seldom been seen in this country, the horse make up the van and the rear, and the foot the main body; so that many times the foot have nothing for them to do, but to destroy the defeated enemy, when the horse hath routed and terrified them. But they are for ambushes and surprises, because their country is very proper for that purpose. Muley Arxid overcame Gayland in this manner, as he had before ruined Bembouka. In this country they have but little or no standing army; all is made up of their several divisions, or companies of Arabs scattered about, who know their distinct monkadems, or colonels, under whom they are to fight, and to whom they are to repair in all alarms. But they cannot subsist long in one place, because they have no purveyors, nor other provisions, but what every man brings with him, unless it be some small quantity, which the place where they lie may afford them, in case of necessity. They fight in the same manner, as the Roman authors have represented the ancient Mauri; neither are they better skilled in marshalling an army, or fighting. Let any man that knows the art of war, compare them with us, and judge whether we may not be able to encounter them. If they have had successes against us, it is through our weakness and unpreparedness. We have marched against them only with muskets and swords, and they have come against us with horse and lance: before our men had time to discharge their muskets, the horse and the lance had disordered our men, broken their ranks, and cut them all to pieces on a sudden. Had we a wall of pikes to oppose against them, lined with muskets, all the horse of Barbary could do us no mischief, and we might safely march through their whole country. An example we have lately had of a worthy commander, Sir Palmes Fairbourne, who made his retreat with his party without any considerable loss, only with the assistance of a stand of pikes, which kept off the Moors horse, whilst his foot fired upon them. Their foot signify nothing, their horse have no guns or very few, only pistols. For their infantry, they are unskilful in the managing of a gun, neither have they the courage to stand a shot. The Portuguese seldom encountered with the Moors, but they had the victory; therefore, we must ascribe all our losses to the unadvisedness of our commanders, and the disorder of our men, and their want of those defensive weapons, which were able to keep off the fury of the Moors horse. I dare engage with five or six thousand English, against above twenty thousand Moors, if the English may have those arms and provisions that become them. Such is the weakness of this country, that they can scarce bring together, under one commander, twenty thousand men: for they are all divided under several heads of families, since the death of the last Emperor of Morocco, and will not consent

to set up a monarch again. He, therefore, that hath the longest sword, gets the victory, and the chief command. In this case, it is an easy matter for us to make an interest for ourselves, by encouraging some party, and imitating the Roman policy, who never ventured against a nation, or people, but with the assistance of some of their own soldiers. But it is our unhappiness, that we know not what is done amongst the Moors; we live in Tangier within the walls and lines, and, unless we send a flag of truce for some pitiful business, we scarce see the face of a Moor in a year's time, but at a distance, unless some of them come to bring provisions to us. But we have never sent any to understand their country, to search into their strength and dependencies, to examine their interests, their inclinations, and those other things which we might improve to the advantage of Tangier. If any be sent for that purpose, he must not be a nobleman, for they care not to see any greater state amongst them than they observe. Their greatest princes live as king Evander in Virgil. As they have a great respect for clergymen, I think such a one, if ingenious, and acquainted with the language of the country, might do much good, either to persuade them to a peace and trade with us, or to understand those particulars, which might cause us to secure the interest of Tangier; that may be done either by peace or war. But let us be well assured of this, that, whilst we keep only the walls of Tangier, we shall only spend money; it will never bring any profit to our king, unless the country be opened for us, which may be easily done, with little or no expence; and, instead of several thousand pounds which his majesty spends in the maintaining of Tangier, it shall not only maintain itself, but yield a considerable revenue to the crown of England. For the future, it may be rendered a dreadful city to the Moors, Spaniards, Turks, and French, and keep in the incursions of those of Algier.

If Tangier were in that condition, men would desire to go over and inhabit there, for the conveniency of trade; some neighbour factories would settle there, and we should vend all commodities of wool which lie upon our hands, amongst the Africans, for now the Dutch and French furnish them. We should secure our merchants from the pirates of Algier, for then they would not dare to break with us upon every slight occasion. When the Vandals conquered Africa, it was stronger than it is now, and they had not the advantage of guns as we have, yet they found but little difficulty to subdue the inhabitants, who were then assisted by the Romans and Grecians.

I could offer many things for the good of Tangier, from my knowledge of the country since the beginning of the world: but I know not how acceptable these things will be. I am certain, if a right course was taken, the mole, which hath been long building, might be speedily finished; Tangier might be made the most prosperous and hopeful city that belongs to England; and it should repay to his majesty all that has been expended in the keeping of it since it was ours. If I be required, I shall be willing, not only to give a further account, but also to be instrumental in the promoting of the good of Tangier.

A LETTER TO THE EARL OF SHAFTSBURY,

This 9th day of July, 1680.

FROM

TOM TELL-TROTH, A DOWNRIGHT ENGLISHMAN.

Folio, containing four pages.

My Lord,

I HAVE lived to see your lordship great as well as popular, and a stout assertor of the protestant religion and interest. Wherefore to your lordship have I thought fit, in this time of danger to our native country, to lay before you the great mischiefs that both the monarchy and protestant religion do suffer, in respect of the present designs of papists and commonwealth's men: and when I have discovered to your lordship their intrigues, as far as my strict scrutiny and search into them, besides sufficient testimonies from others truly informed, have satisfied me, I hope we shall take such adequate measures from them, to satisfy both your lordship and this kingdom, that ruin and desolation will come swift on us, confusion and every evil work, if some speedy remedy be not instantly proposed by the wisdom of the great council of this nation.

And first, my lord, your lordship will please to give me leave to make a parallel between the past actions of the designing men before and after 1641, to the happy restoration of the king; by it I shall be able to satisfy your lordship, that what was then designed and effected upon the person of the late King, Church of England, and Government, were the result of such pernicious counsels and designs, as are now hatching by these sons of Belial, to the present disturbance, if not ruin of our flourishing church and kingdom.

It is obvious to all that have had any knowledge of the late transactions before 1640, and after, that the papist seeing our church so well guarded with purity of doctrine and faith, with innocent ceremonies, to defend her from the invasion of slovenly and dishonourably worshiping of the great god; as well also to avoid the superstition and foppery of the worship of the Church of Rome: behold what emissaries were there sent out, and with what cloathing to deceive; the puritan must be drawn in to make an outcry against canons, ceremonies, and whatever was injoined by law in the worship of God must be antichristian, at least it must be said unlawfully imposed on their tender consciences. From sowing these doctrines, the poor and the ignorant were taught to believe bishops to be the very limbs of antichrist, and superstition and idolatry brought by them into the church; and many worthy patriots,

such as Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, &c. would smell popery and superstition, in gown, surplice, cross in baptism, worshiping God towards the east, a primitive custom in the church of God, &c. then publish to the world the great care they had to bring things to a due reformation both in church and state. But behold the consequence of this undertaking; they had no sooner gone about to undermine the Church of England, but then it was fit time to call in question too the miscarriages of state, and to be sure Archbishop Laud, who was the most eminent assertor of the rights of the church, and as true a protestant as ever lived, must be the first man cried down by the teachers and rabble, for being popishly inclined, or rather for being a papist, and must be butchered too for that supposition; by his death ended the tranquillity of the once flourishing Church of England: thus had the papist, hand in hand with fanatick rage and zeal, triumphed over us. But, after this, it was not enough to bring our church low, but we must yet go higher——Well! What encouragement has the king given to papists of late, by preferring them to places of great consequence in the government, such as were Strafford, &c.?—These persons, say those, must be removed for evil counsellors, or we shall have no peace in our Israel; accordingly our zealous teachers sent their disciples abroad in all avenues of the city, to cry down evil counsellors, for that their design was to bring in popery, and destroy liberty, ay the liberty of the subject. And then forsooth ship-money, a huge burden to what we have felt since, was against Magna Charta, indeed every thing in the government found fault with, as either popishly or arbitrarily inclined; then cry out for reformation, reformation. And when, for peace-sake, our good king had granted many of their unreasonable demands, and had delivered to their fury innocent blood, to prevent, as he thought, the shedding much more; yet would not their rage stop here, but, at last, king, church, and all were brought to destruction, by the most horrid rebellion and villainy, as can scarce be paralleled in any kingdom in the world in all circumstances.

And now, my lord, one would think, that this pretended glorious reformation should have produced some settlement by this time to the tottering kingdom: no, truly; we found nothing but sect springing out of sect; and they, that once prayed and fought together against the peace of the kingdom in one body, and, as it were, under one denomination, are presently dwindled into many little parties and saintships, and every one crying to his neighbour, 'I am holier than thou art;' so that from papist sprung puritan, from puritan presbyterian, from presbyterian independent; from thence anabaptists, antinomians, fifth-monarchists, sweet singers in Israel, quakers, Muggletonians, and the Lord knows what, till, by and through the inconstancy of their persons and judgments, and the various freaks of the several humours, all was reduced to a chaos; so that neither a single usurper, nor a parliament without a king, nor committee of safety, nor keepers of the liberties, or councils of officers, and strength of arms could produce any quiet, till God wonderfully restored him, whose undoubted right it was to sway the scepter of these kingdoms. And thus, my lord, I have, in short, given your lordship an account of what has been acted in those times; let me now crave leave further to make the parallel with the present times;

and therein, if I reflect on some of the busy and designing men, I hope I shall not break the laws of decorum, because things are brought to that crisis, that, if an honest English heart will not now speak home to the purpose, for aught I can see, he may evermore hold his peace.

Well then, my lord, do we not now perceive, as clear as the sun at noon-day, that the same men, or men of the same principles, are again hard at work to undermine and destroy both our church, and state too? What divided interests and factions have there been, for seven years last past, and more, to bring the king and governors into disgrace, by frequent clubs at coffee-houses and taverns, on purpose to break the bonds of unity among us! From these places and sinks of sedition and rebellion, have there not been many of a higher form, who, through discontent, or love of faction and change of government, or for not being continued, or preferred to the highest and most honourable places therein, have endeavoured all they can to breed differences between the two houses of parliament, by throwing in a little matter with a ball of contention at the end on't, purposely to hinder the prosecution of what should tend to the advancement of the publick weal; and what can be more plain, than that such designs since were like those of 1641? Because the bishops would not herd with commonwealth's-men's interests. Yet, my lord, I do believe the bishops are as prudent men, and can as well tell the nature of an oath, together with the design as well as the consequence thereof, as any states-men I know of in the kingdom, let them pretend to what they will; and besides, I am sure their interest is so interwoven in the monarchy of England, that neither popery, nor any other interest besides that of their own church as established by law, can any ways preserve them, unless they will all as one man fall down and worship the great image, and be all things to all men, that they may be sure to get something, as many, my lord, pretended famous states-men have done in the several changes of government in these kingdoms. But that is not to be supposed of them, since they would not, nor did ever join with any such interest as opposed church or state; and thus did both city and country, clubs, and coffee-houses ring, that the bishops were the only opposers of the true interest of the kingdom, and the great occasion why justice could not be done on capital and notorious offenders. This, my lord, is a true spice of old 1641, and your lordship cannot but observe, that it hath brought the bishops into suspicion with the vulgar sort, that they are driving on the popish design, and that there are not above two protestant bishops amongst them all, as they give out.

Well, but this will not do yet; 'tis not so long since Laud was murdered, and Strafford: people sufficiently smarted under covenanting reformers, and army saints, and 'tis not easy to play the same game over again the same way. And this the designing men see, and so are fain to have other artifices to rend the government in pieces, and reduce it to its former chaos or designed commonwealth; so that if neither disquieting or dividing parliaments, nor secret combining clubs against great ministers of state, nor a seeming weariness of the monarchy of England, nor disgracing the governours of the church, nor suspicion of popery, and the introducing thereof, will do the business to exasperate

the people, as in 1641: Why truly then comes forth a plot full of treason and popery; then forsooth the duke must needs be the foundation of this damnable plot, and the discoverers (who no doubt have been blessed instruments to save us at this time from the paw of antichrist) must be revered as demy-gods among the vulgar, but more especially among the precious independent and anabaptist faction; but not to reflect on the king's evidence, for no doubt deservedly did those suffer who were condemned by the justice of our laws, and many more deservedly may that have a hand in that pernicious and bloody design against his majesty's sacred person and government. In this hurly-burly what a confusion did it bring the kingdom into? How did it necessitate the king to prorogue and adjourn, yea, and dissolve parliaments from time to time? When he could not but so do for the preservation of the peace of the kingdom, and defeating the designs both of popish and self-designing men who sought to disturb it; and so apparent this was, that no loyal heart but trembled at it. Then again forsooth all miscarriages of this nature must be attributed to the duke and his party, and given out by the designing men, that no parliaments should ever sit again, but all would be arbitrary, and accordingly guards must be doubled to defend us from Jesuits, and popery, and this bugbear of arbitrary government. Now in the name of Machiavel where are we going next? 'Oh!' cries the first and deepest among the designers, 'let us keep off the king from parliaments till his revenue will not answer the charge of the crown, and put him into the condition his father of blessed memory was, that he will be necessitated to call one; then he shall be obliged to redress all the grievances, hang all plotters (provided they be none but such as are popishly inclined), punish church offenders, and saint persecutors; then shall he be obliged to hearken to every thing we shall propose about succession; then we shall be able to make our own terms with him, either we will have Monmouth, or we will know why: we will have one black-box or other found, wherein the writing is, that will prove what we would have legitimate, and successor to the crown, in opposition to royal word, and whatever demonstrations shall be the contrary, provided it effectually hinders and deprives the known, true, and lawful successor that is popishly affected; and we will never leave clubbing nor meeting, till we have effected this, maugre all former designs by popish counsels, or protestants whatsoever.'

Indeed, my lord, it were to be wished for the quiet and welfare of the nation, that these, and such like designs, were laid aside, and every one studied to do his own business, to obey wholesome laws, rather than to trust again to new law-makers: for my part, my lord, I wonder what it is these men would have. If they think that ever popery or arbitrary government can govern in this kingdom, then they have reason to be thus concerned. But, my lord, though I am a plain old Englishman, I can see as far it may be as one that sees less; and I protest, my lord, that after having read over abundance of such ware as little Andrew Marvel's unhoopable wit and policy, and the Independent Comment amongst it, together with the Growth of Popery, &c. as also the Naked Truth, Treatises about French interests, and the Succession of

the Crown, and all this bustle they have made amongst us: to say the truth, my lord, I am Tom Tell-troth, and, between your lordship and I, I do not believe there's any need of such books, or any such jealousies; for, in God's name, what can preserve us, but being zealous for our religion, and obedient to our superiors? And what can preserve them, but the love of their subjects, and governing according to the laws they have made, and are obliged to maintain? And, for my part, I don't see any invasion of liberty and property as they term it; I see indeed a sort of men, who will be always restless and buzzing the vulgar ear with strange fears and jealousies, which tend to nothing but destruction both of prince and people. Truly, my lord (your lordship being a person of such eminent parts, and having known most of the publick humours of this land and people these forty years) I think your lordship would do well to find out some of these underminers of the publick peace of the kingdom, that meet at taverns, and other publick houses, and by your strong arguments convince them, that this is not the way to bring about their designs, whatsoever mixture of counsels they may have; and, since your lordship lives in that great city wherein these persons are said to reside, your lordship would send them such unquestionable rules to walk by, as may tend to the securing of the peace of the kingdom, and rooting out all jealousies and fears of popery and arbitrary government: as also to fix them to the old ways of loyalty and obedience, which are the only paths of peace to dwell in. Then shall we see that it will be our interest (whatever we imagine liberty and property to be) to promote the honour of God, and the religion of the kingdom as established by law; to honour and obey the king according to the laws, to love one another as men and christians, and to lay all our heads, hearts, and hands together to support the same. My lord, I shall now conclude this long epistle without any other compliment, than that I am,

Wilts, the 9th of July, 1680.

Your lordship's most humble servant,

TOM TELL-TROTH.

A NARRATIVE OF UNHEARD-OF

POPISH CRUELTIES TOWARDS PROTESTANTS

BEYOND SEAS:

OR, A NEW ACCOUNT OF THE BLOODY SPANISH INQUISITION.

Published as a Caveat to Protestants. By Mr. Dugdale.

London, printed for John Hancock, at the three Bibles in Pope's-Head Alley over-against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, 1680.

FOLIO, CONTAINING THIRTY-TWO PAGES.

To the most excellent Prince James Duke of Monmouth, &c.

I have often wondered that the cruelties as well as villainies of the Romish Church have not long before this provoked Almighty God to avenge upon her all the blood of his saints, which she hath every where, as so much water, spilt upon the face of the whole earth; but reflecting upon the many sins of God's own people, which certainly have been the only cause of the withholding of his most just and expected judgments from being poured forth upon her from the fullest vials of his wrath, I have again considered of the justice as well as goodness of God herein; justice to be revealed from heaven upon her, when the fulness of her abominations shall be accomplished; and his goodness and mercy to his people, in purging them by these his chastisements from the dross and sin of their iniquities. Here we have a revelation of the great God in two of his greatest and most glorious attributes, his mercy and his judgment, according to their respective objects. The holy King and Prophet David wondered no less than he grieved at this matter, till he went into the sanctuary of God, where he 'understood the end of wicked men, and that verily there is a reward for the righteous, and a God that judgeth in the earth.'

With what antichristian, no less than inhuman, cruelty she hath behaved herself towards the saints and servants of God, whom she calls Hereticks, this small history will sufficiently acquaint your grace, and will, I hope, prove a sufficient alarm to the nation, to rouse her up as one man, to prevent and hinder the rooting or springing of her vile superstitions here for the time to come. No, sir, the people of England are doubtless sufficiently cautioned and fortified against any such attempt; however, it may not perhaps be unseasonable to remind them, and fully set before them the barbarous cruelties and unchristian severities, wherewith the holy inquisition, for so they falsly stile it, is to the shame and sorrow of the best amongst them in foreign countries, where it is suffered in the highest pitch of rigour to be managed; no, we hope so great is the goodness of God, both towards our prince and people, that it is past not only the strength, but malice of our Romish adversaries to hurt either his sacred person or the government. May the good will of him that dwelt in the bush preserve and ever keep your grace from any of their wicked attempts upon your excellency's person, from dividing you from your prince's favour, or, which can never be, our most sacred and ever dread sovereign from his good subjects and people; and let all true-hearted Englishmen say, Amen.

Your grace's most humble servant,

and daily orator,

RICH. DUGDALE.

WHEN King Ferdinand and Isabel had expelled the Turks out of the city and territories of Granada, and other places of Spain, who had lived there seven hundred and seventy-eight years, they set upon the reformation of religion, and gave the conquered Moors liberty to stay, and to enjoy all their goods, provided they would turn Christians; and, whereas also there were many Jews, who had continued there since Titus conquered Jerusalem, they gave them leave to stay, upon the same condition; but all such, as refused, were commanded presently to depart out of Spain: yet afterwards, finding that those persons were Christians only in name, and had submitted only to save their estates, instead of providing godly ministers with meekness to instruct them, and to reprove them for their errors, by the advice of the Dominican friars, they erected the inquisition; wherein the poor wretches, instead of instruction, were robbed of all their estates, and either put to most cruel deaths, or else suffered most intolerable torments, by whipping, &c. and led the rest of their lives in ignominy and poverty. Neither was this inflicted only upon such as blasphemed

Christ, but for the observation of the least Jewish or Moorish ceremony, or the smallest error in the Christian religion. But this inquisition, at first erected against Jews and Moors, was afterwards turned against the faithful servants of Jesus Christ, and for the suppressing of the gospel and the profession of it.

As soon as information is given in against any one, though but for a very small matter, they do not presently cite the person to appear before them; but they suborn one of their own officers, called a Familiar, to insinuate himself into his company; who, taking occasion to meet the party thus accused, uses thus to greet him: 'Sir, I was yesterday, 'by accident, at my lords inquisitors, who said, that they had occa-'sion to speak with you about certain of their affairs; and therefore 'they commanded me to summon you to appear before them to-mor-'row, at such an hour.' The party, daring not to refuse, goes to the place, and sends in word, that he is come to attend on them; and so, when he is called in, they ask him, what suit he hath to them? And, when he answers, that he comes upon summons, they enquire his name; for, say they, we know not, whether you are the same man, or not, but, since you are come in, if you have any thing to inform this court of, either concerning yourself, or any other, you may let us hear it, for the discharge of your own conscience. The party's safest way is constantly to deny that he hath any thing to declare to them; but if, through simplicity, he doth accuse himself, or any other, they rejoice, as having attained their desires, and so presently commit him to prison. If nothing be confessed, they dismiss him, pretending that, for the present, they know not whether he be the party, or no. After his departure, they let him alone for some space, and then send for him again, exhorting him, that, if he know, or hath heard any thing, that concerns their holy court, he disclose it to them; for, say they, we know that you have had dealings with some person suspected in religion; and therefore remember yourself well: if you confess, you shall fare the better, and you shall but do therein, as a good Christian ought to do. If still he refuse, they threaten, and so dismiss him.

Yet they have always one or other to keep him company, to creep into his bosom, and grope into his conscience; who, under the colour of friendship, shall visit him daily, and have an eye to all his dealings; observe what company he keepeth, with whom he confers, &c. so that, without God's special assistance, it is not possible to escape their snares. The inquisitors also, if they meet him, speak courteously to him, promise to befriend him, &c. and all to make him more careless of himself, that they may undo him before he be aware: but, if the party be a stranger, or one that is like to make an escape, or from whom they hope to gain any thing by his confession, they presently clap him up in prison; in which prison great numbers die, either starved with hunger, or by extremity of racking of them, &c.

If any one, that is accused, chance to make an escape, they have many devices to find and fetch him in again: they have store of searchers, to whom, besides the common signs, they give his lively picture, whereby they may easily know him. An Italian, at Rome, having wounded an apparitor, fled to Seville; the Familiar swere sent to seek

him, and, when they had found him, though they had his counterfeit, yet, by reason that he had altered his habit, they were doubtful whether it was he, or no; the rather, because he had changed his name; whereupon, they followed him only upon suspicion; but one day, as he was walking, and earnestly talking with some gentlemen, two of those familiars suddenly called him by his old name: the party, earnest in talk, and not minding it, looked behind him, and made answer; whereupon they presently apprehended him, clapped him in irons for a long time, then whipped him, and condemned him to the gallies, during his life. So soon as any is arrested by the familiars, they take from him all the keys of his locks or chests whatsoever; and then they take an inventory of all his goods, leaving them to some man that will undertake to be accountable for them; but, in the sequestering, or rifling the houses, if they have any gold, silver, or jewels, these familiars (which are usually bawds, thieves, shifters, and the vilest of people) will be sure to filch some of it; and the reason of this sequestration is, that, if the party be condemned, the holy inquisition may enjoy his whole estate.

As soon as the prisoner is entered within the first gate of the prison, the gaoler asketh him, if he hath a knife about him, or money, or rings, or jewels? And, if a woman, whether she hath knives, rings, chains, bracelets, or other ornaments? And all these the gaoler strips them of, as his fee; and this is done, that the poor prisoners may have nothing to relieve themselves with, during their imprisonment; they search them also, to see whether they have any writing, or book about them, which likewise they take from them; then they shut them up in a cabin, like to a little-ease, where they have little room for cleanliness, and but little light.

Some are thus kept all alone for two or three months, some as long as they live; others have company, as the lords inquisitors please. When the party hath been in prison a week or two, the gaoler persuades him to petition for a day of hearing, telling him, the sooner the better; and that it will much further his cause, and bring it to some good effect, &c. whereas it were far better for him to stay till he be called for; for then he hath nothing to do but to answer their objections. But the poor prisoner, not knowing this mystery, is usually ruled by his keeper, intreating him to stand his friend to procure him a day of hearing; whose suit is easily heard, and the prisoner is brought into the consistory. Then the inquisitors ask him, what is his request? the prisoner answereth, that he would gladly have his matter heard: then they labour, by threatening him with worse usage, if he conceal the truth, to cause him to confess the thing whereof he is accused; and, if they can but draw him to this, they have their desires; for usually they draw more from him than they could have proved against him. Then they advise him to let him come from himself; promising, that, if he acknowledge his faults, he shall presently be released and sent home; if yet he stands mute, they then charge him to disburden his conscience, and, in the mean time, to return to his prison, till he hath better bethought himself, and then he may sue for a new day of hearing, and so

they dismiss him. And, some days after, they call for him again; asking him, whether he be yet determined to tell aught? But whether he plead his innocency, or confess some little, they still urge him to disburden his conscience, and persuading him, that they advise him for the best, and in love and compassion to him; but, if he now refuse the favour proffered, he shall find them afterwards sharp justices, &c. and so send him back again to prison.

The third time he is called for, they use the like subtlety, to draw him to confession; telling him, that, if he refuse, they must use extremity, and do what they can by law; by which word, they mean extreme tormenting and mangling of him. Then, if the party confess any thing, nay, say they, we are not yet satisfied, we have not all you can say, you keep back something on purpose: and so they remand him to prison.

Having thus excruciated him day by day, if they can yet get nothing out of him, they then require an oath of him, and hold a crucifix, or cross, before him, whereby the poor Christian must at last needs shew himself; for knowing, that he ought to swear by God alone, who hath reserved this honour to himself, he must refuse the oath; which, if he do, then they read a large indictment against him, wherein they lay to his charge things that never any man accused him of, and which, it may be, himself never thought of; and this they do to amaze him, and so try if he will confess any of these misdemeanors; or, if they can trip him in his answers, and so catch him in their net. Then they put him to answer to every article, particularly, *ex tempore*, without any time of deliberation; then they give him pen, ink, and paper, requiring him to set down his answer in writing, to see if they can find any difference betwixt his former answer, and this: and, if the party chance to confess aught, then they enquire of whom he learned it, and whether he hath spoken of it before others, and who they are, and hereby many are brought into trouble; for, whether they liked it or not, they are sure to be questioned, because they did not come and declare it to the fathers inquisitors. Then, pretending to shew him favour, they appoint an advocate, to blind the people's eyes, as if they proceeded according to the rules of justice; but this advocate dares not tell his client any point of law that may do him good, for fear of angering the inquisitors; neither may he speak privately with his client, but either before an inquisitor or a notary.

Two or three days after the party hath had the copy of his accusation, he is called into the court, where his advocate is, as if he intended to defend his cause; but, indeed, he dares say nothing to the purpose, for fear of angering the inquisitors; only he chears up his client, and bids him tell the truth in any case, as the only way to prevail in that court, and then is the prisoner sent back again; who hopes that now his case will be heard, and his business dispatched; whereas, usually, these good fathers let him lie two, or three, or four years in prison, without ever calling for him again: and if, through loathsomeness and intolerableness of the prison, any suit to come to hearing, it may be, with much ado, he obtains it; but, usually, that favour is denied them;

yet at length, when they please, they call for him to hear the depositions of the witnesses against him, which yet is not done, till the poor prisoner, by his grievous imprisonment, is brought so low, as that they think he will rather chuse death, than such a life, and therefore will be willing to tell all, that so he may be rid out of his misery; then, between rebuking and a gentle admonition, they tell him, 'that though he hath stood out so long, yet at length they would have him wiser, to confess the truth; but, if he yet refuse to be his own accuser, then the fiscal produceth the depositions, which are delivered to the prisoner; but they are drawn up so intricately and ambiguously, that he knows not what to make of them; and this they do to conceal the witnesses, lest he should except against them, and so to set him on guessing, that so, if he chance to reckon up any others, to whom he spoke any thing about any of those matters, they may, thereby, get more grist to their mill; for they presently outlaw such persons, as favourers of hereticks, for suffering an heretick to sow such pestilent seed among them, without complaining thereof to the inquisitors.

The keeper of the prison also is examined what he hath seen and observed of him in the prison; and his testimony is as good as two testimonies to take away the prisoner's life.

They have also promoters to bring in accusations, who are admitted, though frantick bedlams, or the veriest varlets that be; and if, in their informations, they chance to want words of weight, the inquisitors will help them out, and prompt them word by word. Then, after three or four days, the prisoner is called again, to put in his answer to the depositions: but, in the interim, his advocate never comes at him, to assist or direct him, but he is left to himself, without any help, save of God alone. His answer being viewed, he is remanded to prison again with this item, that, if he confess not the truth, they will extort it out of him by extremity.

After two or three months more, he is called for once again, and required to speak what he hath for himself, or else they must draw to an end; and, if he still shrinks not, but stands firm in his justification, they proceed to other dealings, in comparison of which, all their former dealings are not only sufferable, but seem reasonable and full of gentleness; for their future actions far exceed all barbarousness, the devil himself being not able to go beyond them in their monstrous cruelty and tyranny. For, not long after, the prisoner is called in before the inquisitors, who tell him, they have deeply considered his whole case, and found out that he doth not declare the whole truth, and therefore they are resolved that he shall be racked, that by force they may draw from him, what by fair means he will not acknowledge; and therefore they advise him, rather to do it voluntarily, and thereby to avoid the pain and peril that yet attends him: yet whether he confess, or not confess, all is one, to the rack he must go: then is he led into the place where the rack standeth, which is a deep and dark dungeon, under ground, with many doors to pass through, before a man comes to it; because the shrieks and cries of the tormented should not be heard. Then the inquisitors seat themselves upon a scaffold, hard by the rack;

and, the torches being lighted, the executioner comes in, all arrayed from top to toe, in a suit of black canvas; his head is covered with a long black hood, that covereth all his face, having only two peep-holes for his eyes; which sight doth more affright the poor soul, to see one in the likeness of a devil to be his tormentor. The lords being set in their places, they begin again to exhort him to speak the truth freely and voluntarily; then, with sharp words, they command him to be stripped stark naked; yea, though the modestest maid, the chastest matron in the city; whose grief, in regard to the rack, is not so great, as to be seen naked in the presence of such manner of persons: for those wicked villians, without any regard of modesty, will not, by any prayers of godly matrons, or chaste maidens, forbear one jot of that barbarous impudence; as if a shirt or smock could hinder the violence of the rack from sufficiently tormenting them.

The party being thus stripped, the inquisitors signify to the tormentor, how they would have him or her ordered. The first kind of torment is the gibbet or pulley; but first one comes behind him, and binds his hands with a cord, eight or ten times about; the inquisitors calling upon him to strain each harder than the other: they cause also his thumbs to be bound extreme hard, with a small line; and so both hands and thumbs are fastened to a pulley, which hangs on the gibbet; then they put great and heavy bolts on his heels, and hang upon those bolts between his feet certain weights of iron, and so hoist him or her up from the ground; and, while the poor wretch hangs in this plight, they begin to exhort him again to accuse himself and as many others as he knows of; then they command him to be hoisted up higher, to the very beam, till his head touch the pulley; having hung thus a good while, they command him to be let down, and twice so much weight to be fastened to his heels, and so hoisted up again, and one inch higher, if it may be; then they command the hangman to let him up and down, that the weights of the irons, hanging at his heels, may rent every joint in his body asunder; with which intolerable pains, if the party shriek or cry out, they roar out aloud to him, to confess the truth, or else he shall come down with a vengeance: then they bid the hangman suddenly to slip the rope, that he may fall down with a sway, and in the midway to stop; thus they give him the strappado, which being as soon done, it rends all his body out of joint; arms, shoulders, back, legs, &c. by reason of the sudden jerk, and the weights hanging at his heels: if yet he remain constant, they add more weights to his heels the third time; and the poor wretch, already half dead, is hoisted up the third time; and, to increase his misery, they rail at him, calling him dog and heretick, telling him that there he is like to make his end: if the poor creature in his pangs calls upon Christ, intreating that he would vouchsafe to aid and assist him, thus miserably tormented for his sake; then they fall to mocking and deriding him, saying, 'Why callest thou on Jesus Christ? let Jesus alone, and tell us the truth: what a crying out upon Christ makest thou? &c.' But if the party desire to be let down, promising to tell somewhat, that is the ready way to make him be worse used; for now they think that he begins only to

broach the matter, for, when he hath done, they command him to be hauled up again, and to be let down as before: so that usually these torments are exercised upon him, for three hours together; then they ask the gaoler, if his other torments are ready, to affright the poor soul; the gaoler answereth, that they are ready, but he hath not brought them with him: then the inquisitors bid him to bring them against the morrow, for, say they, we will try other ways to get the truth out of this fellow: and so, turning to him that lies in miserable pain, having all his joints out: how now, sirrah, say they, how like you this geer? Have you enough of it yet? Well, see that you call your wits to-morrow, or look to die then, for what you have felt is but a flea-biting, in comparison of what is behind. And so they depart.

Then the gaoler plays the bone-setter, as well as he can, setting his joints, and so carries him back again to prison, or drags him by the arms or legs most pitifully: and, if they mean to rack him no more, after two or three days they send for him again, and cause him to be brought by the rack; where the hangman stands in the likeness of a devil, as before, the more to affright him. When he comes before the inquisitors, they fall to persuading him to confess the truth at last; and, if he confess any thing, he may chance to go to the rack again, whereby they hope to extort more; and, when indeed they intend to rack the party again, then, at three days end, when the ach in his joints is most grievous and painful to him, they send for him, requiring him to declare all his heresies, and to impeach all such as he hath had conference with about them, and all such as he knows to be of that mind, or else he must prepare himself for the rack; and, if he continue constant, he is again stripped of his clothes, and hoisted up with weights at his heels, as before: besides which, as he hangs at the pulley, they bind his thighs together, and legs about the calf, with a small strong cord, and with a short piece of wood they twist the cord, till it be shrunk so deep in the flesh that it is past sight, which is extreme and terrible torment, worse than any he hath yet endured; and in this plight they let the poor soul lie two or three hours, the inquisitors, in the mean time, not ceasing to exhort, persuade, threaten, and scoff at him.

Yea, sometimes they proceed to another kind of torture, called the *aselli*, which is after this manner. There is a piece of timber somewhat hollowed on the top, like a trough, about the middle whereof there is a sharp bar going across, whereon a man's back resteth, that it cannot go to the bottom: it is also placed so, that his heels shall lie higher than his head; then is the naked party laid thereon, his arms, thighs, and legs bound with strong small cords, and wrested with short truncheons, till the cords pierce almost to the very bone; then they take a thick fine lawn cloth, laying it over the party's mouth, as he lies upright on his back, so that it may stop his nostrils also; then taking a quantity of water, they pour it in a long stream, like a thread, which, falling from on high, drives the cloth down into his throat, which puts the poor wretch into as great an agony as any endure in the pains of death; for in this torture he hath not liberty to draw his breath, the water stopping his mouth, and the cloth his nostrils; so that, when the cloth is drawn out of the bottom of his throat, it draws forth blood with it, and

a man would think that it tore out his very bowels; this is iterated as often as the inquisitors please, and yet they threaten him with worse torments, if he confess not; and so he is returned to prison again. Yet many times, after he hath lain there a month or two, he is brought again to the rack, and used as before; yea sometimes five or six times, even as often as they please; for their lust is their law; and yet they have another torment with fire, which is no whit inferior to the former. They take a pan of burning charcoal, and set it just over against the soles of the party's feet, just before he goes to the rack; and, that the fire may have the more force upon them, they baste them with lard or bacon: but, if all extremity of torments will not force him to confess what they desire, nor to deny the truth, they use other means, by subtle interrogatories, and frequent questionings, to draw him into some snare or other: yea, if yet they cannot prevail, then some one of the inquisitors comes to him in private, and shews himself much affected with his misery; weeps with him, comforts him, gives him advice, and seems to impart such a secret to him, as he would scarce impart to his father, or dearest friend alive; and this they use most with women; whereas, they are but fair baits upon deadly hooks, whereby they seek to destroy them; whereof we have this example:

At Seville, there were apprehended a godly matron, two of her daughters and her niece, who all of them underwent the forementioned torments with manly courage, and Christian constancy, because they would not betray each other, nor other godly persons in that city. Then one of the inquisitors sent for the youngest maid often to his chamber, pretended much compassion towards her, spoke much to comfort her, told her what a grief it was to him to see her torments, and then he used familiar and pleasant communication to her; and told her he would advise her the best way to free herself, mother, and sister, from these troubles, that he would undertake the ordering of their business, and then persuaded her to tell the whole truth to him, and he bound himself with an oath, that he would stop all further proceedings against them, and procure their dismission. Having thus outwitted the poor maid, who gave too much credit to him, she told him of some points of religion which they had wont to confer of amongst themselves; and so, when he had gotten out of her what possibly he could, like a perfidious villain, contrary to his vows, promises, and oath, he caused her to be racked again, to get more out of her; yea, they put her also to the intolerable pain of the trough, and, through extremity of pangs and torments, they at last extorted from her a betraying of her own mother, sister, and divers others, who were immediately apprehended, tortured, and at last burnt with fire. But, when they were brought with great pomp upon the scaffold, and had the sentence of death passed upon them, this maid went to her aunt, who had instructed her in the principles of religion, and boldly, without change of countenance, gave her hearty thanks for the great benefit which she had received by her means, entreating her to pardon her for what she had offended her at any time, for that she was now to depart out of this life; her aunt comforted her stoutly, and bid her be of good cheer, for that now ere

long they should be with Christ: this woman was openly whipped, and kept in prison during her life; the rest were all presently burned.

Another device they have is this. When they think that prisoners, which are together, do talk together of religion, exhorting and comforting one another, as they have occasion or opportunity; the inquisitors commit to prison, under a colour, a crafty knave, whom they call a Fly, who, after two or three days, will cunningly insinuate himself into the bosom of the other prisoners, and then, pretending a great deal of zeal to religion, he will proffer discourse to them, and by degrees get out of their mouths something whereof he may accuse them: then doth he move for a day of hearing, and so, getting into the inquisitors, impeaches the prisoners, who shall be sure afterwards to hear of it to their smart; yea, these Flies as soon as they are out of one prison, for the hope of gain, will be content presently to be put into another, and then into a third, where they will lie in chains, as the other prisoners do, enduring hunger, cold, stink, and the loathsomeness of the prison, and all to betray others; and this man's accusation is as strong and valid as the testimony of any other witness whatsoever. Other Flies also there are that serve the holy inquisition abroad, slily insinuating themselves into the company of the common people, who are suspected to be Lutherans, and, when they can pump any thing out of them, they presently betray them. They have yet this other device, when they can catch any man that is noted for religion, or a minister that hath instructed others, after he hath been in prison a while, they give it out, that he, upon the rack, hath discovered all his disciples and acquaintance, and they suborn others to aver, that they heard it: and this they do to draw the simple people to come of their own accord, and to confess their faults to the inquisitors, and to crave pardon; whereupon they promise them favour.

The inquisitors and their officers use to call their prisoners dogs and hereticks, and indeed they use them much worse than most men do their dogs; for, first, the place where usually each of them is laid, by reason of the streightness, ill air, and dampness of the earth, is liker a grave than a prison; and if it be aloft, in the hot weather, it is like a hot oven or furnace; and in each of these holes usually two or three are thronged together, so that they have no more room than to lie down in. In one corner is a stool of easement, and a pitcher of water to quench their thirst; in these cells they have no light, but what comes in at the key-hole, or some small cranney; others there are much worse, not being long enough for a man to lie in; so that such, as are put into them, never likely come out till they be half rotted away, or die of a consumption.

Their diet is answerable to their lodging; the rich pay large fees to the holy house, and every prisoner is rated as the inquisitors please; but such as are poor the king allows three-pence a day, out of which the steward, landress, and some other necessary charges are deducted, so that not one half of it comes to the prisoner's share; and, if any be moved with compassion to relieve them, it is counted such an heinous offence, that it will cost him a scourging till blood come, at least. It once happened that there was a keeper appointed for their prison in the castle

of Triana in Seville, that was of a courteous disposition by nature, who used the prisoners well, and closely, for fear of the inquisitors, shewed them some favour; at which time there were a godly matron, and her two daughters, committed to prison, who, being put into several rooms, had a great desire to see each other for their mutual comfort in their distress; whereupon they besought the keeper to suffer them to come together, if it were but for one quarter of an hour; the keeper yielded, and so they were together about half an hour, and then returned to their former prisons. Within a few days after, these women being racked in a terrible manner, the keeper fearing, lest they would confess that little favour which he had shewed them, of his own accord went to the inquisitors, confessed his fact, and craved pardon; but they deemed this so heinous an offence, that they presently commanded him to be hauled to prison, where, by reason of the extremity shewed him, he fell mad. Yet this procured him no favour; for, after he had been a whole year in a vile prison, they brought him upon their triumphant stage, with a Sambenito upon him, and a rope about his neck, and there they censured him to be whipped about the city, and to have two hundred stripes, and then to serve in the gallies for six years. The next day, one of his mad fits coming upon him, as he was set on an ass's back to be scourged, he threw himself off, snatched a sword out of the officer's hand, and had slain him, if the people had not immediately laid hold on him; whereupon he was bound faster on the ass's back, had his two hundred stripes, and was for this offence condemned four years longer to the gallies.

Another keeper, at another time, had a maid, who, seeing how miserably the prisoners were used, pitying their distressed condition, who were hunger-starved and almost pined, she would sometimes speak to them at the grate, exhort and comfort them as well as she could, and sometimes would help them to some good and wholesome food; yea, by her means the prisoners came to understand one another's condition, which was a great comfort to them; but, this, at last, coming to the inquisitors ears, they enjoined her to wear the Sambenito, to be whipped about the streets, to receive two hundred stripes, and to be banished the city for ten years, with this writing on her head, 'A favourer and aider of hereticks.' And, whereas all other sorts of persons in prison and bondage are allowed to recreate and refresh themselves with singing at their pleasure, these poor souls are forbidden this small solace, in their great misery; for, if any of them sing a psalm, or openly recite any portion of scripture, the inquisitors take it very heinously and presently send to them, requiring them to be silent upon the pain of excommunication: and, if the prisoner make light of this warning, he shall have a bit set on his tongue to teach him obedience; and this they do both to deprive the poor souls of all kinds of solace, and to keep other prisoners from knowing how their friends do; so that it often falls out, that a man and his friend, the father and son, yea, the husband and wife, shall be in one prison-house two or three years together, and not know of each other's being there, till they meet upon the scaffold, upon the great day of triumph.

By reason of this cruel usage, many of the prisoners die; some of

their torments, others of the stink of the prison, and others of diseases contracted by hunger and cold, ill diet, &c. They have also an hospital, unto which they remove such as fall sick in their prisons, where yet they are not dealt more gently with in any thing, save that they have physick allowed them for their health's sake; but none are suffered to come to them, but the physician and the servants of the hospital; and, as soon as the patient is on the mending hand, he is carried back to the place from whence he came.

If the prisoner be half naked, or want something to lie on, and thereupon pray the inquisitors that his necessity may be considered; the answer which he receives is this: well, now the weather is warm, you may live full well, without either cloaths or couch; and, if it be the winter time, his answer is, true, it hath been a great frost of late, but now the cold is come down again, and it will be more seasonable weather; care you for the garments wherewithal you should cloath your soul, which consisteth in uttering the truth, and discharging your conscience before this holy house; and, if the prisoner desire to have some good book, or the Holy Bible, to inable him to pass that troublesome and careful time to some profit, the inquisitors answer him, that the true book is to speak the truth, and to discharge his conscience to that holy court, and that he ought to be occupied in laying open his wounds to their lordships, who are ready to give him a plaister; whereby it appears that all their care and desire is, that the poor prisoner may have nothing to look on, or think on, but his present miserable state, that the grief thereof, grating upon him, may force him to satisfy their request.

The last act of the tragedy remaineth, wherein both parties are pleased, and have their desire; the inquisitors in obtaining their prey, the prisoners in finding some end of their miserable usage: but, two or three days before the solemnity, they use severally to call before them all such whose estates are confiscated, examining them what lands or goods they have; where they lie, charging them, upon great penalties, not to conceal one jot; telling them, that, if any thing be afterwards found, felony shall be laid to their charge, and he with whom it is found shall pay soundly for it; and, when all is confessed, they are returned to prison again.

The night before the festival, they cause all the prisoners to be brought into a large room, where they are informed of the several times of penances that they are to do the next day. The next morning, very early, the Familiars come, and attire the prisoners in their several habits, in which they are to appear before the people: some in Sambenitoes, which is a long garment painted all over with ugly devils, on his head he hath a high crown'd hat, whereon a man is painted burning in the fire, with many devils about him, plying him with fire and faggots; besides, their tongues have a cleft piece of wood put upon them, which nips and pincheth them that they cannot speak; they have also about their necks cords, and their hands fast bound behind them. On this sort come these constant martyrs disguised first to the stage, and then to the stake; and in the like sort do all the rest come forth arrayed as the others, and set forthwith the like notes of infamy, either more or less, as the inquisitors please to disgrace them in the sight of the people; on

each hand of every prisoner, goeth a Familiar all armed to guard him; as also two friars, with every one that is to die, who persuade him, tooth and nail, to deny that doctrine that formerly he hath professed, now at the going out of this world; which wicked importunity is a grief to the poor servants of Jesus Christ.

The inquisitors also pass in great pomp from the castle of Triana to their scaffold; and, when all are set in their places, a sermon begins, framed on purpose in commendation of the holy house, and in confutation of such hereticks as are presently to suffer; but the greatest part is spent in slanderous reproaches, wherewith they vilify and disgrace the truth, and the profession of it. The sermon being ended, the sentences against the prisoners are read; first against such as have easiest punishment, and so in order to the greater; which sentences are commonly these, death without mercy, whipping in such extremity, that the persons seldom escape with their lives, condemnation to the gallies, forfeiture of all their estates, &c.

Then doth the chief inquisitor absolve all such as have forsaken Christ, and are come home to the church of Rome, from all the errors for which they shewed themselves penitent; but, though hereby they are absolved from the fault, yet not from the punishment, for, notwithstanding their recantation, they must abide the punishment without mercy.

And, whereas multitudes of people resort to this spectacle, some coming twenty leagues to see it, the inquisitors have this trick to uphold their kingdom: they cause all the people present to take an oath to live and die in the service of the church of Rome, hazarding both lives and goods against any that shall oppose it, as also, to their power, to uphold and maintain the holy inquisition, and to defend all the officers thereof, &c.

Then, if there be any amongst the prisoners to be degraded, they proceed after this manner: First they apparel him in his massing robes, then they despoil him again of every part thereof; then are his hands, lips, and the crown of his head scraped with a piece of glass, or sharp knife, till they bleed again, to scrape off the holy oil wherewith he was anointed at his ordination. In the end of their sentence, which is pronounced upon such as are to be burned, they use this abominable hypocrisy: they bequeath him to the secular power, with this humble request to them, to shew the prisoner as much favour as may be, and neither to break any bone, nor pierce the skin of the body; this shews their great impudence, that, having already given sentence on him to be burned, they yet should pretend such mercy and clemency towards him, whom all along themselves have used with such extreme cruelty.

They use also this trick further, that, in reading the crimes, for which he is condemned, they do not only misreport such things as he confessed upon his examination, but they devilishly father upon him such things as he never spoke, or thought of, in all his life; and this they do to disgrace him, and make him and his opinions more abhorred of all men; and to increase their own estimation and credit, as being necessary officers to rid the world of such pestilent persons; and all this while the prisoners tongue hath a cleft piece of wood upon it, to his intolerable pain

and grief, that he cannot answer for himself, nor gainsay that they charge him with.

All these things being finished, the magistrate takes them into his hand, and conveys them presently to the place of execution, with divers instruments of Satan about them, calling and crying to them, to forsake the truth; and, when they cannot prevail, after the prisoner is tied to the stake, they break his neck in a trice, and then they report amongst the common people, that they recanted their heresies at the last hour, and so came home to the church of Rome, and therefore they felt no pain in the fire at all.

Such as are not condemned to die are carried back, and the next day brought up to be whipped; after which some of them are sent to the gallies; others kept in prison all their life-time. But all have this special charge given them, that they never speak of any thing that they have heard, seen, or felt, during their imprisonment in the inquisition; for, if the contrary be ever proved against them, and that they utter any of their secrets, they shall be taken for persons relapsed, and be punished with greatest severity, their judgment being death without redemption; and hereby they keep in all their knavery and tyranny close and secret to themselves. And if any of them be released, because their faults were but small; they are yet so careful, least their cruelty should come to light, that they inhibit him the company and conference with any other, than such as they shall appoint and allow him: Neither will they suffer him to write to any friends, except they first have the perusing of the letters.

Sometimes also, after they have imprisoned men in such a miserable state for a year or two, and can extort nothing out of them by their torments, nor prove any thing against them by witness, so that they must necessarily dismiss them, they then call them into the court, begin to flatter them, and tell them what a good opinion they have of them, and that they are resolved to send them home; for the which fatherly favour extended toward them, in saving their lives and goods, they are to account themselves much beholden to their lordships, &c. and so at last they dismiss him with special charge of silence; and, when he is gone, they have special spies abroad, to see how he takes the matter, and, if they find that he complains of his punishments, or discloses their secrets, they presently commence a new suit against him.

On a time, the inquisitors at Seville apprehended a noble lady; the cause was, for that a sister of hers, a very virtuous virgin, who afterwards was burned for religion, had confessed in the extremity of her torments, that she had sometimes had conference with this her sister about matters of religion. This lady, when she was first apprehended, was gone with child about six months, in respect whereof they did not shut her up so close at, nor deal so severely with her, as they did with others; but, within four days after she was brought to bed, they took the child from her, and the seventh day after they shut her up in close prison, and used her in all things as they did other prisoners; the only worldly comfort she had in her misery was, that they lodged her with a virtuous maiden, that was her fellow-prisoner for a time, but afterwards burned at the stake: this maid, whilst they were together, was

carried to the rack, and so sore strained and tore thereon, that she was almost pulled in pieces; then was she brought back and thrown upon a bed of flags, that served both to lie on: the good lady was not able to help her, yet shewed singular tokens of love and compassion towards her.

The maid was scarce recovered, when the lady was carried out to be served with the same sauce, and was so terribly tormented in the trough, that, by reason of the streight straining of the strings, piercing to the very bones of her arms, thighs, and shins, she was brought back half dead to her prison, the blood gushing out of her mouth abundantly, which shewed that something was broken within her; but after eight days the Lord delivered her from these cruel tygers, by taking her mercifully to himself.

Upon one of their days of triumph, there was brought out one John Pontio, of a noble family, a zealous professor of the truth, and one of an holy and blameless life, and well learned; he was eminent also in works of charity, in which he had spent a great part of his estate. Being apprehended for the profession of the gospel, he was cast into prison, where he manfully maintained the truth, in the midst of all their cruel dealings with him; at last they cast into prison to him one of their Flies, who by his subtlety and craft so wrought upon him, that he drew from him a promise to yield obedience to the Romish church. But, though God suffered him to fall a while, to shew him his frailty, yet afterwards in much mercy he raised him up again, with double strength to that which he had before, and before his execution he manfully defended the truth against a subtle friar. The things, which he was condemned for, were these: that he should say, that from his heart he abhorred the idolatry, which was committed in worshiping the host; that he removed his houshold from place to place, that he might shun coming to mass; that the justification of a Christian resteth only in the merits of Jesus Christ apprehended by faith, &c.; that there was no purgatory; that the Pope's pardons were of no value: And for myself, saith he, I am not only willing, but desirous to die, and ready to suffer any punishment, for the truth which I have professed: I esteem not of this world, nor of the treasures of it, more than for my necessary use; and the rest to bestow in the propagation and maintenance of the gospel; and I beseech God daily upon my knees, for my wife and children, that they may always continue in this quarrel even unto death; and, when he came to his execution, he patiently and comfortably slept in the Lord.

At the same time, there was also brought forth one John Gonsalvo, formerly a priest; but, by his diligent study of the Scripture, it pleased God to reveal his truth to him, so that he became a zealous preacher of it, labouring in all his sermons to beat into men's minds, that the truth and means of our justification consist in Christ alone, and in stedfast faith in him; for which he was apprehended and cast into prison, where he endured all their cruelty with Christian courage: At last with two of his sisters he was condemned; his mother also and one of his brothers were imprisoned with him for the truth, and executed shortly after. When he with his sisters went out at the Castle-gate,

having his tongue at liberty, he began to sing the 106th Psalm before all the people, who had often heard him make many godly sermons; he condemned all hypocrites as the worst of people; whereupon they stocked his tongue. Upon the stage he never changed countenance, nor was at all daunted. When they all came to the stake, they had their tongues loosed, and were commanded to say their creed, which they did carefully: when they came to those words, the Holy Catholick church, they were commanded to add, of Rome, but that they all refused; whereupon their necks were broken in a trice, and then it was noised abroad, that they added those words and died, confessing the church of Rome to be the true Catholick church.

There was in Seville, a private congregation of God's people, most of which the inquisitors consumed in the fire, as they could discover any of them: amongst others that were apprehended, they took four women, famous above the rest, for their holy and godly conversation, but especially the youngest of them, who was not above one and twenty years old; who, by her diligent and frequent reading of the scriptures, and by conference with godly and learned men, had attained to a very great measure of knowledge, so that, whilst she was in prison, she nonplussed and put to shame many of those friars that came to seduce her.

Another of these women was a grave matron, whose house was a school of virtue, and a place where the saints used to meet and serve God day and night: but, the time being come wherein they were ripe for God, they together with others of their neighbours were apprehended and cast into prison; where they were kept in dark dungeons, and forced to endure all the cruel and extreme torments before mentioned; at last they were condemned, and brought forth to the scaffold amongst other prisoners: the young maid especially came with a merry and chearful countenance, as it were triumphing over the inquisitors; and, having her tongue at liberty, she began to sing psalms to God, whereupon the inquisitors caused her tongue to be nipped, by setting a barnacle upon it. After sentence was read, they were carried to the place of execution, where, with much constancy and courage, they ended their lives; yet the inquisitors, not satisfied herewith, caused the house of the matron, where the church used to meet, to be pulled down, and the ground to be laid waste, and a pillar to be erected upon it, with an inscription shewing the cause.

There was also apprehended another worthy member of the same congregation, called Ferdinando. He was of a fervent spirit, and very zealous in doing good; a young man, but for his integrity of life very famous. He had spent eight years in educating of youth, and had endeavoured to sow the seed of piety in the hearts of his scholars, as much as lay in him to do in a time of so great persecution, and tyranny. Being at last apprehended for a Lutheran, he was cast into prison, and terribly tormented upon the gibbet, and in the trough, whereby he was so shaken in every joint, that, when he was taken down, he was not able to move any part of his body; yet did those cruel tormentors drag him by the heels into his prison, as if he had been a dead dog; but, notwithstanding all his torments, he answered the

inquisitors very stoutly, and would not yield to them one jot. During his imprisonment, God used him as an instrument, to recall and confirm a monk, who had been cast into prison, for confessing the gospel openly: but, by means of the inquisitors flatteries and fair promises, he had somewhat relented: God's Providence so ordering it, that Ferdinando was cast into the same prison, and finding the monk wavering, he rebuked him sharply; and afterwards having drawn him to a sight of, and sorrow for his sin, he at last strengthened him in the promise of free grace and mercy. Hereupon the monk desired a day of hearing, where before the inquisitors he solemnly renounced his recantation, desiring that his former confession might stand, whereupon a sentence of death passed upon them both; after which the inquisitors asked Ferdinando, whether he would revolt from his former heresies? To which he answered, that he had professed nothing but what was agreeable to the pure and perfect word of God, and ought to be professed of every Christian man, and therefore he would stick to it to his death; then they did clap a barnacle upon his tongue, and so they were burned together.

There was also one Juliano called the Little, because he was of a small and weak body; who, going into Germany, was there conversant with divers learned and godly men, by which means he attained to the knowledge of the truth, and became a zealous professor of it; and earnestly longing after the salvation of his countrymen, he undertook a very dangerous work, which was to convey two great dry fats, full of Bibles printed in Spanish, into his own country. In the attempt he had much cause of fear, the inquisitors had so stopped every port, and kept such strict watch to prevent the coming in of all such commodities; but, through God's mighty protection, he brought his burden safely thither, and, which was also miraculous, he conveyed them safe into Seville, notwithstanding the busy searchers, and catchpoles that watched in every corner. These Bibles, being dispersed, were most joyfully and thankfully received; and through God's blessing wrought wonderfully amongst God's people, to ripen them against the time of harvest. But at last the matter broke out by the means of a false brother, who going to the inquisitors played the Judas, and betrayed the whole church to them; so that there were taken at Seville, at one time, eight hundred Christians, whereof twenty of them were afterwards roasted at one fire.

Amongst these, this Juliano was one of the first that was apprhended and sent to prison, where he lay without any company, loaden with irons above three years; yet was his constancy so great and wonderful, that the tormentors themselves were sooner wearied in inflicting, than he in suffering torments; and, notwithstanding his weak and wearyish body, yet he remained undaunted in mind, in the undergoing of all their tyrannies, so that he departed from the rack less dejected than he came to it; neither threatenings, nor pains, nor torments made him shrink or yield one jot to them; but, when he was drawn back to his prison, he would tell his fellows how he had conquered and confounded his enemies, saying they depart vanquished; the wolves fly with shame, they fly with shame.

In the day of their triumph, when he was brought out apparelled, with his other fellow-prisoners, in all their shameful habits, he exhorted them with a chearful countenance, saying, 'My brethren, be of good chear; this is the hour wherein we must be faithful witnesses unto God and his truth before men, as becomes the true servants and soldiers of Jesus Christ, and before long we shall have him to witness with us again; and within a few hours we shall triumph with him in heaven for ever;' but hereupon they presently clapped a barnacle upon his tongue, that he should speak no more, and so he was led to his execution; but, though he could not speak, yet, by his countenance and gestures, he shewed his chearful and quiet mind; then, kneeling down, he kissed the step whereon he stood, and being tied to the stake, he endeavoured by his looks and gestures to encourage his fellow martyrs in their sufferings, and so they quietly and patiently resigned up their spirits unto God.

There was also one John Leon, a taylor by trade, who, out of a blind devotion to serve God, resolved to enter into a monastery; but by God's providence it so fell out that he entered into a cloister at Seville, wherein most of the monks were well affected to the true religion, amongst whom in two or three years space he was so grounded in the principles of religion, that he resolved to leave that kind of life, which accordingly he did, and went into the country. Yet, after a time, he had a great mind to confer with his former school-masters; but, when he came back to the cloister, he found that they were all fled into Germany. Hereupon he resolved to follow them, and through many dangers and perils it pleased God at last, after a long and tedious journey, to bring him safe to Frankfort, where he met with some of his old acquaintance, and with them he travelled to Geneva. About this time Queen Mary suddenly dying, and Queen Elisabeth of blessed memory succeeding her, the English exiles, who lived in those parts, were called home; whereupon divers Spaniards that sojourned at Geneva, thinking England a fitter place for their congregation, resolved to accompany the Englishmen, and for this end they dispersed themselves into several companies, that they might travel with the more safety. The inquisitors took the departure of these monks so ill, that, not sparing any cost, they sent Flies abroad to apprehend them, who waylaid them, especially at Cologne, Frankfort, Antwerp, and in all the ways that led from Geneva. This John Leon had gotten him a companion, with whom he travelled towards England, who, being discovered at Argentine, were dogged into Zealand, and, as they were ready to take ship, they were apprehended. John Leon took his arrest very composedly, never changing countenance at it. They were presently carried back into the town, where they were miserably racked to discover their fellows, and not long after were shipped for Spain; having great irons wrought like a net that covered both head and feet, within which also was another piece of iron made like a tongue, which being thrust into their mouths took away their speech; they were also loaden with other engines and fetters of iron, wherewith they were bound hand and foot, and in these continual pains and torments they lay a ship board till they came into Spain; and then John Leon was sent to Seville, and his

companion to Valladolid, where afterwards in defence of the truth he suffered martyrdom; but John remained long in prison, where he tasted of the inquisitors tyranny, suffering both hunger and cold, and enduring all their torments one after another, and at last was brought out in their solemn shew, arrayed after the usual manner. It was a sad sight to see such a ghost as he was; his hair so grown, his body so lean, that he had nothing but skin and bones left on him, and his pain much increased by having a barnacle upon his tongue. After sentence of death pronounced upon him, they set his tongue at liberty, hoping that he would have recanted; but he made a stout and godly confession of his faith, and so quietly ended his life in the flames.

There was also burned at the same time a godly virgin, that had formerly been a nun, but, being through God's grace converted, she left her cloister, and joined herself to the church of Christ. Being apprehended by the inquisitors, she was treated as others had been before her; and at last was brought on the scaffold, where with manly courage she put the inquisitors to a foul foil; not only constantly affirming the truth, but sharply rebuking those fathers, calling them dumb dogs, a generation of vipers, &c. Being brought to the stake, with a chearful countenance she underwent the pains of death, and so quietly slept in the Lord.

There was also one Christopher Losada, a physician, a learned man and very well studied in the scriptures, as also of a very holy conversation, insomuch that he was chosen superintendent of the church of Christ in Seville, which at this time was very great, though dispersed into corners. At last he was apprehended by the inquisitors, before whom he had made a good confession of his faith, for which he endured hard and sharp imprisonment with most crüel torments, and the open infamy of their solemn shew: and lastly was adjudged to the fire. As he stood at the stake, the barnacle being taken from his tongue, he disputed notably with some monks that came to seduce him; and when they spake Latin, that the common people might not understand them, Losada also began to speak in Latin so copiously and eloquently, as was strange to hear that he should have his wits so fresh when he was ready to be burned, after which he patiently resigned up his spirit to God in the fire.

There was also in Seville one Arias, a man of a sharp wit, and well studied in divinity, but withal of a crafty wit and inconstant nature, which vices he yet covered with a cloke of religion, whereby he deceived many. About this time there were also in this city two sorts of preachers, and both had a great number of auditors; the one taught school-divinity, and were continually calling upon their hearers to often fastings, mortification, self-denial, frequency of prayer, humility, &c but themselves practised nothing less than these things: and indeed all their religion consisted in words and bodily exercises, as running to masses, hallowed places, confession, &c. The other sort dealt more sincerely with the Holy Scriptures, out of which they declared what was true righteousness and perfect holiness; by means whereof that city, above all others in Spain, bore the name for just and true dealing; and it pleased God that the brightness of this light did discover all the coun-

terfeit holiness, and pharisaical devotion of the other party. The chief labourers in this harvest were Constantine, Ægidius, and Varguius, all doctors, and sober, wise, and learned men, who by this kind of preaching procured to themselves many enemies, but, above all others, Arias was the most spightful and malicious; yet he carried it so cunningly that he still kept up his reputation with these men; but it was not long before he discovered himself, and that upon this occasion. There was one Ruzius, a learned man, questioned before the inquisitors for something that he delivered in a sermon about the controversies in religion; the inquisitors appointed him a day of hearing; and, two or three days before Arias met him, saluted him courteously, and discoursed familiarly with him; then did he pump out of him all those arguments wherewith he intended to defend himself before the inquisitors. When the day came, and Ruzius appeared, Arias went on that side where his opponents were, which much amazed Ruzius; and, in the disputation, Arias, being prepared, did so wittily enervate all his arguments, that Ruzius had nothing to say for himself, and so was fain to yield the cause, and Arias went away with the honour of the field, though he got it by treachery. Yet did this Arias, being of St. Isidore's monastery, preach so practically, that a great light began to dawn in that dark place; for the whole scope of his sermons was to overthrow their profession; he taught them, that singing and saying of their prayers night and day was no service of God; that the Holy Scriptures were to be read and studied with diligence, whence alone the true service of God could be drawn, and which alone tells us the true obedience to his will; to the obtaining whereof we must use prayer as a means, proceeding as well from a sense and feeling of our own infirmities, as grounded upon a perfect trust and confidence in God.

By laying these foundations, through God's blessing, he began to make them out of love with their monkish superstition, and much provoked them to the study of the Holy Scriptures; besides also his sermons, he read daily a lecture upon Solomon's Proverbs very learnedly, and made application thereof with good judgment and discretion; also in private conference he did much good: the Lord also so ordered it in his wisdom, that he met with scholars that were very tractable, such as were not greatly wedded to their superstitions. And such was the force and might of God's election, that these few good seeds so fructified, that in the end they brought forth a great increase of godliness; for divers of the monks, that hereby had their consciences awakened and cleared, to see their former hypocrisy and idolatry, sought out for further instruction, and through God's mercy they light upon those preachers which taught the truth with more sincerity, of whom they learned the principles of pure and perfect religion; so that by degrees they left that evil opinion which they had formerly conceived against the Lutherans, and were desirous to read their books: and God miraculously provided for them, they had all sorts of books brought them that were extant at that time, either in Geneva or Germany, whereby it came to pass, that there were very few in all that cloister but they had some taste of true religion and godliness; so that, instead of mumbling their mattens, they brought in divinity lectures, and vain fasting was

turned into Christian sobriety; neither were any taught to be monkish, but to be sincerely and truly religious.

But considering, that, when this should be once known, they could not live in any safety, they resolved among themselves to forsake their nest, and to fly into Germany, where they might enjoy more safety of their lives, and freedom of their consciences; but how to get thither was all the difficulty; if one or two should go first, the rest would be exposed to danger; if many should go together, a thousand to one but they would be taken again, being to travel from the furthest part of Spain into Germany: yet upon debate they concluded, that they must all either speedily depart, or shortly be apprehended by the inquisitors, who now had got some inkling of the matter; and God, seeing them in this distress, shewed them a means how, under an honest pretence, a dozen of them might depart together within a month, and each of them betake himself a several way to Geneva; where they appointed, by God's assistance, all to meet within a twelvemonth: the rest, which were but young novices, were left behind; who yet not long after were so strengthened by God, that they endured the brunt of persecution when it came, three of them being burned, and divers others diversly punished.

The aforementioned servants of Jesus Christ forsook that place where they lived in honour, ease, and plenty; and, by undertaking for Christ's sake a voluntary exile, exposed themselves to shame, ignominy, wants, yea, and were in continual danger of their lives also. And under God Arias was a great means of this, who by his ministry had first enlightened them with the knowledge of the truth; for which he was often complained of to the inquisitors, and was convened before them; where he so cunningly answered the matter, that he was still discharged. But this last apprehension, through the mercy of God, brought forth in him the fruits of true repentance; for he did so deeply and unfeignedly bewail and repent of his former withholding of the truth in unrighteousness, that, whereas he used to be exceeding fearful of the rack, he being brought to it, and upon it, with a marvellous constancy withstood the enemies of God's truth, and took up the inquisitors roundly, withal telling them that he was heartily sorry, and did most earnestly repent him, for that he had wittingly and willingly in their presence impugned the truth, against the godly defenders of the same. Many other sharp rebukes he gave to the inquisitors, as often as he came to his answer: but at last he was brought forth, arrayed in their accustomed manner, upon the day of triumph; at which time he also made a notable profession of his faith, and so was led from the stage to the stake with a merry and chearful countenance, where, by the notable example of his repentance at his death, he made satisfaction to the church of Christ for all his former, unfaithful, and hypocritical dealing with it; and so quietly slept in the Lord.

And thus you see what hath been the lot and portion of the church and people of God, viz. That 'through many tribulations they should enter into the kingdom of heaven.' Here you have a certain and infallible mark of the true church of Christ, viz. 'To be hated and persecuted by the devil and his instruments.' Herein, as in a perspective, you

may look back upon the persecution of the church of Christ, by reason of that cruel Spanish inquisition.

Upon the whole, let us consider, if that religion should be set up amongst us, which allows of such cruelty and tyranny, whether or no we have not cause to fear the worst, and to prepare for it. Fore-warned, fore-armed.

APPENDIX.

The institution of this Spanish inquisition, at first, was not only necessary, as the condition of affairs then was, but exceeding laudable, had it been kept within the bounds, at first, intended; but, instead of being used on the Jews and Moors, it hath been turned on the Protestants, and that with such violence and extremity of torture, that it is counted the greatest tyranny, and severest kind of persecution under heaven; insomuch that many papists, who would willingly die for their religion, abhor the very name and mention of it, and, to the death, withstand the bringing in of this slavery amongst them. This was it which caused the irremediable revolt of the Low Countries, the greatest part of that nation, at the time of their taking arms, being Roman Catholicks; yet it is planted and established in Spain, and all Italy, Naples and Venice excepted; the management thereof is committed to the most zealous and rigorous friars in the whole pack; the least suspicion of heresy, as they call it, affinity or commerce with hereticks, reproving the lives of the clergy, keeping any books or editions of books prohibited, or discoursing in matters of religion, are offences sufficient; nay they will charge men's consciences, under the pains of damnation, to detect their nearest and dearest friends, if they do but suspect them to be herein culpable. Their proceedings are with great secrecy and severity: for,

1. The parties accused shall never know their accusers, but shall be constrained to reveal their own thoughts and affections.

2. If they be but convinced of any error, in any of their opinions, or be gainsayed by two witnesses, they are immediately condemned.

3. If nothing can be proved against them, yet shall they with infinite tortures and miseries be kept in the house divers years, for a terror unto others.

And lastly, if they escape the first brunt, with many torments, and much anguish; yet the second question or suspicion brings death remediless. And, as for torments and kinds of death, Phalaris and his fellow-tyrants came far short of these blood-hounds.

The administration of this office, for the more orderly regulation and dispatch thereof, is distributed into twelve courts, or supreme tribunals, for the several provinces of Spain; no one depending upon another, but, in a sort subordinate, to the general inquisition, remaining in the court, near the king's person, which hath a kind of superintendency over those tribunals. In all which, those of the secular clergy sit as judges, the friars being only used as promoters, to inform the court, and bring more grist unto the mill of these inquisitors; every one hath the title of lord, and are a great terror to the neighbouring peasants. Certain it is, that,

by this means, the people of this kingdom are so kept under, that they dare not hearken after any other religion, than what their priests and friars shall be pleased to teach them; or entertain the truth, if it comes amongst them, or call in question any of those palpable and gross impostures, which every day are put upon them; for, by this means, the people of this kingdom have been, and still are, punctual followers of the church of Rome; and that too in the very errors and corruptions of it, taking up their religion on the pope's authority, and therein so tenacious or pertinacious, that the king doth suffer none to live in his dominions, which profess not the Roman Catholick religion; of which they have been, since the time of Luther, such avowed patrons, that one of the late popes, being sick, and hearing divers men to bemoan his approaching end, uttered some words to this effect: My life, said he, can nothing benefit the church; but pray for the prosperity of the king of Spain, as its chief supporter. And thus you have the original of the inquisition.

A COPY OF A LETTER SENT BY E. B.

AN EMINENT QUAKER IN LONDON,

TO THE POPE AT ROME,

Transmitted thence by Cardinal Bromio, to a Person of Quality in England.

WITH A COPY OF THE FACULTIES

GRANTED TO JOHN LOCET, ENGLISHMAN AND PRIEST AT ROME, 1678,

For England, Scotland, and all the King's Dominions, Ireland excepted.

Printed in 1680. Folio, containing two pages.

FRIEND,

I AM moved, at this time, by the spirit, to speak to thee a few words, which plainly proceed from the light within, and may prove for thy edification and conversion. I will not revile thee, nor call thee antichrist, the whore of Babylon, the scarlet whore, nor the beast, the dragon, or the serpent, titles frequently bestowed on thee, and which if thou deservest thou best knowest: but I come to thee in the meekness, and the words of truth and light, to speak to thy soul, as thou art a man, and pretendest to have lordship and dominion over both the souls and bodies of men. But by what authority dost thou usurp the title of Papa, father of the whole church of Christ? Who first conferred that title on thee? Was it from above, or from men? Jesus, when he was on

earth, commanded Peter to feed his sheep, and, as a servant, to administer to them; he gave them no authority to slaughter them, or to fleece them, or to use any tyranny towards them. Thou pretendest to sit in Peter's seat; have a care, I warn thee, that it be not Satan's chair, for it is very doubtful if the man Peter was ever at Rome, and it is for certain he never had any authority there, and was neither lord, master, or pope, but a servant to the servants of Jesus Christ, which title thou also ownest in words when in deeds thou art as proud as Lucifer, and wouldest set thy feet on the necks of kings and princes, and proudly trample on the people of God. Thou pretendest to the spirit, shew it by thy works; to infallibility, but thou hast failed in thy doctrine, and in thy practices. I hold with thee, that the spirit is to be the guide of the saints, and that the spirit is infallible, and can never be mistaken; but it is not to be confined to thee, and to thy cardinals; for, I tell thee, our pope, George Fox, hath as much of the spirit as thou hast, and it is as infallible; and therefore thou oughtest not to ingross it to thyself, since it is communicated to all the children of God, and to all the saints that observe and hearken to the light within. But thou hast done wickedly; thou and all thy predecessors, for several hundreds of years, have been building a very Babel of confusion; thou hast made religion the devil's stalking-horse, to drive souls into his snares; thou hast set up the calves at Dan, and in the mount; thou hast polluted religion with idolatry, and made of it a mere piece of art, policy, and legerdemain; I tell thee plainly, thou hast set up a pompous outward religion, only full of gaudy outsides, without any truth or sincerity, and without the spirit, the light, or the life of God. Look, therefore, I advise thee, as a friend and brother, to the light within thee, which shineth in thy darkness, that will teach thee better things; thou canst not but see and know the vanity of thy religion, which thy sons and thy daughters follow; and thou thyself laughest at the ignorance and folly of most of thy adherents and followers, who zealously follow thy dictates, without sight or knowledge. Thou actest against thy own conscience, and against knowledge, and against light, which is the sin against the Holy Spirit; and for this thou shalt be condemned, unless thou timely repent thee of, and reform thy errors. It is to maintain thy pride, thy lust, and thy covetuousness, that thou strivest to kick against the pricks, and to establish thy abominations in the sight of the Israel of God; but the day will come, and is even at hand, that thou and thy Ishmaelites, which are become the sons of the bond-woman of sin, shall be cast out into utter perdition. Thou and thy gor-bellied cardinals, that live like princes, and fatten themselves up in their abominable lusts, against the day of slaughter, are very unlike the apostles, and disciples of Christ, who taught and preached the word with pains, care, and travel, in meekness and poverty, from the true light and spirit shining within their souls; and, were the primitive Christians on earth again, to see the shop of confusion, thou and thy hierarchy have made out of their simple spun thread, they would not be able to know or believe this to be any part of the religion they taught or begun, with so great labour, travel, pains, and martyrdom. Thus hast thou made all their labours of little or no effect; and still takest care to keep poor souls in the snares of sin, and in the

bonds of ignorance. I tell thee plainly, thy conscience does witness against thee, and thou dost see these truths; but it is thy pride that makes thee, tyrant-like, to exercise lordship and dominion over others, and to maintain this lordship and tyranny; thou art fain to exercise cunning arts and policies of the carnal man, and even to fly to the subtleties of the serpent, and the wicked one, leaving no stone unturned to maintain thy vanity, and to fulfil thy lusts. Thou knowest well enough there is no purgatory, such as thou hast invented to affright and delude poor ignorant people out of their money; but the execrable gain, which thou makest by indulgencies, will not let thee reform that wicked and abominable error. Thou also knowest the vanity of praying to saints, and to carved idols, express against the word of God.

Yet, because of the gain and reputation these bring to thee, and the means to delude the ignorant, by false miracles, and pretended reliques, thou still keepest it on foot with all thy ridiculous shews, processions, jubilees, holy water, exorcisms, altars, copes, mitres, crosiers, surplices, and other trinkets, invented by the devil and his instrument, the vain mind of subtle man, to draw the eyes and ears, but not the hearts of the calvish multitude, who bleat after these things, and understand them not. Thou knowest the unnaturalness and impossibility of thy breaden God's real presence, and yet, for the great respect it begets to thee and thy priests, with the rabble of monks, friars, nuns, hermits, and such like, thou still most stifly, against religion, sense, and reason, maintainest that idle opinion. Think therefore, before it be too late, of repentance and reformation; do the work thoroughly. The light hath formerly shined, with some glimmering, in the times of the Albigenses in France, and of Wickliff in England, and of Jerom and Husse in Prague, and afterwards of Luther in Germany; they caused some reformation from the grossest of thy superstition, and filthiness of idolatry; but yet too much of the dregs remains, and the carnal-minded man yet retains much of thy pride, vanity, pomp, and shew in their outward worship; and much of thy ambitious lordship and dominion; but we, the simple and harmless sheep of God's fold, called by the people, in scorn, quakers and shakers, from the strong actuating of the spirit within, have reformed ourselves to the pattern of the apostles and primitive teachers and preachers, and, being filled with the spirit, speak from the light thereof. And from this light I plainly write to thee, being stirred up to warn thee of the wrath to come, and to tell thee, that, unless thou makest a thorough reformation, according to our holy pattern, and come into the community of the saints on earth, thou shalt never have communion with those in heaven. I am to denounce judgment against thee, and thou shalt be overthrown, and thou shalt be scourged for thy abominable practices against the people of England, in the plottings, underminings, murthers, and wicked contrivances of thy ban-dogs, that call themselves Jesuits, but are Judasses, that betray kingdoms, and worry the people. Thy time is but short, and thy reign of a few days; for either the King of France, if ever he gets the monarchy of the west, will unnest thee, and remove thy see to Paris, and have a pope of his own, or else God will let loose the rage of the Turk against thee, and

suffer him to plant his half-moons in Rome as well as in Jerusalem, for a scourge and vengeance of all the filthiness and abominations acted in that place. Look to it, I give thee this friendly warning, take it to heart, for I tell it thee in plainness and sincerity, and from the light which shineth in

Thy Friend in the Love, and in the Truth,

From London, the 7th day of the 4th month, in the year 1679. E. B.

Faculties granted at Rome, 1678, to John Locet, Englishman and Priest for England and Scotland, and for all the King's Dominions, excepting Ireland.

1. Power to absolve from heresy and apostasy, all both ecclesiasticks and laicks.

2. To absolve in all cases of the *Bulla cœnæ.*

3. Power of dispensing marriages within the third and fourth degrees of consanguinity and affinity, and to declare them lawful, and such issue legitimate.

4. Power of administering all the sacraments.

5. Power of restoring the just right of asking being lost.

6. Power of celebrating mass in all decent places above or under ground, on portable altars twice a day, if necessary, and if it cannot be otherwise celebrated for fear of hereticks.

7. Of laying up of holy things in secret, without lights, if there be danger.

8. Power of reciting the rosary, or other prayers, if they cannot have a breviary, or other office.

9. Power of keeping and reading any prohibited books, besides those contained in the *Bulla cœnæ,* besides those of Charles Moline, Nicholas Machiavel, and books of judicial astrology. As also of giving licence to others to read the Scriptures faithfully translated into English, and to the laicks English books against hereticks, as need shall be.

10. Power of dispensing and commuting simple vows for a reasonable cause, that of chastity and of religion being excepted.

11. Power of blessing the sacraments, and other holy utensils necessary for the mass, where there is not unction.

12. Power of dispensing the eating of flesh, eggs, white meats, also in the time of Lent.

13. Power of granting a plenary indulgence for those converted from heresy, and to those who cannot be confessed in the article of death.

14. Power of granting, every Lord's-day, and on holy days, an indulgence for ten years to those that assist at those meetings, and a plenary indulgence to those that confess and receive the sacrament on certain feast-days.

15. Power of having the benefit of these indulgences themselves.

16. Power of celebrating the mass *ad requiem* for any one on a portable altar, for the freeing a soul out of purgatory.

They were granted for seven years only, and reversible, without shewing cause, at the will of the pope. Signed,

BARBARINE, Proctor.
CHR. ABBAS BLANCUS, Secretary.

THE PAPISTS BLOODY OATH OF SECRECY,

AND LITANY OF INTERCESSION,

FOR THE CARRYING ON OF THIS PRESENT PLOT.

With the manner of taking the oath upon the entering into any grand conspiracy against the Protestants.

As it was taken in the chapel belonging to Barmbow-hall, the residence of Sir Thomas Gascoigne, from William Rushton, a popish priest, by me Robert Bolron.

TOGETHER,

WITH SOME FURTHER INFORMATIONS,

Relating to the Plot, and murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

Jovis 16mo Die Decembris, 1680.

Ordered, that Mr. Robert Bolron have liberty from this house, to print and publish the said Oath of Secrecy and Litany.

WILLIAM GOLDSBROUGH,
Cler. Dom. Com.

London: Printed for Randal Taylor, near Stationers-Hall, 1680. Folio, containing twenty-four pages.

AFTER the ancient piety, zeal, and strictness of life, exemplary in the primitive Christians, had in a measure put the dominion of this world, and the keys of the next, into the hands of the clergy, the care of gaining souls became, in a few centuries, obsoleted; the former illustrious times of virtue vanished, and a gloomy night of ignorance soon overspread the universe. The clergy (the authors of this unhappiness) finding their religion and greatness must be maintained by power and policy, and conscious to themselves, that their lives and doctrine held no good correspondence with the purity and poverty of their predecessors, took a course, because they had little left of their own, to trade with the piety of the ages past, and prop up their own ignorance and sloth by that means. To work they go: they make gods of the deceased propagators of Christianity, and inshrine their rotten bones, or those of others,

in cases of gold and silver. The next thing was to persuade or compel the people to adore them. In this erecting a new order of demi-gods, they imitated the pagans in their wickedness, but not in their virtue or valour, and clapped the festivals of these new pagods into the calendar, in the places of the old holidays of Saturn, Minerva, and Bacchus, &c. This project answered expectation, they grew greater, but not better; the miracles, pretendedly wrought at those shrines, and multitude of ceremonies, dazzled the vulgar, supported the reputation, and supplied the defect of the clergy; the glorious lives, wonders, and martyrdoms of the ancients were made into mantles to hide the ignorance, lust, and avarice of worthless impostors; and laws every where were made to restrain men from peeping into the ark of the church. And, to strip princes privily of their power, and to draw their subjects to other dependencies, numerous orders and societies are conjured up (as though the laity had not groaned enough under the seculars) to erect a kingdom in every kingdom for the pope, and to supply him, in every corner, with a villain spiritual, to stab or poison what potentates he pleases.

Things thus jogged on till the days of our grandfathers, when, in England, the Pope and his clergy were secluded, and it was made death for any Romish priest to enter the realm; yet, since, they have not only come hither, but, by help of factors and proselytes, acquired great estates in these kingdoms, and arrived to a height of no less confidence, than of ruling the rost, destroying us all, and introducing popery. This is as clear as noon-day, by many testimonies; among which, this oath following is a most notorious evidence, on which I shall make some remarks.

The Oath of Secrecy, given by William Rushton to me Robert Bolron, the second of February, 1676-7.

✠ In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

'I Robert Bolron, being in the presence of Almighty God, the 'blessed Mary ever virgin, the blessed Michael the archangel, the 'blessed St. John Baptist, the holy apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, 'and all the saints in heaven, and to you my ghostly father do declare, 'and in my heart believe the pope, Christ's vicar-general, to be the true 'and only head of Christ's Church here on earth; and that, by virtue 'of the keys of binding and loosing, given his holiness by our Saviour 'Christ, he hath power to depose all heretical kings and princes, and 'cause them to be killed. Therefore, to the utmost of my power, I 'will defend this doctrine, and his holiness's rights against all usurpers 'whatever, especially against the now pretended King of England, in 'regard that he hath broke his vows with his holiness's agents beyond 'seas, and not performed his promises in bringing into England the 'holy Roman catholick religion. I do renounce and disown any alle-'giance, as due to the said pretended King of England, or obedience to 'any of his inferior officers and magistrates; but do believe the protestant 'doctrine to be heretical and damnable, and that all are damned, 'which do not forsake the same; and, to the best of my power, will

'help his holiness's agents, here in England, to extirpate and root out 'the said protestant doctrine, and to destroy the said pretended King of 'England, and all such of his subjects as will not adhere to the holy 'see of Rome, and the religion there professed. I further do promise 'and declare, that I will keep secret and private, and not divulge, 'directly or indirectly, by word, writing, or circumstance, whatever 'shall be proposed, given in charge, or discovered to me by you my 'ghostly father, or any other engaged in the promoting of this pious and 'holy design, and that I will be active, and not desist from the carrying 'of it on; and that no hopes of rewards, threats, or punishments shall 'make me discover the rest concerned in so pious a work; and, if dis-'covered, shall never confess any accessaries with myself concerned in 'this design. All which I do swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the 'blessed Sacrament, which I now purpose to receive, to perform, and, 'on my part, to keep inviolable; and do call all the angels and saints 'in heaven to witness my real intention to keep this oath. In testi-'mony whereof I do receive this most holy and blessed Sacrament of 'the eucharist.'

It is manifest that the grandees of the Roman Church make no more account of religion, than the profit and convenience, it brings along with it, are able to compense; yet they ever begin with a holy *canticum*, *in nomine patris*, by such means inducing the people to swallow their gilded pills, or poisons rather, to the destruction, oftentimes, of body and soul too.

In this wicked thing called an oath, they blasphemously set up the blessed Mary, St. John, St. Michael, St. Peter, St. Paul, and Rushton the priest, in an equal classis with God Almighty; but mention not Christ, till they come to declare the pope to be his vicar, and that thereby the pope hath letters patents to impower him to do what he shall think fit, in heaven, hell, earth, and in purgatory, to depose and kill heretick kings, yea, and catholick ones too, when he wants opportunity to advance a harlot, a bastard, or a nephew. In such cases, a Castle, a Clement, a Ravilliack, or a Pickering, are ever ready to transmit whom he pleases, into another world, whilst himself, without such help, but not without money, puts a soul into heaven, or pulls one out of purgatory.

Indeed, this oath is its own herald; it is its own comment; every word of it is rebellion, treason, and murder, styled hypocritically pious and holy designs; it was stamped in the mint of the Jesuits, and is a very notable comment, upon that oath, which blessed Ignatius Loyala imposed upon his spiritual Mamaluks, and may give us to understand, that Romish wickedness is sublimated, since these days, into a much higher spirit of treachery and impiety. The oath, then made to the father general, is as followeth:

'Ego N. professionem facio, et promitto omnipotenti Deo, coram 'ejus virgine matre, et universa cœlesti curia, ac omnibus circumstan-'tibus; et tibi patri reverendo N. præposito generali societatis Jesu, 'locum Dei tenenti, et successoribus tuis, vel tibi reverendo patri, vice 'præposito generali societatis Jesu, et successoribus tuis, locum Dei 'tenenti, perpetuam paupertatem, castitatem, et obedientiam, et se-

'cundum eas, peculiarem curam, circa puerorum eruditionem, juxta 'formam vivendi in litteris apostolicis societatis Jesu, et in ejus con-'stitutionibus contentam; insuper promitto specialem obedientiam 'summo pontifici circa missiones, prout in eisdem litteris apostolicis et 'constitutionibus continetur.'

Which is Englished thus:

I N. make my profession, and promise to the omnipotent God before his virgin mother, and all the whole court of heaven, and all that here stand by, and to you, our reverend father, the father general of the society of Jesus, God's lieutenant; and to your successors (or to you, reverend father, in place of the general of the society of Jesus, God's lieutenant, and his successors) perpetual poverty, chastity, and obedience; and, accordingly, peculiar care in the erudition of youth, consentaneous to the form of living, contained in the apostolick letters of the society of Jesus, and in the constitutions thereof. Moreover, I promise special obedience to the pope, concerning missions, as contained in the same apostolick letters and constitutions.

Our new explanation, or exposition, far exceeds the whole text, and is a superstructure upon that pristine foundation of villainy, erected since those times. The blessed Trinity, the holy Sacrament, and the whole host of heaven, are made stalking horses for impious mortals, in the ungodly, uncharitable, antichristian works of ruining kings, kingdoms, and all mankind besides themselves, only to set up the court of Rome, and a despotick power. These horrid impieties (but that we are promised the gates of hell shall not prevail against them) might make conscientious men, with trembling, presage, and dread, that the ruin of Christianity is not far off. These men, when they swear their misled proselytes into treasons, murders, felonies, and secrecy, little mind to consider what is taught in holy writ concerning an oath, Jerem. iv. 2. 'And thou shalt swear, the Lord liveth in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness, &c.' What regard these oaths have to truth, judgment, and righteousness, let the reader take notice, and proceed to observe one unparalleled clause in the oath, viz. 'And that no hopes of 'reward, threats, or punishments, shall make me discover the rest, 'concerned in so pious a work; and, if discovered, shall never confess 'any accessaries with myself concerned in this design.'

Here they lead their proselytes into a labyrinth of wickedness, but then they leave them no way, or means, to disengage themselves, or others out of it, and consequently to be hanged, and damned afterwards. This may learn the most wilful and most obstinate charity, to have a care how it extends itself, in believing the words of the late dying Jesuits, and others. *Discite justitiam moniti.* And let it teach all good protestants the nature of these Romish wolves, who, though they change their hair, will never change their hearts.

Now, having given an account of the oath of secrecy, next, I will render you an account how the Jesuits and popish priests insinuate themselves into the hearts of those, that they insnare to engage in this damnable design; which, particularly being exemplified in myself, may serve as instruc-

tions, how others were induced and encouraged to propagate their hellish principles. The relation is as followeth:

About the latter end of January, 1676, Thomas Thwing, a priest, and William Rushton, another popish priest, who was my ghostly father, came to my house at Shippon Hall, in Yorkshire; and there examined me how I was affected to the Romish religion, and if there were any occasion, what would I do for the good of that religion? To whom I replied, that I was so well affected to the Romish religion, that I would venture my life and estate, in the management of any design whatsoever, for the good of that religion. The priests then said, that they were glad to hear me in so good a humour, and heartily wished, that all the catholicks in England were of my mind; and further told me, that all England, in a little time, would be Roman catholicks; for that the Duke of York, next heir to the crown, had renounced the protestant religion. Therefore, force was to be used, for the more speedy bringing him to the crown: but added, that, before I could be any further acquainted with the particulars of this design, I must first take the aforementioned oath of secrecy, which all good catholicks must take; for, if any catholicks refused it, they could not be admitted to know of their designs and contrivances: for that Sir Thomas Gascoigne, Thomas Gascoigne, Esq. and other gentlemen, had taken the same, and engaged themselves, and given security for their respective performances.

Then I told the said priests, that I would not deny to take it, for I would obey my ghostly father in all things. And on Candlemas day, 1676, I did accordingly go to Barmbow-Hall, as was formerly agreed, where I heard mass, and took the oath of secrecy from the hands of my ghostly father, to be private, and keep secret the design of killing his sacred majesty, and the destruction of all such protestants, as would not be of the Romish religion; which oath of secrecy is before related, and is the true copy of the said oath, as I got it from the said Rushton accidentally, the very same day it was ministered unto me by him.

Before I took the oath of secrecy, I went to confession, where my ghostly father, in my said confession, told me, that I must believe, 'That it was a mortal sin, to reveal what was told me by my ghostly 'father, in my confession, and that I was certainly damned, if ever I 'discovered the concerns of this design, or taking the said oath of se-'crecy.'

But, after I had taken the said oath of secrecy, and was acquainted with the design, whenever I went to confession, my ghostly father would be sure to examine me, how I had kept my oath; upon which, if my father confessor did judge that I had not so truly kept the same as I ought to have done, then must I have taken the same oath over again. Besides, my ghostly father frequently taught me how to make use of equivocations and mental reservations:

First, how to defend myself against the protestants. If I were asked by a stranger, whether Mr. Rushton was a priest? That then I might lawfully deny it; or, upon oath before a magistrate, I might positively deny my knowledge of Rushton to be a popish priest: but then I must privately to myself make use of this equivocation, that I did not see the

said Rushton take his orders beyond sea; therefore could not swear him to be a priest. And then followed the benefit of absolution for this, or any other service done for the good of the Romish religion.

And, indeed, my penance in confession was once enjoined me by father Rushton, to lash myself with a cat of nine-tails, or discipline, because I did not deny, with asseverations, to one Mr. Burman, that he was no popish priest; although I did not confess the same to Mr. Burman, yet he alledged, that I did it but faintly, and therefore that should be my penance.

Secondly, If reproached by the protestants, that they of the Romish religion made no conscience to destroy those that were of a contrary opinion to them:

Then, with imprecations, I might lawfully deny the same; only making use of this reservation to myself, that I must deny any thing which is against the interest of the church; besides, if I should own it to be the doctrine of the Romish church, that then the Protestants would beat out my brains, as was taught me by my ghostly father Rushton.

Thirdly, That, since the discovery of this popish plot, if I at any time heard the protestants discourse, that they of the Romish church taught the murthering of kings and princes, and that the king was to have been murthered by the papists, that then I must vindicate the Romish religion; arguing, that such doctrine the papists held not, with reservation to myself, that I must not own such a design, unless effected, believing, that protestants being hereticks had no power to examine me, neither was I obliged to answer directly to the question.

The Ceremonies, Manner, and Form used, in the taking of the said Oath of Secrecy, are thus:

AT the chapel door, I sprinkled myself with holy water, and then went into the chapel, where, bowing towards the altar, I made the sign of the cross, and said, 'sprinkle me with hyssop and I shall be cleansed wash me and I shall be whiter than snow:' Then, kneeling, I made the sign of the cross, and said, 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.' After that, I said certain prayers used before confession, and, at the conclusion, made again the sign of the cross; which being ended, I went into the vestry, where, kneeling, I asked my ghostly father's blessing, as children usually do their parents. Then, after that, I made again the sign of the cross, and then had the benefit of confession, and absolution from my sins; and then I went into the chapel, and said prayers, before receiving the sacrament.

But, when mass was said, I did not communicate with the rest there present, although the sacrament was consecrated for me, but after the rest were gone; then William Rushton, my ghostly father, called me to the altar, where, bowing my body and kneeling, I made the sign of the cross; then I kissed the mass-book, and laid my right-hand upon it, and so had the oath of secrecy given me by my ghostly father Rushton, repeating it after him. But at these words, 'In testimony whereof,

I do receive this most holy and blessed sacrament of the eucharist,' Rushton put the sacrament into my mouth, and said this little Latin prayer following:

Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat animam tuam in vitam æternam. Amen.

Then again I kissed the mass-book, held in the priest's hand, but held my hand on the mass-book all the time I was taking the oath, aforesaid; and after that, rising, bowed my body to the altar, in an humble manner, and so returned to my place again.

Now, after I had taken the said oath of secrecy, Rushton went again into the vestry, to say his prayers on his breviary, but I continued still in the chapel, to say my prayers, used after the taking of the sacrament. Then, after Rushton my confessor came forth out of the vestry, he went towards his own chamber, whither I followed him; but, sir Thomas Gascoigne hastily calling the said Rushton, he laid down his breviary in his closet, to which was no door, and is situate near his chamber, which said breviary I taking up, found therein the said oath of secrecy; of which oath I had a sufficient time to take a true copy, and it is the real copy which is before recited; although, when I took the copy of the said oath, I never intended that any protestant should have seen it.

The same day, were hallowed for myself two pistols, which were to be made use of, for the destruction of the Protestant party, if the Roman Catholick religion had prevailed in England. There were also swords, guns, and pistols hallowed for Thomas Gascoigne, esq; and others engaged in the Popish plot. And, in the said month of February, I had an indulgence, or pardon, for thirty-thousand years, given me by the said Rushton, my ghostly father, for my encouragement in my proceedings of my being so zealous against his majesty and government; and the penance enjoined me was to say every day a litany, for the intercession, and conversion of England: But, if I twice a day said the the said litany, then should I each day redeem a soul out of purgatory. But I have heard my ghostly father say, that some Catholicks had their indulgences for fifty-thousand years; others, a plenary indulgence, to encourage them to be firmer to this design. Such a plenary indulgence I saw in the hands of Mr. Mowbray, about the latter end of January, 1676-7. And the litany of intercession for England is as follows:

THE LITANY OF INTERCESSION FOR ENGLAND.

✠

Lord have mercy on us. *Christ hear us.*
Christ have mercy on us, *Christ hear us.*
Lord have mercy on us, *O Christ hear us.*
O Father of Mercy, and God of consolation, *Have mercy on England.*
O Son, Redeemer of the World, and of all things in heaven and earth, the pacifier, *Have mercy on England.*
O Holy Ghost, light of those that err, and of the miserable, the only comfort, *Have mercy on England.*

Holy Mary, Mother of God, and Mother of Mercy,
Holy Mary, who hast destroyed all heresies,
Holy Virgin of Virgins, famous in England for many miracles,
St. Michael, prince of the church,
St. Gabriel, privy to the mysteries of God,
St. Raphael, faithful guide of travellers,
Holy angel, prince of England,
St. John Baptist, master, and form of penance,
All holy patriarchs, and prophets, friends of God, and preachers of truth,
St. Peter, pastor of sheep, and prince of the apostles,
St. Paul, doctor of the Gentiles, in faith and verity,
St. Andrew, friend and lover of the cross,
All holy apostles, and evangelists, and special increasers of Christianity, faith, and unity,
All holy innocents slain for Christ,
St. Stephen,
St. Lucius, king,
St. Alban,
St. Amphibale,
St. Sophias,
St. George,
St. German,
St. Coleman,
St. Kylian,
St. Adrian,
St. Ethelred, king,
St. Tancon,
St. Isenger,
St. Edmund, king,
St. Edward, king,
St. Thomas of Canterbury,
All holy martyrs of England, Scotland, and Ireland.
St. Fugatius and Damianus,
St. Gregory, and St. Augustine,
St. Ethelbert, king,
St. Patrick, and St. Columbe,
St. Pethno, and St. Cuthbert,
St. Furseus, and St. Malachi,
St. John, and St. David,
St. Brandon, and St. Fiaker,
St. Archibald, and St. Macarius,
St. Marianus, and St. Alexander,
St. Bennet, St. Boniface, and St. Bede,
St. Dunstan, St. Henry, and St. Robert,
St. Richard, St. Roger, and St. Hugh,
St. Gilbert, St. Lanfranck, and St. Anseline,

Pray for England.

All holy bishops, and confessors of England, Scotland, and Ireland,
St. Helen, queen, St. Ursula, and St. Agnes,
St. Bridget, St. Buryen, and St. Tecla,
St. Agatha, St. Mechtil, and St. Maxentia,
St. Christine, and St. Winifred,
St. Ethelred, queen, and St. Margaret, queen,
All holy virgins, and martyrs of England, Scotland, and Ireland,
All blessed and holy saints of all places,

Pray for England.

Be merciful, spare England good Lord,
Be merciful, hear us O Lord.

From all imminent perils of sins, and backslidings,
From the spirit of pride and apostasy,
From the spirit of ambition,
From the spirit of rebellion,
From all hardness, and blindness of heart,
From all surfeiting, and drunkenness,
From the desires, and liberty of the flesh,
From hatred, contempt, and neglect of sacred things,
From prophaning of churches, and from all sacrilege,
From the tyranny, and cruelty of hereticks, which it now groans under,
From wicked and pernicious councils,

Deliver England, O Lord.

We sinners, O God of pity, do beseech Thee to hear us.

That thou wouldest direct the pope's holiness, and all prelates, to pacify and govern the church,
That thou wouldest be pleased to bring again into this kingdom the ancient catholick, apostolick, and Roman faith,
That thou wouldest put into the hearts of all Christian kings and princes unity, peace, and concord, and that their fervent zeal may be stirred up, to put their helping hands, to reduce it to the obedience of the holy see of Rome,
That thou wouldest comfort, and fortify, all such as suffer imprisonment, loss of goods, or other affliction, for the catholick faith,
That neither by frailty or inticements, or any torments, thou permit any of us to fall from thee,
That thou wouldest give us perfect patience in our afflictions, and to make ghostly profit of all our miseries,
That thou wouldest mercifully hasten the conversion of England, Scotland, and Ireland, from the infection of heresy and infidelity,
That thou wouldest deliver and keep, in these times of persecution, the pastors of our souls, from the hands of their enemies,

O Lord, we beseech thee to hear us.

That thou wouldest daily augment in them the fire of thy love, and the zeal of gaining souls,
That thou wouldest preserve all the catholicks of this land in holiness of life, and from all manner of sin and scandal,
That thou wouldest so adorn us with holiness of life and conversation, that our enemies 'seeing our good works, may glorify thee, our heavenly Father,'
That thou wouldest reduce from error, and heresy, our parents, friends, and benefactors whom thou hast so dearly bought with thy precious blood,
That thou wouldest illuminate the hearts of all schismaticks, which live out of the church, to see the grievous danger of their estate,
That thou wouldest mercifully look down from heaven, upon the blood of so many martyrs, as have given their lives to convert us unto thee,

O Lord, we beseech thee to hear us.

Jesus Christ, Son of God, and of the Virgin Mary, *We beseech thee to hear us.*
Jesus Christ, Saviour and Redeemer of the world, *We beseech thee to hear us.*
Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, *Spare us, O Lord.*
Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, *Hear us, O Lord.*
Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, *Have mercy on us.*

Lord have mercy,	*Pater Noster, &c.*
Christ have mercy,	*Et ne nos inducas, &c.*
Lord have mercy,	*Sed libera nos a malo.* Amen.

About the latter end of October, or the beginning of November, 1678, my occasions called me to Leeds market, within four miles of my habitation, and a market that I frequently used: after my particular business was done, my curiosity led me, as usually it did, to a coffee-house; where, amongst other news and reports, I heard that one Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, a justice of peace, at London, was missing, and that it was suspected and feared, that he was murdered, or made away by the papists.

At my return home, I repaired to Sir Thomas Gascoigne's house at Barmbow, one quarter of a mile from my house, and there meeting his son, Thomas Gascoigne, esq; I acquainted him with the news I heard at Leeds.

Who, thereupon, took a letter out of his pocket, directed to himself, which he shewed me; which letter was subscribed I. Corker, wherein he acquainted the esquire in words to this effect: 'that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey had been a very busy man, and a great enemy to the catholicks, therefore they had procured him to be destroyed.'

And, some few days after, we had the same thing confirmed in print, viz. 'That he was murthered.' Upon which, my ghostly father, William

Rushton, sent for me, to come to mass, at Sir Thomas Gascoigne's house; and, at confession, did charge me to give out, 'that I heard that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was a melancholy gentleman, and, in a discontent, went into the fields, and there murdered himself with his own sword.'

Which accordingly I did, as occasion offered, in all companies I happened into; but was contradicted by many; and by some, that it could not be, for that his neck was broke, which he could not do after he had murdered himself, nor be capable to do it, if his neck was broke before: and, being thus run down in my assertions, I acquainted my said ghostly father (William Rushton) therewith, who told me, he had received new instructions, which he shewed me in writing, and were to this effect:

That Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was a gentleman who had often attempted to destroy himself; that he did really hang himself in his own silk-girdle, in his chamber, at the bed's feet; which being discovered, two of his servants acquainted his brothers therewith, who, coming thither, contrived his taking down, and the carrying him to the place where he was found, where they run his corps through, on purpose to throw it on the papists, thereby to save the estate to themselves, and from being forfeited to the king; and that the two servants had fifty pounds apiece given them to keep it private. He also said, that one of them, which was a maid-servant, offered to discover this contrivance to his majesty and council, but that she was by them rejected: nevertheless, for all this, at the same time, Rushton owned to me, that he was murdered by the papists, but by what hands he knew not; and further, he seemed much concerned that it was done; wishing it had never been done, because it would make the murder of the king the more difficult to be performed.

ROBERT BOLRON.

A further Information by ROBERT BOLRON, Gentleman.

I being sent down by an order of council, bearing date the seventeenth day of October, 1679, to search several papists houses in Yorkshire, Lancashire, bishoprick of Durham, and Northumberland; among other houses, searching the mansion-house of Richard Sherborn of Stony-hurst, in the county of Lancashire, esq; in the chamber of Edward Cottam, a jesuit, or popish priest, I found the paper hereunto annexed.

This same Cottam, upon the death of Henry Long, mentioned in the said paper, was, by the said Mr. Sherborn, entertained as his domestick priest, in the stead and place of the other, who, as the papists gave out, drowned himself; but was rather made away by the Romish party, as being one that was discontented in his mind, and of whom they had a suspicion, that he would discover this damnable popish plot, carried on by the papists, who therefore, as I have heard from several understanding papists, engaged in the plot, procured his death.

The original copy being in Latin, it was thought convenient to print it in that language:

——— Celebrare quis astringetur.

Postremo, ut evidenter testetur, quod omnes ad hoc opus pium assentiantur, has constitutiones propria manu subsignabant.

——— Every one shall be bound to celebrate.

Lastly, That it may be evidently testified, that all do unanimously assent to this pious work, they did underwrite these constitutions with their own hands.

Ricardus Moorus,	Henricus Holden.
Petrus Giffardus,	Georgius Catterell,
Henricus Long,	Johannes Mollyns,
Jacobus Markland,	Johannes Holden,
Ricardus Sallins,	Gulielmus Gerard,
Marmaduke Dalton,	Edvardus Blackburn,
Rogerus Anderton,	P. Winder,
Thurston Anderton,	Johannes Urmeston,
Edvardus Anderton,	Thomas Hugonis,
Ricardus Barton,	Georgius Brown,
Edvardus Mollineux,	Georgius Rich, ai: d: s:
Thomas Eccleston,	onus.
Petrus Goodenus,	

Quando omnes unanimiter consentierant his constitutionibus, die 28 Februarii, 1675, hi designabantur superiores.

When all had consented to these constitutions, the twenty-eighth of February, 1675, these were designed superiors.

Reverendissimus Dominus.

Ricardus Moorus,
D. Johannes Holdenus, } Thesaurarii.
D. Johannes Mollyns, }
D. Petrus Giffardus, Secretarius.
D. Rogerus Anderton, collector pro sex hundredis pro Derbiensi, collector for six hundreds in Derbyshire.
D. Ricardus Bartonius, for Layland.
D. Tho. Hugonis, for Amounderness.
D. Ed. Blackburn, for Loynsdale.
D. Petrus Goodenus, } For Blackburn hundreds in Lancashire.
D. Henricus Long. }

Having thus given the reader an account of this paper, how I came by it, and in whose custody I found it, I shall leave it to the consideration of any person of impartial judgment, what should be the design of so many priests and jesuits to make such orders and constitutions among themselves? And for what reason those orders must be confirmed by so many manual subscriptions? Certainly the orders of their society needed no such confirmations. This must be then some eccentrick business, for so many priests and jesuits to meet and cabal in the remote parts of the nation; and there also to appoint treasurers and collectors, not ordinary persons neither, but such as could not be named without the title of most reverend lord; which imports them not the treasurers

of alms, but of contributions. Now, contributions signify sums; and sums, it cannot be imagined, should be collected in those parts for the Jesuits to build colleges in England.

It remains then, that these collectors were appointed for the collection of considerable sums (the largesses of blind zeal and deluded piety, or the price of indulgences for fifty-thousand years, and exemptions from purgatory) to carry on the great work of their damnable plot, which, it is apparent, was hatching in the year 1675, and long before.

And this, I hope, may, in a large measure, serve to prove and make good that part of my information already given; wherein I have declared, that, in the counties of York, Lancaster, Northumberland, and bishoprick of Durham, there have been no less than thirty-thousand pounds collected by the Jesuits and priests, which were, no question, the effects of such orders and constitution as these above-named, for the more speedy bringing to pass the destruction of his most sacred majesty, and the protestant religion.

As for Long, Dalton, Thurston, Anderton, Tho. Eccleston, and Urmeston, I know them to be all Jesuits; therefore it is probable to believe the rest are of the same stamp.

ROBERT BOLRON.

London, December the 6th, 1680.

MAGNALIA NATURÆ:

OR,

THE PHILOSOPHER'S-STONE, LATELY EXPOSED TO PUBLICK SIGHT AND SALE.

Being a true and exact account of the manner how Wenceslaus Seilerus, the late famous projection-maker, at the emperor's-court at Vienna, came by, and made away with a very great quantity of powder of projection, by projecting with it before the emperor, and a great many witnesses, selling it, &c. for some years past: Published at the request, and for the satisfaction of several curious, especially of Mr. Boyle, &c. by John Joachim Becher, one of the council of the emperor, and a commissioner for the examen of this affair.

Quid igitur ingrati sumus? Cur invidemus etsi veritas divinitatis (quæ per ea quæ sat intelligi potest, Rom. i. 20.) *nostri temporis ætate maturuit.* Minut. Felix.

London, printed by Tho. Dawks, his majesty's British printer, living in Black-Friars. Sold also by La Curtiss, in Goat Court on Ludgate Hill, 1680. Quarto, containing thirty-eight pages.

THE TRANSLATOR TO THE READER.

There is no ingenious man, that is not unacquainted with the curiosities to be met with in the world, who hath not either seen some transmutation of metals, or, at least, heard so many witness that they have seen it, as to be persuaded that there is such a thing as the philosophers-stone, or powder of projection. Only there be some

great men (as his highness Prince Rupert, who hath seen the projection at Frankfort, in Germany) who seem to question, whether such powder or tincture is prepared with profit? But this doubt is hereby now fully cleared and resolved, from the great quantity of this tincture left buried by the abbot founder of the church it was found in (as this relation informs you:) for it is not credible, that the abbot was master, before he had done the work, of such immense treasure, as he must needs have had to draw so much tincture from; which could not be extracted (if the preparation thereof is without profit) from a lesser quantity of gold, than it gives or yields again in the projection: so that the same quantity of gold, that it yields again, must have been spoiled to make it; which, it is not credible, an abbot of Germany was master of, as is said. And, for the truth of this relation, besides that it is attested by many men of great quality, good parts, probity, and modesty: by the Emperor himself; by Count Wallestein, who was resident here, a year ago; and, by Dr. Becher, at present, in this city. It is so publickly known through all parts of Germany, chiefly about Vienna, where this was transacted, that to doubt, or deny it, were as absurd, as if one denied that the West-Indies have been found out of late years, or that there are ships at sea, because he hath seen neither.

But, among the many remarkable passages in this relation, one thing is most worthy of observation, viz. the honesty of Friar Francis Preyhausen, who deserves to be chronicled for his faithfulness and truth to Friar Wenceslaus, the finder of this powder: for he wanted neither frequent opportunities, nor specious pretences, to effect what some princes could not forbear to attempt (i. e. to rob Wenceslaus of his powder), though without a certainty of success: and, though he was himself sure of success, for he was thrice, for a good while each time, entrusted with the box, and might find excuses enough for it, yet he not only did not yield to the temptation of getting all, as they did; but did not so much as deny, purloin, or withhold the least part of the powder from Friar Wenceslaus, even when (seeing how he squandered it away) he had a good pretence to keep back some for his use: and might justly have claimed and reserved some for his own use also, not only for his services, but for the great dangers he had exposed himself to for his sake; thus keeping true to the end, even against his own right, and so great a temptation. 'A faithful man who can find?' Prov. xx. 6. But here such a one is found, and that among the Friars! Whence I am glad to observe, that all the Friars are not quite so black as some make them; and to see, that among them, as well as among other sects, some good men are to be found, who make conscience of an oath, and keep it, though to their loss. Thanks be to Friar Francis's honesty, for so much as we know of this whole concern. I am sure, that, if he had what his honesty deserves, what the emperor hath done for Wenceslaus, had been bestowed upon him; and that Wenceslaus himself, whilst in the dungeon, would have said, with all his heart, that, if he should do for him what he hath done, he would deserve what he hath not had, I mean, the whole powder: But honesty meets seldom with what it deserves.

THE place where Wenceslaus Seilerus (who is the main subject of this following discourse) was born, I am not certain, whether it was at Vienna, yes, or no: but sure I am he was of the Austrian country; and his brother did wait upon the Count of Weissenwolf the unger. As for Seilerus himself, when he was about the twentieth year of his age, he was cast into a monastery of the Augustine friars, at Bruna in Moravia; where, after his year of probation, he took the habit upon him, and was admitted into the number of friars, though it were against his will, as he afterwards confessed, and as the event did make appear: for, having once made profession of the order, he did continually strive and study, how he might free himself from the monastery; and seeing that could not be done without money, and money

in his circumstances, could not lawfully be obtained, he began to study an indirect way for the obtaining thereof; for his fellow friars having often muttered to him of some great treasure hid in their monastery, he had a great desire to find it out.

And, in order thereunto, he did not scruple to learn the magick art, if any one had been ready to inform him therein, wherein fortune seemed to favour his desires; for there was an old woman, a cow-keeper's wife, living before the gate of the town and fortress, who was skilled therein, and he came to be acquainted with her, upon this occasion:

The younger monks and students, as they were called, are allowed some set days, every week, to walk out of the gates of the city, to enjoy the open air, and to refresh their minds, supposed to be wearied with study; in these relaxations, one company disperses itself here, another there, as they think fit for their divertisement. But Friar Wenceslaus, for so I shall hereafter call him, made use of this occasion, always to visit the said old woman, and, upon the pretence of drinking new milk, to interrogate her concerning her art. And, in a short time, he got so much into her favour, as to obtain from her a small wax-ball, marked with certain figures or characters, which was of that vertue, 'That, if it was laid upon the ground, it would presently run to the place, where any treasure was hid:' this ball I afterwards saw often in his custody, and handled it with my hands.

It happened afterwards, that, as the custom is for the old fathers, when they grow weak, to have some young friars to assist them, so, Friar Wenceslaus was assigned to attend an ancient father, who was a cabalist, and a lover of magick, in which studies, at any vacancies, he spent his time. He often told Friar Wenceslaus, 'That there was a vast treasure hid in the church of their monastery;' to whom, Wenceslaus replied, 'That he had got a ball, which, he was assured, had the vertue to discover hidden treasures; and, thereupon, he shewed him the ball, and the characters impressed thereon, which the old father did seriously consider, and much valued them.

A while after, as they two were walking alone, in the church, before day, after mattins, they tried the ball, by laying it down in several places, but found no effect: at last, placing it near a certain pillar, old and ruinous, it began to shew its efficacy and vertue, by its often running thereto: this they interpreted for a certain indication, that the treasure was there hid; but, how to come at it, was the question. They had neither leave, means, nor opportunity, to break down this stony structure, neither did they certainly know, at what heighth or depth thereof, the treasure was laid in it. So that, upon these discouragements, they were forced to let it alone.

But it happened afterwards, that, a great tempest arising, the whole church, and especially this decayed pillar, was so shaken and spoiled, that, to prevent its falling down, the abbot was necessiated to order it to be demolished. And, in regard the old father, whom Friar Wenceslaus attended, had skill in architecture, and by reason of his infirmities could not be otherwise serviceable to the monastery, he was therefore appointed to oversee the masons; which office he and his assistant

Friar Wenceslaus did willingly undertake, and were very sedulous in their attendance, and discharge thereof. When the pillar was almost all pulled down, they found therein a copper box, of a reasonable bigness, which the old father presently snatched up and carried it into his cloyster, and immediately opened it; where, at the top, he found a piece of parchment, on which there was some inscription and writing. I once had a copy of it, but I lost it amongst my other letters: but this I remember, it contained the number of the years wherein the church was built, and the name of the abbot, the founder thereof, who had been an envoy at Ratisbon. I do also remember, that, amongst other writings, there was this motto:

AMICE, TIBI SOLI,

Which I English thus:

Friend, to thyself alone.

Under this parchment, there were other letters laid, marked with characters, which contained directions how to multiply the powder, as the inscription shewed; and, under them, there were four boxes full of a red powder.

When the boxes were opened, Friar Wenceslaus was quite out of heart, having lost his preconceived hope of some great treasure therein; for he verily believed, that, if there were not old pieces of gold, yet some diamonds, or other precious stones, must have been lodged there. And finding no such thing, but four boxes of darkish coloured powder, he was so impatient at the disappointment, that, if he had been the sole manager of the business, he had thrown away boxes, powder, and all: For, at that time, he was so little acquainted with chymistry, that so much as the name was not known to him, and he had scarce heard of the word tincture.

But the old father was not so transported, but told him, 'That perhaps some medicinal vertue was contained in the powder, and that the characters, in the annexed papers, might possibly discover its use, and therefore he was resolved to study some books, to find out what those characters meant:' in the mean time, he would carefully keep the box.

Not long after, the old father sent Friar Wenceslaus into the kitchen of the monastery, to see, if he could find an old pewter-dish or plate, which was no longer fit for use, and, if he could, to bring it to him; which he accordingly did, who thereupon caused a coal-fire to be made, and put a crucible into Friar Wenceslaus's hand, to place therein: this was the first chymical operation, that ever Friar Wenceslaus performed in all his life, and for which he was so unfit, that he placed the crucible upside down, so that the old father himself was forced to set it in its right posture. They put the pewter-plate broken and folded together into the crucible, which being presently melted, the father took out some of the powder, so much as would lie upon the point of a knife, which was in one of the four boxes, and, wrapping it in a little wax, he cast it into the crucible, upon the pewter, and commanded his

assistant Friar Wenceslaus to blow up the fire, adding these words, 'Now I shall see, whether I have well decyphered the characters, and whether I have found out the use of this powder.'

As soon as ever the powder was cast in, the pewter stood still, and came to a sudden congelation. Then, the fire was suffered to go out, and the crucible to wax cold, which being broken, there was found a ponderous mass of metal, very yellow and variegated with red lines: upon which, the father made Friar Wenceslaus to go out into the town, upon pretence of getting a book to be bound, and wished him to go to some goldsmith, and shew him this mass of metal, alledging to him, 'That he had some ancient Roman coins of gold, which he had melted down, but for want of a sufficient fire, and other defects, he had not done it exactly; and therefore he desired the goldsmith to melt it over again, and cast in an ingot.' The goldsmith gratified him therein, and Friar Wenceslaus, at the command of the father, took off a small piece, which he preserved; and then asked the goldsmith, 'What the rest was worth?' who, after he had weighed and tried it on the touchstone, did value it at twenty ducats, which are worth two crowns a piece, at which rate, Friar Wenceslaus sold it to him, and, receiving the money, returned joyfully home. The old father did only desire the remaining portion of the gold, which he had reserved, but suffered Friar Wenceslaus to enjoy the ducats, yet, with this advice, 'That he should discover it to none in the monastery.'

But Friar Wenceslaus, though he had not been master of so much money, a long time, was not satisfied therewith, but entertained various thoughts in his mind, 'Whether he should, by flight, free himself from that bondage and slavery he was in, whilst he had the advantage of so much cash?' or else, 'Whether he should stay so long there, till either, by flattery or craft, he had got the copper boxes, from the old father?' To the first of these cogitations, he was edged on, by the eagerness of that desire he had, to leave the monastery: but then the great heap of gold, which he might make with the powder, as he well conjectured, if he could get it into his hands, did somewhat abate his fervor, and persuade him to stay. For, though he was yet altogether ignorant of chymistry, yet the precedent trials had given him so much light, that he was fully persuaded, the box contained and was worth a vast treasure; and, though at that time, the rareness of the powder, and the multiplication of it, had very small influence upon his thoughts; yet, because he had a share in finding of it out, by means of his ball, he therefore thought that half of it, at least, did belong to him.

But there was another thing which more perplexed his mind, and that was the fear, that the old father, either out of a principle of devotion, or of vain glory, should discover the whole story of the business to the abbot, and, by that means, should make away all the powder; and he was rather inclined to these cogitations, because he had observed, 'That the father, who before had been more remiss in hiding the box, now of late was so sollicitous to preserve it, that he kept it continually, in his desk, and scarce ever stirred from it, except when he was to go to church with Friar Wenceslaus.

Being moved with these considerations, he was induced to demand boldly some quantity of this powder of the old man. The answer, he received, was, 'That he was yet too young to know how to dispose of, and to keep well this powder; besides, he wanted no money, whilst he was in the monastery, and, if he should procure a sum by means of this powder, in his present condition, it would be very prejudicial both to his soul and body, and he might become thereby, of all men, most miserable. Moreover (proceeds the father) this powder may have many other vertues and operations, which are yet unknown both to you and me; and therefore I will farther study the writings annexed to it, and hereafter I will be mindful of you; but at present I will not part with any of the powder, only you shall have every week two crowns allowed for your divertisements.' Thus the father. But this fair story sounded not well in the friar's ears, who had a private design, unknown to the old father, to leave the monastery.

In the interim it happened, that, as they two were returning from mattins, early in the morning, the old father complained of a cold he had got, and a great rheum in his head, and desired Friar Wenceslaus to go to the cellar, and fetch him a cup of sack. He did so, and, upon his return, he found the father taken with a fit of an apoplexy, and speechless; whereupon, the first thing he did was to find out the key of his desk, and, taking from thence the copper box, he carried it to his own cell, and hid it there. This being done, he rang the bell in the father's cell to call up the monks, who came flying with all diligence to bring him some remedies; but they were all too late, the father being quite dead. Hereupon his desk was presently sealed up, and solemn ceremonies, according to the occasion, were performed over his dead body: but who more inwardly joyful than Friar Wenceslaus! from whom death had removed his rival, and made him to be master of the whole treasure.

Hereupon he began to deliberate with himself, how he might make his escape out of the monastery with most safety and least suspicion. But herein many difficulties did accrue: he was grown a little deboist and prodigal by the opportunity of the twenty ducats abovementioned, which he had to spend; and, by that means, he had incurred the emulation of his fellow friars, who did urge the prior and superior, that, the old father being now dead, and so Friar Wenceslaus discharged from his attendance on him, he should, for the future, be bound to a stricter discipline, both in reference to his studies, and also to his frequenting the church. Moreover, his ducats were all spent, and no optunity offered to make another trial; or, if he had, he could not have sold the product of it.

In this anxiety he resolved to open his mind to another monk, a comrade of his, one Friar Francis Preyhausen, that so they might mutually consult together, what was best to be done; for, you must know, this friar was intimate with Friar Wenceslaus, as having entered into the college at the same time, and, being also a young man, was weary of a monastical life, as well as he.

Whilst these things were in consult, there happened a solemn disputation in the school of the monastery; where, among other *theses*, Friar

Francis, under a moderator, was obliged to maintain, 'That metals cannot be transmuted:' and it chanced to be the turn of Friar Wenceslaus to be the then opponent; but, as he had made no great proficiency in his studies, so Friar Francis easily baffled him, and exposed him to the laughter of the auditory, so that, in a great passion, he broke out into these words: 'Why do you laugh? I can practically demonstrate the 'thing to be true.' To whom the moderator with great indignation answered, 'Hold thy peace, thou ass; wilt thou also be an alchymist? I 'shall sooner be able to turn thee into an ox, than thou to transmute 'the metals.' Herewith Friar Wenceslaus's mouth was stopped.

When the disputation was over, Friar Wenceslaus took occasion to confer with Friar Francis; when they two were alone together, in the garden belonging to the monastery, Friar Francis thus accosted him: 'You have this day publickly affirmed, in the disputation, that you 'were able to transmute metals. It was unadvisedly spoken of you, 'whether it be true, or false: if it be true, and it come to the abbot's 'ear, you will not enjoy your liberty very long. Besides, there is a 'great muttering in the monastery, that the old father and yourself found 'a treasure in the church; and that the masons saw a copper box; and 'that a monk of the Augustine order sold some gold to a goldsmith; 'and that you did take from the kitchen a pewter plate. Moreover, 'the sudden death of the old father is not without some suspicion; and, 'although you may alledge, that the money was sent you by your 'friends, and it were true, that they did send you some, yet, it being 'probable, that some came another way (for which and other reflexions 'you will never escape scotfree out of the monastery) it was well the 'moderator took you for a buffle-head. But, if what you have affirmed 'be false, you do ill again that way, by asserting that which you are 'not able to demonstrate. I do therefore earnestly desire you to de-'clare unto me, as to your intimate friend, the whole truth of this 'matter.'

Whereupon, Friar Wenceslaus fell down at his feet, humbly beseeching him to swear not to discover what he should reveal to him, but to afford him his help and assistance; and then he would disclose that to him, which, upon their stealing away from the monastery, would procure great wealth to them both, and advance them to high dignities; and that they would equally share the happiness between them, and run a like hazard in all things. In a word, the bargain was soon made, and they, without loss of time, went into Friar Francis's cell, where they took their mutual oaths one to another. And then Friar Wenceslaus declared the whole intrigue, and the procedure thereof, to Friar Francis, withal desiring him, upon the first occasion, to go into the city to buy there a pound of lead; which being brought to him, he changed it into gold, observing the method the old father had observed before. The transmuted gold was carried back by Friar Francis into the city, and there sold to a Jew for an hundred ducats, though it were worth more; his pretence was, as the former, 'That it was melted down out of ancient coin and medals.' Having received this money, and thus made a strict league and friendship with Friar Francis, and the

art being now found true for the second time, they were more intent upon their design of escaping out of the monastery.

But that, which retarded their resolution, was the season of the year, it being then winter, and a very hard one too, for they well understood, that they could not then safely take so long a journey, as they were to undergo, if they could by their flight elude the search, which would be made without doubt, with all diligence possible after them, and avoid the punishment usually inflicted upon such an occasion. Hereupon they thought it more convenient to defer their intended flight till the spring following, and they were the rather induced thereunto, because they found means to pass their time merrily, by getting now and then a cup of wine, and a couple of roasted pullets, which Friar Francis, who was well versed in that trade, knew well how to get, and to convey into their chamber. But because Friar Wenceslaus had as great a mind to taste of women's flesh, as that of poultry; and had lighted on a certain Austrian drab, fit for his purpose; he caused therefore some man's apparel, with a peruke, and suitable accoutrements to be made ready for her.

Having thus disguised her sex, they gave her the name of Seignior Anastasio, and she came often to the monastery, on pretence, that she came from Vienna, to visit her cousin Friar Wenceslaus, pretending he was her kinsman. This lasted a while; but the visits of this Seignior Anastasio were so frequent, that at last, he was observed to come into the monastery sometimes, and not to go out again, by reason of his staying all night in the cell of Friar Wenceslaus, who did thus live for some weeks in dishonest love with him; and when he went either to the school, or to the church, he always carefully carried his key with him.

But a matter of that nature could be kept close no longer. Some rumour of it came to the ear of the abbot or prior, so that one morning, as Friar Wenceslaus was at mattins before day, the abbot demanded of him the key of his cell, which he was forced to deliver, but how willingly, any one may guess. The abbot immediately, with the prior, and some other monks, went to his cell, and there found Seignior Anastasio naked in the bed.

At this sight there was a general consternation on all sides; none knew what course to take; Friar Wenceslaus's mind was more in his chamber, than in the chapel canting out his mattins. As for Seignior Anastasio, she was doubtless as much at a loss; for to run without her cloaths out of the bed, before such venerable company, was no ways thought convenient; and as for the good prelates, they were also uncertain how to steer. Some advised to declare to the magistrate, that so Anastasio might be thrust out of the house by the secular power; others feared that, if they took that course, they should derogate from their rights and privileges; and if Seignior Anastasio should chance to be whipped, and to be put into the stocks, for dissembling her sex, the noise of such a thing would affix an indelible character of infamy upon their monastery.

After some deliberation, they concluded, that presently Anastasio should put on her cloaths, and, after a severe reprehension, should be

ejected out of the house, in the morning before day. And, as for Friar Wenceslaus, he was called from mattins, and shut up in his cell, the doors being well bolted and barred on the outside, until four walls were prepared to inclose him, which were already built, only something was defective in the door, which was supplied the next day.

Whilst this was doing, Friar Wenceslaus found opportunity to secure his copper box, and to gather together the powder, and by means of a rope to let them both down at a window to Friar Francis, who staid there on purpose to receive them; and withal he conveyed down a letter to him, the contents whereof was, to desire the said Friar Francis, not to forsake him in his distress, but to use his utmost endeavour to contrive a way for his deliverance, withal minding him not to violate his oath about the powder, but to keep it safe, for as yet, to his great comfort, it was intire.

The next day, Friar Wenceslaus was kept fasting, and in the evening, his back was scourged with many cruel lashes, and afterwards he was shut up close within four walls, and for a month fed with nothing but bread and water; during which time, the severity of the stripes he underwent, the disaster of the Seignior Anastasio, and the hazard of the loss of his powder did so afflict him, that he was even ready to despair. But this did somewhat relieve him, that he carried a string with him into the dungeon, and casting it out at the hole, received sometimes both letters and victuals from his comrade Friar Francis; and indeed, the desperate condition of Friar Wenceslaus did so affect his heart, that he bent all his endeavours to excogitate ways how to free him; at last an happy opportunity offered itself upon this occasion:

Prince Charles of Litchtenstein was a great favourer of chymisty, and he had a steward of his house at Bruna, to whose friendship Friar Francis had insinuated himself, and by him sent a letter, and some of the foresaid powder to the prince, in which he related the lamentable condition of Friar Wenceslaus, and implored his aid for his deliverance.

The steward, having sent the letter, and going to Felisburgh the prince's seat, was scarce arrived, but that the prince bestowed upon him a more profitable office than that which he had before, and this message concerning Friar Wenceslaus was so favourably received, that he strictly injoined him to return speedily to Bruna, and to assist Friar Francis to the utmost, in order to the deliverance of Friar Wenceslaus. And to that purpose he committed his own seal to his custody, to be made use of for that end, if there were occasion.

Thus the steward, returning home, did presently consult with Friar Francis, to deliver Friar Wenceslaus; and being delivered from his prison and cloyster, to hide and shelter him a while in the house of his master the said prince of Litchtenstein, until some convenient opportunity could be found for his passage out of the town, and for his conveyance to the Prince of Felisburgh. In order thereto Friar Francis took care to provide a false key, fit to open the dungeon, which he more easily did, because the padlock was on the outside of the door; and on a certain day, when mattins were ended, be brought his project to its desired effect, for he opened the door, and took out Friar Wen-

ceslaus, locking the door again, and disguising him with a cloke, coat, and peruke, which he had prepared for that purpose, he conveyed him, through a by gate in the garden of the monastery, to Litchtenstein's house, where he shut him up in a chamber, locked the door, and sealed it up in two places, with the prince's own seal, and a label appendant.

The next day when the monastery's porter, according to his custom, was carrying his bread and water, about noon, to Friar Wenceslaus, lo, he was not to be found! whereupon a great tumult was raised in the monastery, and from thence the news flew to Count de Collebrat, governor of that precinct, who presently commanded the gates to be shut, and search to be made in all houses, not excepting Litchtenstein's house itself. When they had diligently searched every corner of this latter house, at last they came to the chamber that was sealed up: here the steward of the house interposed, and told them, that that room was the closet of the prince, which he had sealed up himself with his own seal, and therefore it could not be opened without great danger and hazard of incurring his high displeasure.

Whereupon they desisted, and Friar Wenceslaus remained hid there for some weeks, until at length he found means in a disguise to escape out of the town in the morning early, at the very first opening of the gates, and so was conveyed, with other officers, in the prince's own coach, to Felisburgh. Being arrived there, he was courteously received and well treated by the prince, before whom he made a notable demonstration of his art.

But the prince soon found, that a man, in his circumstances and of his abilities, could not be long concealed in his court, because the Abbot of Bruna, having sent spies after him, would certainly find him out, and would also obtain a mandate from the supreme consistory at Vienna concerning him. Whereupon, tho', as some think, the prince's intent was to gain the whole tincture from him, he advised him to go to Rome, and there obtain a full discharge from his monastical life, and to secure himself from the abbot, which favour he proferred to obtain for him by means of his agent there: and, to accommodate him for his journey, he gave him a bill of exchange for 1000 ducats, and withal provided an Italian his chamberlain, to bear him company on his way.

But you must know, Friar Wenceslaus had sent away his comrade, Friar Francis, who privately had made an escape, to Vienna with the tincture, injoining him to get him a private lodging there, to abscond himself for a while, till he could commodiously contrive his journey to Rome.

Soon after, the Italian chamberlain and he began their journey, and, when they were about half a day's journey from Vienna, the chamberlain on a sudden picked a quarrel with him, and, holding a pistol to his breast, threatened to kill him, unless he would deliver him the tincture.

Friar Wenceslaus, being thus unexpectedly assaulted, was much abashed, and, calling God to witness, protested, that the tincture was not, for the present, in his hands, but that he had sent it before, by his companion,

Friar Francis, to Vienna, whom the said chamberlain had himself seen to undertake that journey a few days before.

The chamberlain was the rather induced to believe his asseveration, because, upon search both of him and his portmanteau, he found nothing at all of the tincture therein. Hereupon they came to terms between them: Friar Wenceslaus was to give the chamberlain one-hundred ducats, and an amnesty to be for their sudden falling out, and so they agreed, and bid one another farewel.

The chamberlain, being a covetous Italian, was glad of the money, and Friar Wenceslaus was glad to be rid of him, having escaped such an hazard, and being now likely to attain Vienna, where he arrived in the evening of the same day, and told his companion, Friar Francis, what had happened to him, in every circumstance, upon the way. He, being a subtle man, did easily perceive, by his relation, what was the mystery of his designed journey to Rome, and that his bill of exchange was but a mere collusion; whereupon, they both resolved to take another course for their safety; in order whereto, by means of a Saxon, whose name was Gorits, a crafty fellow, and a clerk in the chancery of Bohemia, they came acquainted with one Count Schlick, a person of great sagacity, then living at Vienna, a great favourer of chymistry, but had lately received some affronts from the court; he was very glad of their acquaintance, and presently took Friar Wenceslaus into his protection, and brought him to his house, where he made some trials, and withal gave him some of the tincture, that he himself might make one.

But, as for Friar Francis, he always lodged abroad. After some weeks, Count Schlick told Friar Wenceslaus, that he could no longer secure him after that rate at Vienna, for both the clergy, and also the prince of Lichtenstein, had an ill eye upon him, for his sake; and, being already disfavoured at court, he should run a further hazard, by concealing of him; nevertheless, he would shew him what courtesy he could, and, if he pleased, he would send him to one of his own country-houses and castles in Bohemia, where he might remain in greater security, and accordingly he prepared all things for the journey. Friar Wenceslaus did easily perceive the intention of the count, for before he had observed, that the count's footmen did observe him as narrowly, as the monks had done in the monastery, and therefore, perceiving what was to be done with him, he made his escape through an arch in the wine-cellar, built after the Italian fashion, the day before he was to go to Bohemia (a place designed for his perpetual imprisonment) and retired to the lodging of his friend, Friar Francis, to whom having related what had happened to him again, upon deliberation, they both agreed to extricate themselves out of all these hazards, and to acquaint the emperor with the whole matter.

And, to introduce them into his presence, they knew none more fit, than a Spanish count, called de Paar, whose brother, named Peter, was hereditary postmaster, in the emperor's hereditary country. He was a great alchymist, a factious and seditious man, and one much troubled with the gout, yet he had found means to creep into the emperors's favour; therefore this gain, unlooked for, was no less acceptable to him,

than to the others before. For he had heard, a great while before, of Friar Wenceslaus, and had an extreme passion to be acquainted with him, and fancied that he should see strange things in him, as King Herod did of Christ, who, first, acted the part cunningly enough, as you shall presently hear. They agreed together, that Friar Wenceslaus should abide incognito at his house, where he was as much observed, as at the house of Count Schlick.

Here he made another small trial; whereupon Count Paar went to the emperor, and discovered to him the whole business. But his imperial majesty, who, by reason of the great and weighty concerns of the empire, doth not only not much regard, or value learning, as his father did, except what contributes to his recreation, as plays, musick, and the like, but also had a particular aversness fron alchymy; (holding that, for a mere imposture, which did cost his royal father, and his uncle, the archduke Leopold, so much expence, both of money and time) gave no great heed to the proposition made by Count Paar, especially it having been related to him, that this Friar Wenceslaus was a fugitive monk, and had led a dissolute life; and moreover, by report, was accused of magick.

The Spanish Count, Paar, having heard this repartee of the emperor, being a subtle man, and easily foreseeing those objections would be made, had armed himself against them; upon which, he thus replied to his imperial majesty: 'That he did confess, that there was a great weight 'in all the objections made by his majesty, yet, without presuming, 'being so mean a person, to impose upon his imperial majesty, it 'seemed to him, that, though the case were extraordinary, yet, never-'theless, the dictates of common reason were to be obeyed, which doth 'advise, sometimes, to consider of things abstracted from the persons 'they concern, it being evident, that some men, though ill in them-'selves, yet have been the authors of useful inventions; of which truth, 'instances might be given near at hand, in regard his imperial majesty 'had many notable inventions in his archives, which owed their origi-'nals to bad men, yea, some of them accused of the same miscarriages, 'as Friar Wenceslaus; and since it is true, that some good things are 'done by some bad men, it being no less true, that all men are sinners, 'must we therefore reject all their laudable inventions, and all the 'good works they do? A notable example whereof (proceeded he) lies 'as yet fresh before your majesty; Joseph Burrhi was accused of heresy, 'and, being taken at Vienna, was sent to Rome, but, after penance, he 'was pardoned upon the score of his knowledge, rather than of his 'person, and the Germans, his accusers, were, by this means, deceived; 'of which, I myself (says he) at that time being Burrhi's commissary at 'Vienna, did forewarn them, but in vain. Your majesty (said he 'farther) is a person, with whom God seems to deal after a peculiar 'manner, having wonderfully delivered you from many imminent 'dangers, and now, in these necessitous and indigent times, cruel wars 'being also in prospect, your hereditary countries being also exhausted, 'the Divine bounty seems to offer you a mean and way how you may 'most pity and spare your subjects. It is the Devil's policy to cast sus-'picion upon all extraordinary assistances, that so he may make them

'useless; but (says he) it is as great a sin, not to accept of things, 'when offered, as to abuse them, when they are accepted. As for 'myself (saith he) I have no great reason to be a friend to chymistry, 'having suffered so much loss by it, as your imperial majesty well 'knows: neither did I ever find any truth in the art, save only in this 'powder of Friar Wenceslaus, and the transmutation made thereby. 'But, as in reference to that trial, he dare pawn his credit it would 'succeed, and, if his majesty would not believe his word, yet he might 'depute some persons to see a trial made: for his part, he thought he 'was bound in conscience to discover the whole business to his majesty, 'referring it wholly to him, whether he would graciously accept the 'proposal, and protect the person that made it, or else discard them 'both; still hoping, nevertheless, that his majesty would not take his 'good intention in ill part, nor exclude him from his favour; wishing 'for a conclusion, that he would cause one trial to be made, under 'the inspection of some persons, unprejudiced, that so his imperial 'majesty might be satisfied, at least, in this one thing, that he had not 'made the proposition to him without sufficient reason.' Thus he concluded his harangue. The emperor, as he is gracious to all suitors, so he gave favourable attention to the count's discourse, and commended him for it: 'Only (says he to the count) alchymy is a subtle imposture, 'and, though you yourself may mean honestly, yet, perhaps, you also 'may be deceived thereby; otherwise I do not (adds he) at all despise 'the wonderful works of God, but do highly value them, and accept of 'his gift with all hearty thankfulness; and I do well know how long 'my father took very great pains in that art, and how highly he prized 'that little which was shewed him by the Baron Chaos, and rewarded 'him for it; besides, I know full well how to make a distinction be-'tween the art, and the life of its professors.' Only, lest he should expose himself, and shew himself too easy, he gave the count order to make another trial, and to procure the presence of other skilful persons, both of the clergy and laity, that so he might make him a more exact relation of the matter, with all the circumstances, and receive further order of his majesty concerning it.

Count Paar, being returned home from his audience, the very same day he sent to Father Spies and Dr. Becher, to invite them to dine with him the next day, adding these words in his message, 'that he had a business to communicate to them from the emperor.' The next day, they all accordingly met, Friar Wenceslaus being present, where, after dinner, Count Paar made known his commission, and forthwith caused an ounce of Schlachenwald tin, and a new crucible to be bought; which materials being prepared, and tried, and for fear of enchantment, *ex abundanti cautela*, sprinkled with holy water, the trial began, and was finished within a quarter of an hour; one part tinged ten thousand parts into gold, which was so graduated by the tincture, that it was almost friable, and was striated and distinguished with red veins interspersed; of which, as likewise of the tin before it was tinged, both the Count de Paar, and also Father Spies, and Dr. Becher, each of them took a little piece, for a perpetual memorial of the thing. The rest was sealed up with their three seals, and the same quantity of the

powder, this projection was made with, was inclosed with it, and the thing was by all three subscribed to.

The next day, Count Paar went to his imperial majesty, and delivered it to him, making also a full relation of all the particular circumstances in the trial.

Hereupon, the emperor injoined him to treat Friar Wenceslaus kindly, and to assure him of his favour; moreover, advising him to refrain his ill and scandalous life, and to satisfy the clergy, that he would reassume the monastical habit, and for the rest he would take care; and, till he had inquired further into the thing, he would, for his security, send him into some private place.

The count returned home very joyful with this commission, and, the very same evening, he caused Friar Wenceslaus to be revested with his monk's habit by two English fathers of the Augustine order, Father Dunoll, and Father Vostaller. A letter was also writ to his abbot at Bruna, informing him, that he might set his mind at rest concerning him, because he had laid aside his monk's habit, and cloathed himself with other apparel, for no other reason, but because he would free himself from the hardship of a prison, and make a journey to Vienna, to discover a great secret, which he had, to his imperial majesty; which being now done, he had again resumed his monk's habit.

All this was done to persuade him, that they meant him nothing but good, to make him call again for all the tincture from his comrade, and to keep him from conversing any longer with those which before were his most intimate acquaintance, as counting himself sufficiently secured against all violence, by the emperor's protection, and his monk's habit: so that Count Paar was as a father to him, and he, on the other side, as his adopted son. These two new friends undertook a voyage together, to a country-house of the count's, adjoining to a certain lake, which he had in Hungary, distant about a day's journey from Vienna.

Being come thither, the very same night, they two being alone in a chamber, the count plucked out a decree of the emperor's, as he pretended, which was sealed up, adding these words, 'My son, into what 'gulf of misery art thou cast? Here I have a command in writ-'ing from the emperor, to demand the tincture of thee; and, if thou 'refusest to deliver it, then, to my great grief, I must execute upon 'thee the sentence contained in this sealed decree.'

Friar Wenceslaus desired to read the decree; but the count replied, 'If it be opened, it must be immediately executed!' and, withal, plucking a pistol out of his pocket, he directed it to his breast, sighing, and breaking forth in these words, 'Into what miseries are we both 'cast! Yet, notwithstanding, if thou wilt hearken to my counsel '(from whence thou mayest gather my love, and fatherly care, and 'free both of us from this great misfortune, and make our condition 'very happy) I will give it to thee.'

Nothing was more grateful to Friar Wenceslaus, than to hear this condition; and, having given him his hand that he would follow it.

The count began thus: 'It is certain, said he, that you and I do 'both stand in need of the emperor's protection, and it is as certain,

'that we shall be forced to deliver the tincture to him. My advice 'then is, which I refer to you for your approbation and consent: I 'will pretend, that being injoined to make a stricter examination of 'this tinging powder, I have employed it all, in order to its multiplica- 'tion, to try whether it might be augmented, for the greater benefit 'and advantage of his majesty. However, we may both be sheltered 'under the continuance of the emperor's protection, and yet we may 'keep the tincture; and, after the time designed for its augmentation 'is elapsed, we will easily devise some colourable excuse, to evade it; 'as, that the glass was broken, or some error committed in the opera- 'tion. For, the truth is, said he, the emperor's court is not worthy so 'great a treasure; it will be prostituted there, and made common: but, 'to engage thyself to me in a greater degree of faithfulness, thou must 'not refuse to give me half the tincture; and we will take a mutual 'oath to be faithful one to the other, as long as we live; and for what 'now hath passed between us, it shall be buried in perpetual oblivion. 'The emperor shall never know any thing of it, neither shall he ever 'have any of the tincture.'

Friar Wenceslaus was fain to make an agreement on those terms, which were drawn up in writing, subscribed with both their hands, and confirmed by their mutual oaths; and so the tincture was divided betwixt them. The count made a trial by himself alone the next day, with some of his proportion thereof, to try whether he had not been deceived therein: but he found it right and good.

Having staid a while at his country house, he was about to return to Vienna; but he was taken so grievously sick of the gout, that, out of the intolerable torment which he felt, he drank some *aurum potabile*, which Burrhi had given him heretofore; but with this caution, that it was not yet perfect. Having tasted a few drops thereof, he presently felt a most grievous and vehement pain in his joints, so that he could hardly perform his journey with Friar Wenceslaus, to Vienna. But, the first night after his coming, he was so afflicted with heat, that all his intrails seemed to be on a flame, as he complained himself. The day following, his physician, the son of Dr. Sorbat, whose name was Kreisset, who was also physician to the emperor's army, was sent for, who, considering his present condition, applied the properest remedies he could, which availed him nothing: but bad symptoms did so grow upon him, that, the third day, his case was judged desperate.

The count himself, also, being sensible of his death approaching, caused his brother, the master of the post-office to the emperor, Count Peter de Paar, his only heir, for the sick brother was a batchelor, to be sent for about night: to whom he spoke in these words:

'It was foretold to me, heretofore, in Italy, that I should obtain 'the tincture, and that soon after, I should die! The first part of 'the prophecy is fulfilled, and the latter is near at hand to be accom- 'plished; I know, that you have bestowed as much time and expence 'in this art, as myself: I have nothing more valuable to leave you, 'and nothing can be more acceptable to you, than a notable portion

'of tincture, which I have sealed up in this desk, and shall entrust it in 'the hand of my confessor, who, upon my decease, shall deliver it 'to you.'

After which words, he delivered the desk to his confessor, who was present, and heard him speak them. Count Peter, not imagining his brother was so near his end, took his leave of him for that night, and rode home, because it was very late. And, his brother soon after departing this life, his confessor also took coach, and went home to the monastery of St. Francis, not far distant from the imperial post-office at Vienna: the death of the deceased count being signified to his brother, by his footmen, who had accompanied the confessor home.

The count immediately rose out of his bed, being but newly entered thereinto, and, cloathing himself, galloped, at two o'clock in the morning, to the monastery of the Franciscans; and, after he had knocked fiercely at the gate for admittance, the drowsy porter arose, and let him in. The count desired to be admitted to the speech of the confessor of his newly deceased brother; but it was replied, 'It was an unseasonable time for such a visit, in regard the old man was weak, and weary, and being newly returned home, was laid down to rest.' The count was not satisfied with this answer; but was very earnest with the porter, to accompany him, and some of his attendants, to the old father's cell: he making excuses, the count rushed in presently himself, and awaked him, demanding the desk which his brother had deposited in his hands, as now rightfully belonging unto him.

The father was much surprised at his sudden irruption and demand; which he did the more suspect, because it was made at such an unseasonable time of the night. Whereupon he desired the count to hold himself contented till the morning, and then he should have the desk delivered unto him without fail; only he desired to deliver it in before the father guardian, and that he would then give him his acquittance for the receipt thereof. The count, not content with this answer, by the help of his attendants and servants, endeavoured to get it from him by force:

Whereupon a tumult arose; the watch was sent for, the monks were also gathered together, and a Spanish bishop of the same order, the confessor of the Empress Margaret, then lodging in the monastery, was also roused out of his sleep, who hearing such a tumultuous noise in the monastery, a privileged place, was so much concerned thereat, that he enquired into the occasion, whilst the count was yet present; and understanding that it arose, upon the score of a sealed desk, he demanded it of the father, who had it in keeping; which having received from him, the next morning he carried it with him to the emperor, and complained grievously against the count, as being the occasion of that night's uproar. In the mean time, as soon as it was day, the noise hereof was spread all over the city, and, among the rest, it reached the ears of Friar Wenceslaus, who presently went to court, and, by means of the empress's confessor, obtained audience. He related to the emperor the whole story, how the count had used him in Hungary; how he had extorted from him half the tincture; how he was necessitated, by a

forced agreement, not to discover any thing thereof, whilst he was living, but was now free from the obligation of his oath, by the count's death; that he was very glad that the tincture was at length come into the hands of the right owner, his imperial majesty, for whom he had long before designed it; he did therefore now implore nothing more of his imperial majesty, but that he would afford him his protection, against the violence of Count Peter Paar, his post-master, and his adherents.

The emperor, perceiving the wonderful series of this affair, presently entertained Friar Wenceslaus at his court, and committed him to the care and inspection of Count Wallestein, the imperial governor of Hatschirr.

About this time, the post-master abovementioned died also. Friar Wenceslaus, being thus received into the emperor's protection, had his lodgings assigned him by the imperial bowling-green, where he made some trials before the emperor and Count Austin of Wallestein, his guardian; and, in the palace of the Johannites in the Carinthian-street, he made one of fifteen marks, as they say, out of which transmutations the Count Wallestein made him a gold chain, to keep in perpetual memory of the thing. Moreover, he had deposited some of his tincture in the court, for augmentation, and, as far as I can judge, by the process delivered to me, he had a great desire to get the mercury of silver; how far he proceeded in it, I do not certainly know, but some affirm, that he had made some progress therein.

In the mean time, he both desired to be acquainted with some noted chymists and eminent artists, and several impostors and sophisters intruded themselves into his acquaintance; so that from thence resulted very frequent junketings, drinkings, and merry meetings, and many foolish trifling processes wrought by him, from whence Friar Wenceslaus learned rather several cunning and subtle impostures, than any real augmentation of his powder. But, the noise and multitude of so many importunate visitants being cumbersome at court, where Friar Wenceslaus had his diet, under the severe inspection of Count Wallestein, he thereupon pretended, that he had occasion to make some sorts of *aqua fortis* and other *menstruums*, which would be dangerous to the whole court, and cause such noisome fumes and odious smells, that they could not safely be prepared in that place; therefore a laboratory was built for him in the Carinthian fort, where the emperor's chief engineer did dwell; his name was Fischer, a great lover of alchymy, and who shewed himself very officious to him, assisting him to build strange and most nonsensical furnaces which can ever be seen; and besides, being not a little pleased with his good fortune of the neighbourhood and acquaintance of the owner of so rich a tincture. But this intimacy lasted not long, as the event soon made appear; for, when Friar Wenceslaus had scarcely well fixed his habitation, and settled his things in order, the engineer was forced to leave the splendid dwelling there assigned him by the emperor, and to go to Javarin in Hungary, to dwell there, his wife also, as some give out, being vitiated into the bargain. Friar Wenceslaus also fell very sick, and he, that waited upon him in his cham-

ber, died suddenly, not without some suspicion of poison, and he himself also lay without any hopes of recovery. In this case, J. A. C. P. C. L. de S. who before had bought some of the tincture of him, and had paid him for it a thousand ducats, designing to take this opportunity of his illness, and decease so apparent, and so to get and enjoy his tincture without money, sent to him one Biliot, a French physician, to steal from him, under pretence of a visit, both the said thousand ducats, and the rest of the tincture. Fortune did favour him, as to the first part of his design, but in the latter she did fail and disappoint him; for Friar Wenceslaus had hid his tincture more carefully than his thousand ducats. At last, the sick man, contrary to all men's expectation, began to recover; and Friar Francis, who was sent to Rome to obtain a dispensation for him, to absolve him from his vow, having obtained the same, returned home. Whereupon, presently Friar Wenceslaus, laying aside his monk's habit, took a wife and was married publickly to one named Angerlee, who had ministered to him in his sickness, and had otherwise been very assistant to him when he wanted her. She was a very subtle and crafty woman, yet accounted at Vienna but little better than a common harlot; and she was the worse thought on, because her sister had been naught with B. D. L. and, by his advice and assistance, had caused her husband to be made away, for which fact, he the said B. D. L. was sentenced to death; but, though afterwards pardoned by the emperor, yet was deprived of all his dignities, degraded of his nobility, and cast into perpetual prison in the citadel of Grätz, where he died miserably; and his whore, Friar Wenceslaus's wife's sister, was the same day to be beheaded in open court, before the Judgment-Hall, the scaffold, and all the rest, being already prepared, but, by the intercession of the wife of Castell Rodrigo, the Spanish ambassador, she was set free; yet, afterwards, upon the account of her lewd life, and dishonest practices, she was killed with a pistol-shot.

Friar Wenceslaus, being linked by marriage into such a family, did then fancy for a time, that all the elements did conspire together to make him happy. For why? he was visited by persons of the highest rank, and withal was mightily respected by the most eminent ladies, countesses, and princesses. As for me, as spectator of this scene, I considered him in this fool's paradise; whilst it put me in mind of Cornelius Agrippa, who, in his book of the Vanity of Sciences, under the title of Alchymy, says, 'That, if he should be master of the tincture, he would spend it all in whoring; for, women being naturally covetous, he could thereby easily make them to prostitute themselves, and to yield unto his lust.'

And it seems, that not only Friar Wenceslaus was so mighty a proficient, and so stout a soldier in the school of Venus, that he was brought very low by the French disease, but also that his wife Angerlee died of it. After whose decease, Friar Wenceslaus exceeded all bounds of honest modesty, and daily let loose the reins to all sinful and voluptuous excesses; for, from that time he obtained the tincture, he spent in two or three years time more than ten myriads of crowns, in all manner of luxury; and he saw well enough, that it could not last and subsist long at that rate; for the tincture would not maintain him: and to

turn it into gold, or sell it for a small price, would turn to no account, as he had always hoped it would by augmentation, and thereby to gain an inexhaustible treasure.

But, on the one hand, his want and necessity was such, and, on the other, the sollicitings of those, who would buy of his powder, were so importunate, that he could not resist so great temptations: and therefore, between both, he resolved upon a dishonest shift, which was, to sell for great rates powdered cinnabar, red lead, and the *caput mortuum* of *aqua fortis* boiled, and such other ingredients, instead of the true powder, mixing also therewith some few filings of copper, that foolish ignorant people might mistake the same for a gold-making powder. To some he sold it without any such cozening addition as copper: and, if they were not able to tinge with it, he would lay the blame on their impatience and unskilfulness in making the projection. To others, he pawned some of his counterfeit tincture for a great sum of money, which he pretended he had a present use for; but he was loath to spend his tincture in projecting, because he hoped to augment it with a thousand fold advantage: and, that they might see the tincture was genuine and true, he took some of it and wrapped it up in a little wax, with which he mingled a little of his right tincture, which he called his *crocus*, or powder of reduction, and so tinged therewith.

By this means, he got very many thousands of crowns, and, over and above, he got P. C. de L. and C. L. to be his assistants and partners in these mysteries. But the imprudent sort, amongst which, A. C. P. and his cousin C. B. are to be reckoned, he gave them whole ingots which he had cast, consisting of equal parts of gold and silver; then filing some of them, and dissolving it into common *aqua fortis*, which he brought with him, he affirmed, that now his tincture was exalted into a *menstruum*, which would presently change silver into gold; and that, as soon as ever the price or value, which was to be paid for its purchase, should be put thereto, it would be converted into gold.

It hath been also further related to me, that he grew to that degree of impudence, as to tinge some sort of coins, after this manner, into gold, before the empress dowager and the emperor himself. Yea, this fellow was so arrogant, as to cause his own effigies to be drawn on some of those false coins which he did attempt deceitfully to put off.

Yet this matter could not be kept so secret, but the more prudent began to smell the cheat, and to mutter something about it; which was very ill taken in the emperor's court. For he was in such credit there, that it was not safe to impeach him, as being received into the emperor's protection, both against the clergy and the secular power, and even against the skilful in the same art. For great men are loth to acknowledge their error, but think themselves, though under a mistake, to be as infallible as the pope himself.

Those, who were not much concerned in the matter, suffered it so to pass, as taking little notice of it; but some true philosophers were very much aggrieved, that so infamous an impostor, after so many vows and protestations made by him to the contrary, and after such evident proofs of his former debauched life; after so many villainous crimes commit-

ted, and his base prostitution openly of so noble an art of chymistry; should yet, notwithstanding that he ranted it up and down in his coach in masquerades, before the emperor's court, be maintained and protected by him. But others, who had been cousened by him of great sums of money, even to many thousand ducats, with his adulterate tincture, could not so rest satisfied, but brought in their actions against him at common law: where, after some time and much expence, they obtained judgment against him, but it was never put in execution, though all other means were tried.

Now the emperor, unless he would have left his favourite Wenceslaus to the jurisdiction and power of his judges, and rigour of the law, must needs interpose; for the complaints, made against him for his insolent and abusive practices, were so many, and the fame of them was spread so far abroad in the world, that his imperial majesty thought it more convenient to have the noise of it altogether suppressed.

To be short, the emperor paid all his debts, and, that he might prevent his farther opportunity of cousenage, he got from him the rest of his tincture, and then advanced him to the most ancient order of barony in Bohemia, by the title of Baron Seyler of Seylerburgh, and afterwards made him hereditary master of the mint of Bohemia. And, having thus preferred him, he sent him away from his court to Prague, where he now lives very gallantly, and hath made Friar Francis the steward of his house: having married a second wife, called Waldes Kircheriana, a handsome woman, and of a noble family.

In the mean time, a rumour was spread all over Germany, 'That the devil had carried him away soul and body.' Which report, though it might have some good grounds, yet, for this time, it was not true. But he hath very great reason to fear that it may prove true, at last, if he doth not amend his life; and the event thereof we must expect.

I have described the series of this story, both to vindicate the truth, and also to satisfy so many curious, who have despicable thoughts of chymistry. If I have mistaken in any passage, Friar Wenceslaus is yet alive, and I earnestly desire him to amend and rectify my mistakes, and to vindicate himself, by giving the world a more exact account thereof, that he may no longer lie under any unjust reflexion.

For a conclusion; I heartily wish, that, if God should bless any lover of this noble art, with such-like treasure, he would use it better than Wenceslaus hath done; for the glory of God, the benefit and advantage of his neighbour, and the furtherance of his own everlasting salvation.

THE INCONVENIENCIES OF

A LONG CONTINUANCE

OF THE SAME PARLIAMENT.

PRINTED IN 1680. FOLIO, CONTAINING FOUR PAGES.

THAT there is a necessity of a government among mankind, is admitted by all wise men; but to convince mad men and fools of this, is too great a task. Johannes Woolebius, in his Compendium, Theolo. Christ. says, 'That it is unworthy in a Christian so much to seem to mistrust the divine authority of the scripture, as to make any question of it: it being a principle, so necessary to be believed, that it ought not to be brought into doubt, by disputes.' To the like purpose, it may be said, that it is unworthy, in an English commonwealth's-man, to bring it into debate, whether, or no, the sovereignty of this realm be in the king alone, disjoined from any other persons? And true it is, there are as yet but few, if any, that dare be so hardy, as positively to say otherwise, whatever their thoughts be, and though their actions seem to look that way. And forasmuch as the word, commonwealth, hath been of late years, for the most part, applied to the government, when it is in the hands of many: it might not be impertinent to insert here, what a commonwealth is. A commonwealth, therefore, is a lawful government of many families, and that which unto them, in common, belongeth; and the end and design thereof is, 'That the wicked be punished, and the good and just protected.' So that it is as much, nay, rather more a commonwealth, and tends more to common good, when the government is in the hand of one man, than in the hands of many; and, for this, we have the general consent of all great politicians, in past ages, who, after the trial of all sorts of governments, and comparing the conveniencies and inconveniencies of each, have concluded that government best for the generality of the people, when the sovereign power to command was in one man, and not in many. For oftentimes, even where a tyrant hath reigned, and he removed, and the commonwealth changed into a popular state, the people have been soon sensible, that the change hath been much for the worse, and that, instead of one tyrant, they had a multitude of tyrants, to oppress them. Yet the dissolution, or prorogation of a parliament, hath been of late looked upon to be so high a violation of right, and so great a point of misgovernment, as if thereby our liberties were lost, and our lives and estates subjugated to the arbitrary power and pleasure of our king; or else we falsly conclude it impossible, that the king can be so wise, as to govern without their counsels. To remove which mistakes, and to quiet the minds of men misled, these following considerations and collections

out of English history are offered to publick view, whereby it will be most apparent, 'That not only the proroguing, but the frequent dissolving of parliaments, is absolutely necessary for the preservation of monarchy, our now established government, and the best sort of government for the people of England, and most suitable to their temper, in preservation whereof, our own preservation consists. But the long continuance of one and the same parliament, or the same members in parliament, which are both alike, is the most pernicious thing imaginable both to king and people.

It is necessary for the preservation of monarchy that parliaments be often dissolved, because nothing makes it more manifest, in whom the sovereign power resides; for it puts them in mind, by what authority, they have their being; whereas, by a long continuance, they are apt to plead prescription to their seats, and think themselves disseized, if removed thence, though by the same power that placed them there.

In former times, parliaments, in this kingdom, consisted only of some of the nobility, and wise men of the nation, such as the king pleased to call; and the first time, that ever the commons of England were admitted to parliament, was, in the sixteenth year of Henry the First; which parliament was assembled at Salisbury, and it was so assembled of the king's own pleasure, not of any obligation, that, by law, lay upon him so to do. And certain it is, the kings of England were no ways obliged to assemble parliaments, or being assembled, to permit them to sit, during their own pleasure, till of late years, that such vapours corrupted our region, with a destructive contagion. By the ancient statutes of Edward the Third, whereby parliaments were to be holden once a year, and oftener, if need were, cannot, by any reasonable construction, be intended, so much to oblige the king to call a parliament, as to oblige the subject to attend, being called; and this seems the rather to be so, for that, those statutes being but briefly penned, by a subsequent statute of Richard the Second, as an act explanatory of the former acts, a penalty is imposed upon every person, having summons to parliament, that should not come accordingly. But now, by an act of the sixteenth, of his now majesty's reign, he was prevailed upon to pass it into a law, 'That parliaments should not be intermitted or discontinued above three years.' However, God be thanked, it is yet in the king's power, that, if, when they are called, they behave themselves not well, his majesty may, without violation of any law, send them whence they came; and, I hope, it will never more be otherwise, lest that, if they had a grant of not being dissolved, without their own consent, they would do, as those did, that had the like power. And, sure it is no solœcism, that the like cause may have the like effect.

A parliament of the modern constitution is, without controversy, very necessary and useful, if they intend that, which properly belongs to them; the business of both houses being to consult with, and advise the king, in such things, as he shall require their advice in, and to represent to him publick grievances, such as are real grievances, and not such as every whimble pated fellow esteems so. But they are not to think to compel the king, under the plausible term of address, to exercise any point of government, or to make any new laws, that he likes

not of. And it is proper and peculiar to himself only to judge, what advice is fit to be followed, and what to be rejected; for there may be some private reason of state, for his so doing, which might be inconvenient to be publickly known. This hath been the ancient settled practice, and under which this kingdom hath long flourished; and it is not safe to alter it, for, it being now the declining age of the world, most changes, violent ones especially, are from good to bad, and from bad to worst, and from worst to stark naught.

Is not the advantage of monarchy, above the government of many, apparent, at this time, to any seeing man? For, if his majesty, like the main-mast of a ship, had not been the stay of all, and had not, as it were, parted the fray, by the late dissolution of the parliament, all the aristocratical rigging and tackle of both houses, if it deserves to be so called, had been torn in pieces by faction, amongst themselves, and this poor kingdom thereby, before this, might have been a second time, in our memory, blown up by her own inbred divisions; and it is not without precedent, that parliaments are alike infallible as the pope, or his college of cardinals, and have given as ill advice, and done as ill things, and of late have been more troublesome than ever.

If it should be so, that the advice of either, or both houses of parliament, must of necessity be followed by the king, then would it not be properly an advice but a command in effect; and where, in a commonwealth, the sovereign power or command is in more than in one, that commonwealth is no longer a monarchy, but is degenerated, at best, into an aristocracy, the sovereignty being thereby divided amongst many; and, if we judge impartially, it must be acknowledged, that they that endeavour after that, viz. That the votes and ordinances of the house of commons might have the force of laws, are no less enemies to the state, than they that would introduce popery, for in both cases, it is but endeavouring to alter the government: to prevent which fond and dangerous attempt, the frequent dissolving of parliaments is very necessary.

Divers other inconveniencies will be prevented by frequent proroguing and dissolving of parliaments; for, by that means, the privilege of parliaments will not over long protect the members thereof, to delay and defraud their fellow subjects of their just and due debts; which sort of practice, for many years past, hath been a killing oppression, when not only the members themselves made ill use of that privilege, but many of them gave their clerks liberty to sell blank protections by the dozens, as the pope doth his indulgences. And moreover, if any such, or other like vicious men, should, by flattery and bribery, get into the parliament, a dissolution gives opportunity of discharging such, from having hand in so high a trust; and great reason, such should be discharged; for, how can it be expected, that men, unjust in their private concerns, should be otherwise in publick administration, which they will always strive to make subservient to their by-interests?

By the long continuance of one and the same parliament, it hath happened, that the members thereof, having long beheld the tempting, though forbidden fruit of supremacy, they have not scrupled to grapple with the king, for a share of the sovereignty; and most commonly,

when they are a little settled, they strive to spoil the king of his prerogative, to usurp it to themselves; and, rather than fail of their designs, time hath been, that they have involved the people of this kingdom, in a miserable war and destruction of each other, when the thing, they seemed to insist on, was either of no moment at all to the people, or something that had a very remote possibility of ever happening; whereby, instead of preventing the mischief, they drew it hastily upon us. There are too many examples hereof in history, whereof to name a few: let it be impartially considered, and then judge, if there was a justifiable cause for the insolency of that parliament, in Edward the Second's time, who, being set on by some lords, that envied Gaveston's favour with that king, framed articles of some trifling grievances to be presented to the king, but added thereunto, the king must banish Gaveston, else they declared, they would rise in arms against the king. An action much to the credit of parliaments, indeed, that they, to gratify an envious lord or two, would not stick to stir up the plague of a civil war, in the bowels of their own country, by engaging in a rebellion, against the king! And they proceeded so far, that they murdered Gaveston, instead of bringing him to a fair and legal trial, for no reason in particular, that appears by Baker's Chronicle, other than that the king loved him, and that he was in more favour than they: and, not long after, they even deposed the king, and yet no intrenchment upon the people's liberty or property was committed by that king, in all his reign, and it is expresly said of him, he took no base courses for raising money. And although, being forced to resign his crown, he was content to live a private life, and did so, very quietly, yet his seditious lords thought his liberty too much favour for him, and caused him to be imprisoned; and in carrying him to prison, he was most barbarously abused; for, being taken from his horse, and set upon a hillock, there, taking puddle water to shave him with, his barber told him, cold water must serve for that time: whereat the miserable king, looking earnestly upon him, told him, that, whether they would or no, he would have warm water to wash withal; and, to make good his words, he let fall a shower of tears: and, being carried to prison, they lodged him in a chamber over carrion and dead carcasses, thinking, thereby, to have poisoned him: but, when they saw that would not do, a letter was devised from a lord, to the king's keepers, blaming them, for giving him too much liberty, and for not doing the service that was expected from them; and, in the end of the letter, was wrote this line; *Edvardum occidere nolite, timere bonum est*: which may be Englished either, It is good to kill Edward, do not fear it: or, do not kill Edward, it is good to be afraid to do it: but they took it in the sense intended, and most inhumanly murdered the king. And (to see the fickleness of them) it is recorded, that they that despised him when living, so honoured him, being dead, that they could have found in their hearts to have made him a saint.

It cannot yet be forgot, nor will the ill effects a while be overcome, of that parliament, infamous for long, and of sad and direful memory, how, in the time of the best of kings, when they all ruled, there was no rule at all; but that, upon pretence of removing evil counsellors,

they removed from us all happiness, and overwhelmed us with all the evils imaginable; and because some people would make the world believe there is no preservation against popery, but by means of a parliament, be it remembered, how poorly and sneakingly the parliament, in Queen Mary's days, became apostates to the protestant religion, drew up a supplication to the king and queen, wherein they shewed themselves very penitent for their former errors, and humbly desired their majesties to intercede for them to Cardinal Pool, the pope's legate, and the see apostolick, that they might be pardoned of all they had done amiss, and be received into the bosom of the church, being themselves most ready to abrogate all laws prejudicial to the see of Rome. That this is no fable, they that list may read it in Baker's Chronicle, fol. 320.

Is it not apparent, that what execution hath been done upon the late popish plotters, was by the king's immediate command? And the discoverers of plotters, and prosecutors of papists, are to this day encouraged by his majesty. Were not the lords in the tower several times brought to Westminster-hall, by the king's command, in order to their trial; but the house of commons were not, or would not be ready for it, unless they might pluck a plume from the prerogative, or peerage, to feather their own caps withal? And whether they were not more ready to kindle coals of contention, when even in the house, not long since, some laid hands on their swords to draw at each other, I leave the world to judge. Can any man then, that loves the peace of his country, be troubled at the prorogation or dissolution of such a parliament?

It is, indeed, to be found in our English chronicles, that one parliament had the name of good, and that was in the reign of Edward the Third; but it seems to be so called in derision only; for the same author says, they wrought ill effects. To be plain, there seldom or never was a long parliament that did deserve much commendation, or that was free from faction: but that it was not otherwise, much may be imputed to the fault of the electors, who take not right measures in their choice. And because good parliaments are very useful to his majesty and people, it is to be wished men would observe the right means to obtain such; whenever it should please his majesty to give another opportunity of a new choice. And forasmuch as many of the commons of our late parliaments were so vile as to take pensions for their votes, as some of their own fellow-members give out; which, if true, in all likelihood were given by some corrupt minister of state, to promote the interest and designs of some foreign prince; and some others of them were under very gross errors touching succession, whether out of a real misapprehension, or a voluntary misfeasance, it is not proper here to determine. Only this I say, it is somewhat strange, that men, that are all for religion, will not trust God Almighty himself with that prerogative, though he give us his word for it, that 'the hearts of kings are in his rule and governance, and he turneth them which way it pleaseth him;' and in another place it is said, 'By me kings reign, and princes do decree:' But of this more, perhaps, hereafter. Some others are mightily inraged at their dissolution, because it hath put them to

charges at their new elections, and, perhaps, by the intermission of a parliament, were forced to pay some of their debts. These sort of men, if they meet again, unless they are become converts, will, in all likelihood, be doing mischief; therefore it would be well, that not one, suspected of such miscarriages, should be ever chose again. There can be no inconvenience in changing, for there is no country or place, but what hath several fitter to be parliament-men, than those; and the new men may the better, and, in more likelihood, act for the good of the nation, than the old ones; for these will meet without any private prejudice, or pre-engagement, in any faction.

It cannot well be expected there should ever be a good parliament, as long as men will be misled to their choice by extravagancy of expence; therefore they would do well to consider what will a belly-full of ale signify, in recompence of their peace; it will be but like Esau's selling his birth-right for a mess of pottage; neither ought the recommendation of any great man to have any influence upon our choice; but the good qualifications of the person ought only to be respected.

Men's care, in this concern, is of very great consequence; for a great politician says it, that it is more dangerous to the publick, when there is an evil council, and a good king, than when there is an evil king, but a good council; and that we way always have a good council, above all other rules, God's own direction, for the choice of a council in Israel, ought to be followed: 'Assemble unto me,' saith he, 'seventy of the most ancient of the people, wise men, fearing God,' Deut. i. It is of dangerous consequence, when the people have a slight opinion of the parts and abilities of their council: therefore it is, that old and not young men, ought to be chose into this great council; for most men are apt to think slightly of those of like age with themselves; and though some young men may be good and virtuous, yet the heat and vigour of their youth and blood is apt to transport them into passion, and to too violent a prosecution of what their unripe and unexperienced judgments dictate. Solon, therefore, forbad any young man to be admitted into the senate, seemed he never so wise.

To conclude. God grant the great council the parliament, whether the present, or a new one, that when they meet next, they may remember it is great grace and favour in the king, to advise or consult with them at any time; and therefore may they not insist upon what belongs not to them, but 'render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's,' and then God will bless both our king and us. Amen.

ABSALOM'S CONSPIRACY,

OR,

THE TRAGEDY OF TREASON.

London, printed in the year 1680. Folio containing two pages.

THERE is nothing so dangerous either to societies in general, or to particular persons, as ambition. The temptations of sovereignty, and the glittering lustre of a crown, have been guilty of all the fearful consequences that can be within the compass of imagination. For this, mighty nations have been drowned in blood, populous cities have been made desolate, laid in ashes, and left without inhabitants: for this, parents have lost all the sense and tenderness of nature; and children, all the sentiments of duty and obedience; the eternal laws of good and just, the laws of nature and of nations, of God and religion, have been violated; men have been transformed into the cruelty of beasts, and into the rage and malice of devils.

Instances, both modern and ancient, of this, are innumerable; but this of Absalom is a tragedy, whose antiquity and truth do equally recommend it as an example to all posterity, and a caution to all mankind, to take care how they imbark in ambitious and unlawful designs; and it is a particular caveat to all young men, to beware of such counsellors, as the old Achitophel, lest, while they are tempted with the hopes of a crown, they hasten on their own destiny, and come to an untimely end.

Absalom was the third son of David by Maachah, the daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur, who was one of David's concubines. He, seeing his title to the crown upon the score of lawful succession would not do, resolves to make good what was defective in it, by open force, by dethroning his father.

Now the arts he used to accomplish his design were these: First, he studied popularity; he rose up early; he was industrious and diligent in his way; he placed himself in the way of the gate: and, when any man came for judgment, he courteously entered into discourse with him. This feigned condescension was the first step of his ambition. Secondly, he depraved his father's government: The king was careless, drowned in his pleasures; the counsellors were evil; no man regarded the petitioners: Absalom said unto him, see thy matters are good and right, it is but reason that you petition for; but there is no man that will hear thee from the king; there is no justice to be found; your petitions are rejected. Thirdly, he insinuates what he would do, if he were in authority; how easy access should be to him; he would do them justice; he would hear and redress their grievances, receive their petitions, and give them gracious answers. 'Oh that I were made judge in the land, that every man might come unto me, and I would do him

justice.' And, when any man came to do him obeysance, he put forth his hand, and took him, and kissed him: and thus he stole away the hearts of the people from their lawful king, his father and sovereign.

But all this would not do: he therefore joins himself to one Achitophel, an old man of a shrewd head, and discontented heart. This Achitophel, it seems, had been a great counsellor of David's; but was now under some disgrace, as appears by Absalom's sending for him from Gilo, his city, whither he was in discontent retreated, because David had advanced Hushai into his privy-council; and no doubt can be made, but he was of the conspiracy before, by his ready joining with Absalom as soon as the matters were ripe for execution.

Absalom, having thus laid his train, and made secret provision for his intended rebellion, dispatches his emissaries abroad, to give notice by his spies, that all the confederates should be ready at the sound of the trumpet, and say, 'Absalom reigneth in Hebron;' and immediately a great multitude was gathered to him: for the conspiracy was strong; some went out of malice, and some in their simplicity followed him, and knew not any thing.

David is forced to fly from his own son, but still he had a loyal party that stuck close to him. Achitophel gave devilish counsel, but God disappointed it strangely. For Hushai, pretending to come over to their party, put Absalom upon a plausible expedient, which proved his ruin. So impossible is it for treason to be secure, that no person who forms a conspiracy, but there may be some, who, under pretence of the greatest kindness, may insinuate themselves, only to discover their secrets, and ruin their intentions, either by revealing their treason, or disappointing it: and certainly, of all men, traitors are least to be trusted; for they, who can be perfidious to one, can never be true to any.

The matter comes at last to the decision of the sword. Absalom's party are defeated, and many slain, and Absalom himself, seeking to save himself by flight in the wood, is entangled in a tree, by his own hair, which was his pride; and his mule, going from under him, there left him hanging, till Joab came, and, with three darts, made at once an end of his life and the rebellion. Thus ended his youthful and foolish ambition, making him an eternal monument of infamy, and an instance of the justice of divine vengeance, and what will be the conclusion of ambition, treason, and conspiracy, against lawful kings and governors: a severe admonition to all green heads, to avoid the temptations of grey Achitophels.

Achitophel, the engineer of all this mischief, seeing his counsel despised, and foreseeing the event, prevented the hand of the executioner, and, in revenge upon himself, went home and hanged himself; giving fair warning to all treacherous counsellors, to see what their devilish counsels will lead them to at last: mischievous counsel ever falling in conclusion upon the heads where first it was contrived, as naturally as dirty kennels fall into the common-sewer.

Whatsoever was written aforetime, was written for our instruction: for holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.

THE EARL OF STRAFFORD'S LETTER TO THE KING,

TO PASS THE BILL OCCASIONED BY *THE TUMULT OF THE APPRENTICES.*

TAKEN FROM THE ORIGINAL COPY.

London, printed for Thomas Burrel, 1680, Folio, containing two pages.

May it please your MAJESTY,

IT hath been my greatest grief, in all these troubles, to be taken as a person which should endeavour to represent and set things amiss between your majesty and your people; and to give counsels tending to the disquiet of your three kingdoms.

Most true it is, that, this mine own private condition considered, it had been a great madness, since, through your gracious favour, I was so provided, as not to expect, in any kind, to mind my fortune, or please my mind more, than by resting where yonr bounteous hand had placed me.

Nay, it is most mightily mistaken: For, unto your majesty it is well known, my poor and humble advices concluded still in this, that your majesty and your people could never be happy till there were a right understanding betwixt you and them; no other means to effect and settle this happiness but by the council, and assent of the parliament; or, to prevent the growing evils upon this state, but by intirely putting yourself in your last resort upon the loyalty and good affections of your English subjects.

Yet, such is my misfortune, this truth findeth little credit, the contrary seemeth generally to be believed, and myself reputed as something of separation between you and your people, under a heavier censure than which, I am persuaded, no gentleman can suffer.

Now, I understand the minds of men are more incensed against me, notwithstanding your majesty hath declared, that, in your princely opinion, I am not guilty of treason, nor are you satisfied in your conscience to pass the bill.

This bringeth me into a very great streight; there is before me the ruin of my children and family, hitherto untouched, in all the branches of it, with any foul crimes. Here is before me the many ills which may befal your sacred person, and the whole kingdom, should yourself and the parliament part less satisfied one with the other than is necessary for the preservation of king and people. Here

are before me the things most valued, most feared by mortal men, life or death.

To say, Sir, that there hath not been a strife in me, were to make me less than, God knoweth, mine infirmities give me.

And to call destruction upon myself and young children, were the intentions of my heart, at least have been innocent of this great offence, may be believed will find no easy content to flesh and blood.

But, with much sadness, I am come to a resolution of that which I take to be the best becoming me, to look upon that which is most principal in itself, which, doubtless, is the prosperity of your sacred person and the commonwealth, infinitely before any man's private interest.

And, therefore, in few words, as I put myself wholly upon the honour and justice of my peers so clearly, as to beseech your majesty might please to have spared that declaration of yours on Saturday last, and intirely to have left me to their lordships; so now, to set your majesty's conscience, &c. at liberty, I do most humbly beseech you, for the preventing of such mischief as may happen by your refusal to pass the bill, by this means to remove, praised be God, I cannot say this accursed, but, I confess, this unfortunate thing forth of the way, towards that blessed agreement, which God, I trust, shall for ever establish betwixt you and your subjects.

Sir, my consent herein shall more acquit you to God, than all the world can do besides. To a willing mind there is no injury done; and as, by God's grace, I forgive all the world, so, Sir, I can give up the life of this world with all chearfulness imaginable, in the just acknowledgment of your exceeding favour; and only beg that, in your goodness, you would vouchsafe to cast your gracious regard upon my poor son and his sisters, less or more, and no otherwise than their unfortunate father shall appear more or less guilty of his death. God long preserve your majesty.

Your majesty's most humble,
most faithful Subject
and Servant,
STRAFFORD.

Tower, May 4, 1641.

SEDUCTION OF LOYALTY, See Vol. I. p. 50.

WORD ABOUT SUCCESSION BILL, See Vol. I. p. 59.

MEMOIRS* OF QUEEN MARY'S DAYS;

WHEREIN THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

AND ALL THE INHABITANTS MAY PLAINLY SEE

(If God hath not suffered them to be infatuated)

AS IN A GLASS,

THE SAD EFFECTS WHICH FOLLOW A POPISH SUCCESSOR

ENJOYING THE CROWN OF ENGLAND.

Humbly tendered to the consideration of, &c.

THE first remarkable passage in Queen Mary's (popish) reign, was her wicked dissimulation with the men of Suffolk, to get herself into the throne, and breach of her faith and word, after she had obtained it, thus:

As soon as she heard of her brother King Edward's death, and that he had by his will, with the consent of his council, excluded her, and nominated the Lady Jane to succeed (the said Queen Mary having been before bastardised by her father King Henry VIII.) she, under pretence of fearing infection, rode forty miles in one day, and removed from Norfolk to her castle of Frummingham in Suffolk, where, taking upon her the title of queen, she pretended to all the nobility and gentry of those countries, 'That, if they would give her their assistance, she would make no alteration in religion;' thereupon came to her the Earls of Oxford, Bath, and Sussex, Lord Wentworth, John Mordaunt, and Thomas Wharton, barons, eldest sons, and several knights, and many others of Norfolk and Suffolk, with whom she conditioned and agreed, 'That she would not attempt, in any wise, the least alteration of religion established by her brother, King Edward VI.' She, by this trick, being thus assisted, wrote her letter to the lords of the council, wherein she claimed the crown, and required them to proclaim her Queen of England, in the City of London, which in a short time was done.

As soon as she got into the throne, her fair promises proved false deceits; for she immediately (the very next day) broke her word with them, and, in a short time, those of the diocese in Suffolk, whom she thus wheedled to assist her, tasted the sharpest persecution under her

* Printed in the year 1681.

reign; for she was so far from keeping her promises and conditions, made either with them, or any others, in matters of religion, that she acted quite contrary, as appears by the sequel of her sad and bloody reign.

1. It was on the third of August, anno 1553, that Queen Mary rode through London to the Tower, and, the very next day, she set up Stephen Gardner, the bloody persecutor of the Protestants, in the bishoprick of Winchester, and a few days after made him High-chancellor of England. This was that cruel man that the Duke of Norfolk came to dine with, who would not go to dinner till four of the clock in the afternoon, because he would first have the news of Bishop Ridley's and Latimer's being burnt; of whose death, by God's heavy judgment on him, you may read further in our chronologies.

2. The fifth of August (two days after her coming to London) she turns out the Protestant Bishops of London and Durham, and re-established Bonner (that blood-thirsty miscreant) Bishop of London, and Tunstall Bishop of Durham. You see her first act was to displace bishops of the church of England, and put bloody popish persecutors in their room, who worried and destroyed the poor Protestants.

3. The fifteenth of September after, Mr. Latimer and Dr. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, with others, were arraigned and condemned.

4. Presently after her coronation, which was the first of October, she pretended to shew mercy by a general pardon, which, says my author, was so interlaced with exceptions of matters and persons, that very few received benefit thereby; so even that, with all the rest, was a meer cheat.

5. It was not only the Protestant clergy that she dealt thus withal, but even with the judges too; for Sir James Hales, one of the justices of the Common Pleas, who had been her friend, and stood for her succession, yet he, for giving charge at a quarter sessions in Kent, upon the statutes of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. in derogation of the primary of Rome, was first committed to the King's Bench, then to the Compter, then to the Fleet, where he grew so troubled in mind, that he attempted, with a pen-knife, to kill himself, and at last did drown himself.

6. In this her first year, she also caused a synod to be assembled about matters of religion, who restored the Romish religion, and the mass commanded to be celebrated after the Romish manner.

7. The fourth of February, in the said year, John Rodgers, the first martyr of these times, was burnt at London.

8. February the ninth, John Hooper, late Bishop of Worcester, was burnt at Gloucester.

9. Robert Ferrer, Bishop of Man, was burnt at Caermarthen; after him John Bradford, with many others, was burnt.

10. October the Sixteenth, 1554, those two famous men, Ridley late Bishop of London, and Latimer, late Bishop of Worcester (no less famous for their constant deaths, than their religious lives) were most inhumanly and barbarously burnt at Oxford, after they had first been conveighed from the Tower thither, upon pretence to dispute with the Romanists about the real presence in the sacrament.

11. The next worthy thing, that this popish successor did, was to set up the pope's supremacy amongst us; for, as soon as she was married to King Philip, she sent to Rome for Cardinal Poole, to come into England, who came invested with great authority as the pope's legate *a latere*, who made a solemn speech to the parliament, exhorting them to return to the bosom of the church, for which end he was come to reconcile them to the church of Rome; and, for their first work of reconcilement, he required them to repeal and abrogate all such laws as had been formerly made in derogation of the catholick religion.

Upon which speech the parliament begged pardon for their former errors, and told the queen, they were most ready to abrogate all laws prejudicial to the see of Rome. And thereupon the cardinal gives them absolution in these words:

[We, by the apostolical authority given unto us by the most holy lord, Pope Julius III. (Christ's vicegerent on earth) do absolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole realm and the dominions thereof, from all heresy and schism, and from all judgments, censures, and pains in that case incurred; and also we do restore you again to the unity of our mother, the holy church.]

The report hereof, coming to Rome, was cause of a solemn procession made for joy of the conversion of England to the church of Rome. And thus was all the kingdom of England turned papists in one day, by having a popish successor.

12. March, 1555, the queen called to her four of her privy-council, and signified unto them, 'That it went against her conscience to hold the lands and possessions as well of monasteries and abbies, as of other churches; and therefore did freely relinquish them, and leave them to be disposed as the pope and the said cardinal should think fit.' And shortly after, in performance hereof, John Fecknam, late dean of St. Paul's, was made abbot of Westminster, and the lands belonging to it.

13. Before this, Stephen Gardner, the queen's great creature, uses malicious practices against the Lady Elisabeth, the queen's only sister and next heir to the crown, and endeavoured very much to take away her life, she being a Protestant. He laid all the snares for her that he could invent, and, at last, by his procurement, the lady was kept in hard durance, and a warrant, at last, was framed under certain counsellors hands to put her to death; and had been done, but that Mr. Bridges, lieutenant of the Tower, pitying her case, went to the queen about it, who denied that she knew any thing of it, by which means her life was preserved; this bloody persecutor, Gardner, saying at the council-board, 'My lords, we have but all this while been stripping off the leaves, and now and then lopped a branch; but, till we strike at the root of heresy (meaning the Lady Elisabeth) nothing can be effected to purpose.'

14. All beneficed men of the clergy that were married, or would not forsake the Protestant religion the first year of her reign, were put out of their livings, and Romanists put in their room.

15. On the twenty-seventh of August, in the same year, the service begun to be sung in Latin, in St. Paul's church.

16. The same year the pope's authority was restored in England, and the mass was commanded in all churches to be used.

17. In her fourth year, monasteries were begun to be re-edified and restored, and, had she but reigned long enough, undoubtedly, she would have had all the abby-lands in England restored, had not death put a period to all.

18. Neither was her persecution less to the common people, and plain-hearted countrymen, than to the Protestant clergy: for observe and consider, that, within the compass of less than four years, there suffered death, for the testimony of their consciences in the Protestant religion, two hundred and seventy-seven persons, without any regard either of degree, age, or sex; in the heat of whose flames were consumed five bishops, twenty-one divines, eight gentlemen, and eighty-four artificers; one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers; twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants; and nigh as many died in prison, through hunger and other cruelties.

Oh the bloody cruelty of the papists, through their popish religion! Shall I call it religion, which is more properly a butchery? And thus you see the effects of a popish successor.

This is no romance, it was *de facto*, and would you have it so again? Or will you put it in the same hazard once more? No sure, unless you are infatuated; let experience teach us which is the best mistress; let the burnt child dread the fire. Oh, never forget the burnings, the scorchings, the tortures, and the flames that were in Queen Mary's reign! We beg and beseech you all in your places, use all the care imaginable now in time to secure us, our wives and children, and the Protestant religion.

19. Though many persecutions lasted longer, yet it is observable by Dr. Heyling, that none since Dioclesian's time raged so terribly, Eccles. Restaur. but God, being merciful to the poor land and persecuted church, of all, since the conquest, her reign was the shortest, only excepting that of Richard the Tyrant, yet much more bloody than was his.

[*She reigned five years and four months, wanting two days.*]

20. She lieth buried in Westminster, without any monument or remembrance at all; as in her life she deserved none, so in her death her memory is rotten; a just reward for her who was so cruel and bloody: yet one hath given her this inscription to remain to posterity, viz.

Whose name was polluted with the blood of so many martyrs.

Unfortunate by so many insurrections.

Made inglorious by the loss of Calais (the key of France) in eight days, which had been two hundred and eleven years in the possession of the English.

SOME COROLLARIES.

In this history we may observe seriously these things as the sad and fatal consequence:

I. How popish successors will, at first, blind us with wheedles, till they have got the power and kingdom in possession; and will tell us, 'That not one tittle of our religion shall be changed or altered:' nay, and make compacts, agreements, and conditions to that purpose.

II. But, when once set in the throne, let what promises will be, they shall be so far from being performed, that quite the contrary shall be acted, or else thunder and lightning will come from the pope, till he hath done it by his legates *a latere*.

III. That, when a popish successor came to the crown, the pope's supremacy was immediately set up in England, even the very first year, and we all made tributary to Rome, and slaves to the pope, and would you have it so again?

IV. The popish religion and the mass set up immediately all over England, and would you have it so again?

V. The Protestant bishops put out, and popish ones put in; and all the clergy that were married, or would not abjure the Protestant religion, were turned out; therefore, you of the clergy, that mean to be sincere, and not turn papists, it behoves you well to consider of it.

VI. And not only so, but truly farther, they must be brought to the stake with their wives and children, and burnt for hereticks; for popery is a merciless persuasion, and, if they make never so many promises otherwise, yet you know that it is their opinion, 'That no faith is to be kept with hereticks;' so we can never be secure, if ever such reign.

VII. Observe further, that, if a popish successor comes to the crown, there will be all the endeavours used to take off all the next heirs that are Protestants, as there was to destroy the Lady Elisabeth, which ought to be of no small consideration with us.

VIII. Observe, popish monks and friars were brought into England, and great endeavours used to restore all monasteries and abby-lands, wherein, no doubt, but she and good cardinal Poole had prevailed, and they had been all restored, had she reigned but a little longer; therefore, it doth not a little behove all you gentlemen that have any priories, abbies, or monastery-lands to lose, to consider well how to put yourselves or your posterity in any such great hazard to lose your estates. As for those that have such lands, of the Romish religion, they must not, out of conscience, detain them, if they will have any absolution from their ghostly father; and as to those Protestants that have such lands, they will be reckoned hereticks, and, to be sure, shall not be suffered to keep church-lands from them. And this highly concerns all to consider, how, with our religion, we give up our liberties and estates, by admitting a popish successor; which God of his infinite mercy to England, and in opposition to such blood-thirsty, heaven-daring, king-killing principles and practices, be pleased to deliver us.

POSTSCRIPT.

Now as you have plainly seen the great and manifold inconveniences, eminent dangers, and most certain ruin, to follow the admitting of

a popish successor, in the sad effects of Queen Mary's reign; so we may also consider and behold, as the bright side of the cloud, the vast advantages of peace, plenty, glory, and happiness that accrued to this kingdom by a Protestant successor's enjoying the imperial crown, in the long and prosperous reign of that magnanimous thorough-hearted Protestant Queen, Elisabeth, of blessed memory, who, after having suffered five years fiery trials, reigned above forty-four years, maugre all her desperate and bloody enemies; yet could they not anticipate her death, nor stain her glorious government, by all the black and hellish contrivances of her, and our treacherous popish adversaries.

Many, I may say, infinite, were the advantages and felicities that those poor kingdoms enjoyed by her happy reign; I will only hint a few general heads now:

First then, By this Protestant queen, a period was put to all the bloody and popish persecution against the church of England, which all the poor Protestants had groaned under, all the reign of popish Queen Mary.

Secondly, By this true Protestant princess, the Protestant religion was established in this nation, and idolatrous popery casheered.

Thirdly, By her were our ancestors lives protected, the church of England defended, our estates preserved, and our liberties secured.

Fourthly, By her reign did the kingdom enjoy tranquillity, and flourished wonderfully, to the great benefit of all our forefathers.

Fifthly, And, by her reign, this nation became both glorious and formidable, as well to her and its enemies abroad, as at home, and kept the balance of all Europe in her hands, by her winning the love of her people, and her continual adhering to the advice of her parliaments, by which, as she had their hearts, so she had their purses at command; though she was always so kind and just to them, as sometimes to refuse their grants of subsidies, and would never make use of their aids in money, though offered by her parliament, but when there was real occasion for her people's good and safety.

The conclusion of all is the same that Moses said to the children of Israel, Deut. xxx. 15, 19. 'Behold, I have set before you this day life and death, good and evil. I call heaven and earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing; therefore chuse life, that both thou and thy house may live.'

A DIALOGUE

BETWIXT

Sam. the Ferry-man of Dochet, Will. a Water-man of London, and Tom. a Barge-man of Oxford.

UPON THE KING'S CALLING A PARLIAMENT TO MEET AT OXFORD.

London, printed in 1681. Quarto, containing twenty-nine pages.

This pamphlet seems to have been written by a friend of the Duke of York's, and, in a merry conversation, endeavours to defend his right to the crown, and burlesque the proceedings of the parliament, which had openly opposed a popish successor to the crown of England; for which they were prorogued at first; and because the city of London, three days after, addressed his majesty for the sitting of the parliament, on the day appointed, that they might effect the great affairs begun therein, he dissolved them by proclamation, on the eighteenth of January, and, at the same time, summoned another to meet at Oxford, the twenty-first of March, to shew his anger the more against the city of London. But, to the king's great sorrow upon the return of the writs, he found that he must meet almost all the same members at Oxford, as he had dissolved at Westminster, who now were encouraged to make a more noble stand, against all invasions on the protestant religion, and the liberties of the people; for, immediately after this parliament was new elected, they received proper instructions from their electors, and assurance to be supported in their just maintenance of the protestant cause, with their lives and fortunes.

Yet the calling the parliament to sit at Oxford gave the protestant party great uneasiness, fearing that the king intended, by his soldiers, to force them to a compliance to such things, as would injure the nation; therefore the Earl of Essex, attended by fifteen lords, delivered his majesty a petition against it; declaring, amongst other reasons, that 'neither lords nor commons could be safe at Oxford, but would be daily exposed to the swords of the papists, and their adherents, too many of which had crept into his majesty's guards.'

The king returned no answer, but frowned upon the lords; consequently the parliament met, but the members came with armed retinues; and in particular, those for the city of London came with a numerous body of well armed horse, with ribbands in their hats, bearing this motto, 'No popery, no slavery.'

The first vote of this house, after chusing a speaker, was for printing the votes for the information of the people; then ordered the Exclusion-Bill to be brought in; but, after it had been once read, and none but Sir Leoline Jenkins spoke against it, the king coming on a sudden sent for the commons to the house of lords, and dissolved them, when they had sat but seven days; and called no more, but ruled, not only without a parliament, but with an absolute power.

SAM. How now Will, how comes this kindness betwixt thee and Tom, the barge-man? last time I saw you together at Dochet, you were for heaving stones at one another's heads.

Will. O, that is long since, and utterly forgot: we are now good friends.

Tom. God-a-mercy horse, this rogue Will. was tugging up stream, whilst his oars were ready to break at Way-bridge, and, seeing us come up with three good horses towing our punt, his stomach came down, and he begged most devoutly to give him a tow at Windsor; not a word of the bell-wether, or any of his usual compliments. I took mercy on the poor rogue, and let him fasten his wherry to us, and I think in my heart, the whelp has eaten us half a stone of beef to-day.

Will. Upon the honest word of a water-man, Tom, I never eat daintier beef in my life, nor better mustard, but not one mouthful of mutton was to be seen.

Tom. Sirrah, one word more of mutton, and off you go; you cannot forbear your roguery.

Sam. But, prithee, Will, whither art thou making at this time of the year?

Will. Why, faith Sam, thou knowest I follow the court for the most part, and now I am going before it, and intend to get a good birth at Oxford: acquaintance is a main matter with a water-man; besides, here is honest Tom promises me lodging at his house; and, when he goes for London, his wife and I can make as merry, as if he were gone an East-India voyage.

Tom. But, I hope, there will be another voyage found out. They say the king will make us a way west-ward to Bristol, for our barges, and has sent for Dutchmen that can make boats go by land as well as by water, and then Bristol will be London. The saucy rogues, the other day at Queen-Hithe, were ready to brain us, and threatened to fire the barges, because we belonged to Oxford. If the king would take my counsel, he should come no more amongst them, for one seven years; I would make the proud rogues know themselves better.

Sam. I am not for that, Tom, neither, for that would quite spoil our ferry; when all is done London is London.

Tom. And will be London, that is, a nest of unthankful rogues, that hate us country gentlemen, though they get all they have by us. What would London be worth, if it were not for the country? and faith, since all the wealth of the country is gotten thither, by the king's living so long amongst them, I hope his majesty will even now live in the country, till their money be brought into the country again.

Sam. I could agree well enough to all thou sayest, but only for this ferry, and that would quite be ruined, if the king should leave London.

Tom. For that, if the Dutchmen come, they will dig so many cuts to make the Thames run from our town to Bristol, I warrant thee, thou mayest get a new ferry, and better than this, upon some of those new cuts.

Sam. But dost think the king will keep his court at Oxford any long time? I heard our parson say, for all this, the parliament would not be held at Oxford, because there was a parliament once held there, and it was a called, 'The mad parliament.'

Tom. Thou mayst tell the parson from me, that there have been many parliaments held at London, that have been worse than mad; and it is well, if this last was not the maddest that ever was yet.

Sam. I must confess there was a strange touse, whilst they were sitting: our townsmen of Windsor would have talked so, of the brave acts they were a making, and what good they would have done to the commonalty, and how they would have handled the courtiers, and abundance more than I can remember, thou wouldst have admired; but to say truth, this town of Windsor, though they be our neighbours, is as roguish a place as any is in England. If I were worthy to advise the king, I would make a great wall, betwixt the castle and the town, that should reach down to the river on the one side, and down to old Windsor on the other side, and never a gate through it, but for the king's conveniency to go a hunting into the great park, or the duke into the forest, and shut at all other times. Then would I build a new town, to entertain the king's court, should reach to the ferry.

Will. Still, still, this ferry is the burden of the song.

Sam. But, prithee Will, tell us what this parliament would have done for the good of the commonalty that is talked on so much; thou carriedst parliament-men in thy boat every day, and I know, thou hast heard all their speeches; I have heard them make speeches, as they have passed over here at our ferry-boat.

Will. Thou art in the right of that, for there is not one member (for so we call them at London) of forty, but they are still making speeches: I heard one of them make a speech to deaf Hugh, an old sculler, from Westminster stairs to the Temple. Hugh nodded at him now and then, and he went on as politickly as if he had been in the house all the while. When they landed at the Temple, where I also landed my fair, he bid Hugh give him three pence, but, wanting change, he asked me for three pence; but, I having never a three pence, says the member to Hugh, I see thou art a right Englishman, a good protestant, and, I dare say, hatest the popish successor with all thy heart, and, therefore, I will give thee the whole six-pence.

Sam. It was well he had the wit to nod at him, being he could not hear him.

Will. So it was, and that was enough; for I dare say, a nod, now and then, would have continued the speech to Gravesend. O, our water-men have thousands such stories as these of their worships; they were, for the most part, so full of it, they could not hold it in.

Sam. But, prithee Will, tell us what thou heardest they did in the house as well as out.

Will. Well, in the first place, they kept a rehearsal at the Sun-Tavern, on the back of the Exchange, a long time before they sat.

Sam. A rehearsal! what is that?

Will. Why, as the players rehearse or act over the play in the morning, which they intend to play in the afternoon; so did they make their speeches, and set all their matters in order in the tavern, before they met in the house.

Sam. Methinks, if it were needful for a parliament to have such a rehearsing, his majesty should provide them a place to rehearse in: it is not very handsome in my mind, that the matters, which concern his majesty and the kingdom, should be meddled with in a tavern.

Will. It is very true: but the master of the house, he got well by them; and the drawers of that house are become notable boys, they can talk of state affairs, it would do your heart good to hear them; and for any thing that I know, when these boys come to set up for themselves, and keep taverns in the city, they may be the fittest men they will have to serve in parliament; they will now, as young as they are, make fine speeches to their fellow prentices, when any rout of them meets together, and have their lessons full ready on any occasion; and will 'back a petition of the common hall to the purpose.'

Sam. A pox on them, it is such work as this, that makes the king leave London, and will undo us all at Dochet: but this is all still out of the house.

Will. It is impossible I should tell you a tenth part of what they did in the house; but the remembrance of men and things, they fell upon, will put me in mind best; and therefore the first, I think on, is the king's majesty, God bless him, him they cryed Nochell.

Sam. What, as Gaffer Block of our town cryed his wife?

Will. I do not know what he did, but they voted, that no body should either borrow or lend, nor sell or buy with him, under pain of their displeasure.

Sam. This is almost as ill as the parson said of the gun-powder treason-day, that the pope would have done with Queen Elisabeth, for he forbad any body to borrow or lend with her, sell or buy, eat or drink; nay, he forbad her to come in either church or market.

Will. But then, to make him amends, they took care to kill him an old lean lord at Christmas; and that is all I remember they have done for him since they met.

Sam. What did they then do?

Will. Next, they took the duke into handling.

Sam. And what would they do with him?

Will. They would have taken away his birthright; whatever he had done to them, I know not; but they were resolved to have worried him.

Sam. What was it provoked them so much against him?

Will. They said he was a papist, and was for the pope and the plot;* but the truth on it is, I think the true reason of their cruelty was, because he put his brother in mind who were, and had been rogues, and were sure to prove so in the end: and for this they would never forgive him; and, with talking with one another, they were got to that pass, they mattered not what they said; for they were permitted so long, they thought nobody durst gainsay them.

Sam. Why, I thought no man living durst have meddled with any of the blood royal.

Will. Thou art a fool; did not they behead the last king, and keep this banished a long time? And all that was still a house of commons.

Sam. What would they have done with the duke, thinkest thou?

Will. Hanged him if they could have catched him; but, being he was out of their reach, have taken away all his means, and all he was ever like to have, if (which God forbid) he should have survived the king.

* Oates's Plot.

Sam. They were very bold.

Will. Thou mayest swear that; when the foreman of old Townsend's shop, a blind scrivener, was so bold as to speak a saucy speech against his highness.

Sam. What was he, a prentice?

Will. No, he was out of his time, and had set up for himself.

Sam. Why, I thought no such handicraftsmen had ever been chosen members.

Will. Any body that has money to pay for drink, gentle or simple, that will spend his guineas upon some town in the west country, is good enough: for I will tell thee, as I heard Squire Kite's huntsman say, that he cared not for above three or four couple of hunting dogs amongst twenty couple, so they would give their tongues, and go along with those that were hunters; no more do they, in the parliament, care whether the greatest part of their members have any wit, or none at all, so that they will vote with the old ones.

Tom. Well, though it was sore against my will, I was pressed once into the service when the duke was our admiral; and, I dare swear, never a man in the fleet had a better heart than he.

Will. Pox on you, rogue, you staid but one bout, and run away; but we that staid, and were in both the Holland's wars, know the duke well enough; and let them do what they will at Westminster, I am sure all the seamen and watermen in England will be for him, against any body, but the king, God bless him.

Tom. And, I am sure, he will never be a rebel, as many of those, that are his enemies, have been.

Will. Rebel! they would like him better, if he would stand in the king's face, and do what he pleased, whether the king pleased or not. Doest not see how they love D. M.* for coming home, whether the king would or no?

Tom. Well, I hope to see the duke at Oxford, and there he will be welcome, I dare say, let London and the devil say what they will.

Sam. For London, surely, it is not London that does all these ill things you talk of.

Tom. Thou art in the right of that, for I never heard that the houses met together to petition or raise tumults; there is no fault in the place; it is some roguish people that live in it, whom nothing will ever make better subjects than they have been: I have known them long enough.

Sam. But prithee, Will, go on with thy story.

Will. Now I think on it, I should have told you, that I am now going to say, first of all, that is, what they would have done about the church; for I have heard the church should take place of both the king and the duke.

Sam. Ay, but not of the law, for I know a wise man, as any in Buckinghamshire, an attorney, that says, that the law was above both church and king.

Will. Why then, according to that rule, I should first have begun with the law.

* The Duke of Monmouth.

Tom. No matter, amongst us we are not so punctual; go on, now thy hand is in, with the church.

Will. As for the church, I carried a member up to Putney, and he told me, they had resolved to overhall all the nine and thirty conditions of the church, and that they had already heaved away three and a half of them.

Sam. Belike, if they had gone on, they would have hove away most of them; three and a half, in one day, was a great step.

Will. No, I don't believe they would have hove them all away, but they would quite have new moulded them so, that one should scarce have known them. Have not I seen an old ship, that has been a long time at sea, when she has been in the dock, her rigging overhalled and tarred, new painted, carved and gilt, a man that has sailed in her, could scarce have known her.

Sam. Thou art in the right of that; and, I do believe, that the church was grown very old, and much decayed, and had need of repairing; and it will never be done but by a parliament. I was at Uxbridge last sabbath-day, and there, at the meeting, the minister said, that the best church in the world should be repaired once in a hundred years; and that the church, we now have, was repaired (but he had another word * for it) about an hundred and forty or fifty years since.

Tom. Was it not reformed? The scholars at Oxford talk much of that reformation.

Sam. Ay, ay, it was reformed, that he said; and that the church (but more especially the churchmen) should be reformed.

Will. Besides, this member told me, the parsons must use the surplice no more.

Sam. That was only for the good of the woollen manufacture. I carried a clothier over the ferry, not long since, that said they were hereafter to wear flannel surplices, and the bishops were to wear white crape, instead of lawn sleeves.

Will. And then for the bishops-courts, that as we call the bawdy-court, they would have mauled those rogues to some purpose.

Tom. A pox on them, they made me pay above five pounds about a bastard, a whore laid to me, that a scholar at Oxford got, I dare say; for I kept reckoning, and the child was got when I was gone down with the barge to London; and, for want of a flash, † we lay above ten weeks before we came again.

Will. It seems thou deserved'st for it, however.

Tom. That which troubled me most, was, that I must have done penance in a white sheet, and then my wife, and all my friends, would have known it; and so, faith, I was forced to borrow the monies, and make my peace with them: and, after all, they would have had ten shillings more, for a piece of parchment, no bigger than my hand: I was even glad to pay them a noble to get clear of them.

Will. As far as I could understand, they would have taken these courts away, and have made the bishops poor gentlemen: they would

* Reformed. † A sufficient depth of water.

have clipped their wings, if not quite starved them. O, this member, as we passed by Lambeth-house, shaked his head at it, and said, there are rags of popery kept there; and so did he at Fulham, when I landed him at Putney.

Sam. What did he mean by that?

Will. Why, the Archbishop of Canterbury lives at Lambeth, and the Bishop of London hath a country-house at Fulham.

Sam. Well, but, Will, thou said'st, they would also have had a fling at the law,

Will. For any thing of the law itself, I heard not so much of it; but they were in hand, to have reckoned with almost all the judges in Westminster-hall, some for one fault, and some for others.

Sam. What had the judges * done?

Will. Whether they had strained a pin *, to do something extraordinary for the king and the court, I know not; but the main matter was, that most of the talkative men of the house were lawyers, and the only way for them to get preferment was, by turning out of the judges, that they might get into their places.

Tom. I think, in my very conscience, these lawyers are the bain of the kingdom; for they are so accustomed to talk against their consciences for monies, at Westminster-hall, that, when they come to talk in the house, it is the same thing: So that, whatever they think for their advantage, they never want broad consciences, nor smooth tongues, to drive on to the utmost.

Sam. Pray thee, Will, tell me one thing, Are not these lawyers the men, that either do, or should understand the law?

Will. No doubt of it.

Sam. Well then, when the rebellion was begun and carried on in our king's father's time, and in his own, did not the lawyers know, that the war was contrary to the law?

Will. Certainly they did.

Sam. Then do I say, that as many lawyers as sided with the rebels, in those days, deserve yet to be hanged for what they did then.

Will. O! but they were wise enough for that: for they got the act of oblivion, to pardon, not only their faults by-passed, but those that were to come; and abundance of those very men, that talked the people into that rebellion, are yet living, and as willing to do mischief, as ever they were.

Sam. It goes beyond my understanding, how, and why they are admitted to abuse the people at this rate; for, if they can set poor ignorant men on a mischief, for which they may be hanged, and can talk themselves off again, it is time for poor men to have a care.

Will. I am of this mind, that, had I been the king's adviser, when he forgave all the rebels, I would not have forgiven one lawyer; for they could not plead ignorance.

Sam. And that it was a rebellion is clear; for, if it had not been, what need was there of an act of oblivion?

* Amongst whom, was the chief Justice Scrogg, who endeavoured to stifle the belief of the plot; discouraged the evidences, dismissed the grand jury, that should have presented the Duke of York; and unjustly prosecuted those that writ in defence of their religion, laws, king, and country.

Will. Thou art in the right of that too.

Sam. Nothing troubles me so much, as that these lawyers are not only lawyers to follow and maintain the law, but they can make what they will to be law, and what they like not to be no law; nay, they will hang the honestest man in England, and find law for it; and save the greatest knave, and find law for that too.

Tom. Did not Judge Bradshaw pronounce sentence against King Charles, and Coke plead against him? And both these were great lawyers: Nay, and a bungling lawyer, that is a justice of the peace, at the quarter-sessions, will take upon him to talk more than all the bench, and be very angry at any justice that dares oppose any thing he says.

Will. There is reason for that; for there is not one lawyer of twenty, but is certainly bribed (tho' they call it feed) of one party in all controversies, at the sessions, and frequently by both. O they make great gains at a sessions; for there they are both judge and lawyer, and all goes as they will.

Sam. I'll tell thee, for that I had a wrangling quarrel once with a drunken fellow at the ferry; and, upon some words, I up with the boat-hook, and broke his head. He went and fetched a warrant for me: I was advised to go myself to the same justice, being a lawyer, and bind myself over: which I did, and would have given his worship an angel; for so my friend advised me. He said, he would take no monies upon that account; for, indeed, it seemed, he had taken before from my adversary; but he said, if I would give any thing to his wife, I might. Upon which, I sent a fat wether, worth a mark, in the night-time to her worship; and, within two days, both he and I were sent for, before Mr. Justice; and after he had talked a great deal of law, and seemed angry with us both, he made us good friends, and got both our monies.

Will. There may a thousand stories be told of them. I hope, at one time, both the king, and the kingdom, will see what they are, and never let them have more to do, than with matters of law; and then those that employ them may take the mends in their own hands, as I do, when I go to the ale-house; for all mischief principally comes from them.

Tom. A pox and plague light on them, they will never be quelled; for they have always either one or other great lawyer in power with the king, and that keeps them up: So let us talk no more of them. What did the parliament next fall upon, honest Will, thou hast a pure memory?

Will. They would have banished a plain bundance of courtiers and privy-counsellors; and, without any more ado, sent to the king, to desire him (they called it humbly) to turn them out of his service.*

Sam. But did they tell any good cause, why they would have him turn them away?

* This, I apprehend, refers to the Earl of Halifax, who was the champion in the house of lords against the bill for excluding the Duke of York, from the crown; for which, says Burnet, p. 482. when the bill was thrown out, the commons voted an address to the king to remove Halifax from his councils, and presence, for ever.

Will. None at all, but because they liked them not.

Sam. That was an humble trick indeed; but sure they had some reason for what they did.

Will. For no reason, but because they were in favour with the king, and themselves would have their places: Nay, there be some of those men, they complained of, were as ready to complain of those were in place before, such as the last treasurer, and the like, as these are now against those they would have now turned off; for, in all these parliament-doings, and peaching one another, it is not for faults done against the king, or the government, but against the house of commons.

Sam But, I hope, these noblemen are not turned out of their services; are they?

Will. No, they have escaped this bout; how they will do at the next at Oxford, time will shew.

Tom. If they escaped at London, I'll warrant them at Oxford; no man is condemned there, but he has (as the scholars call it) pro and con for it: but, was that all their faults; that they were in favour with his majesty?

Will. God help thee, dost not thou know, that it is a sufficient parliament-crime to be a favourite. I have heard my father say, that he wore the old Duke of Buckingham's cloth, and was master of his barge; and that there was one parliament, before I was born, would have hanged him; but the devil a fault could they find, but his being in mighty favour. So the king would not let him suffer.

Sam. But they put away my Lord Strafford; I can remember that myself, and, they say, because they could find no law to condemn him, they made a law.

Tom. So then, he suffered for breaking a law before it was made.

Will. So he did.

Tom. That is as much as to say, that, if the parliament have a mind to hang a man, or undo him, if they have not sufficient law, or matter to do it, they will make some: God bless me, and mine, out of their clutches.

Will. But I have heard, they were so civil, as when they made this law against the Earl of Strafford, they then made it so, that no more should suffer by the same law.

Sam. That was very kindly done to him indeed: I would rather, if I had been in his cloaths, they would have saved me, and hanged who they would beside.

Will. This shews plainly they had a particular malice; and then down all must go, right or wrong: There are some of those old dogs yet alive that hunted him to death, and would as willingly give their mouth for making away more noblemen.

Tom. I have heard many say, the king* repented himself at Oxford, that he consented to the earl's death.

Will. But those rogues, that procured his death, never repented at all, nor do not yet: Nay, they have taught some young whelps to be

* Charles the First.

as good blood-hounds as themselves. A man has a brave time that should come to be tried for his life in any court, and have half a dozen of these to chace him out of the world.

Sam. It is strange the noblemen do not stand for one another against those lawyers, who, if they might have their wills, would hang them all: Especially, being there is no body of the jury, when the lords are to be tried, but lords.

Will. They had such a power when my Lord Strafford was headed, that neither the king, nor the lords, durst stand against them: They made routs of prentices to run down to Westminster, and call out for justice, and threaten all those lords that would have saved him; and, in the end, they had his blood.

Tom. I have heard many say, that there were very few of those many that prosecuted the earl, but they were after ring-leaders in the rebellion against the king, and continued so to his death, as violent against him, as they were against the earl, and against our king that now is (God bless him) till the soldiers and seamen joined with Monk to bring him in again.

Sam. And yet, I'll warrant thee, these were as ready to welcome home his majesty, and make shew of their duty and affection to him, as his best friends.

Will. Ay, and pretended they had as much a hand in his restoration, as the general * that brought him in; and talked themselves not only out of the faults they had committed, but by bribery, and means of some lawyers that had been abroad with the king, they got suddenly into such favour, that a round-headed lawyer had more power than a cavalier colonel that fought for the king all through the war. And so they have carried it ever since; and now thou mayest see what they have brought it unto, at long run: For nothing but the ruin and death of a great number of the king's courtiers and counsellors will please them.

Tom. They will not stay there, if they have leave to go on: The old game must be played over again; but, I hope, the king's calling them, at our town of Oxford, will mend this matter: For I have heard hundreds say, that, if his father had called the rump parliament thither, instead of Westminster, there had not been so much mischief done as there was: But pray thee, Will, was this all they did?

Will. This, no, not the hundred part: For any one man's fault or suspicion, that he was against them, they would have ruined a whole country. There was a Welch nobleman, I know not his name, that they had a spite to, that was steward of a great Wapentake-court in Wales; and out of malice to him, they would have taken that court away, though it was a great benefit to all that quarter of the country: Nay, there was one day a member so angry at a waterman, for asking an unusual fare, for bringing him from some place in the West-Country, that he said, he would have a bill brought into the house, for his sake, to restrain the numbers of watermen; and that all the wherries that go upon the river, should be forced to take a license, and should be

* Monk.

figured on the back-board, as the hackney-coaches are. Upon which, the waterman civilly replied, that, God bless the king, he hoped, that being a freeman of Waterman's-hall, they could never make him take a license: With that the member said, 'Sirrah, for your sake, and such saucy rogues as you are, we will have that Waterman's-hall pulled down, as well as we pulled down the court of the Marshes of Wales.' That was the court I was talking of.

Tom. I hope, thou heardest them say nothing of the western barges, Will, didst thou?

Will. No, hang you, you are below their consideration; but they talked much about seamen, and the fleet, and against soldiers: And then, for the Papists, they would have utterly destroyed them. And no great matter if they had; for those rogues have been the occasion of all this poder has been, even since the beginning of these times: And, they say, they fired the city, and brought the plague out of France, and set it amongst us at London.

Sam. How should that be? For when the visitation began at London, I heard of no plague in France.

Will. But I heard a doctor, one of the Royal Society, say, as I carried him once, there be rogues, that will bring bottles of infected air with them, if it were out of Turky, that, as soon as they are opened, will infect a whole house; then they take an antilope,* that no infection can touch themselves: And that some Papists did this, I have heard a justice in the city took examinations upon it, and it was proved.

Tom. But what would they have done against the Presbyterians, Independants, Anabaptists, and Quakers: The scholars at Oxford say, those are as great enemies to the church and the university, as the Papists.

Will. They would have made them as good Protestants as any is in Oxford.

Tom. Which way must this have been?

Will. Why, they would have made the church-men have left out some of their prayers, and given over the surplice, and some other popish tricks; and then they would have come to church, and been all one.

Tom. That is, the church-men must have become Presbyterians, and then all would have been right.

Will. Indeed, I think they would not have yielded much to the bishops, for they were bloody mad at them; and I think, if they had sitten till now, they would have sent them to the church from the house, to pray to God, but not to have letten them prate any more to the house of lords.

Tom. It will be good for them to talk no such talk at Oxford, the bishops are in great power amongst the scholars.

Will. Then, as to their own members, they turned them out, and took others in, at their will and pleasure, and, if they made any fault, they expelled them; and, where-ever any stood in competition for any town, him they knew would give his vote along with them was admitted,

* Ignorantly, for an antidote.

right or wrong. And then they terrified all the sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs in the kingdom, besides abundance of gentlemen, and other honest countrymen: for, on the least complaint of any man's misdemeanour, or information from any member, immediately a serjeant at arms was sent for them, and so much a mile and hour paid, and down on their marrow-bones to their worships, and a sound scolding from Mr. Speaker; or else to the Tower, or the Gatehouse, they went: the king, God bless him, never took a quarter of that state on him, they did.

Sam. It seems, they would have all the world to ask them forgiveness, whether they made them any fault, or not; and they themselves would ask no body pardon for what they had done.

Will. It was brought to that pass, that, two foot-boys boxing one day in the Palace-yard, he that was beaten proved to belong to a member, and told the other boy, 'If he knew his master, he would cause him to be sent for in custody, for keeping such a rogue as he was, that had committed a breach of privilege, in beating a member's servant.' The boy replied, 'If it would do him any kindness, he would beat him again, and tell him his master's name into the bargain; and would lay him a crown, that, though his master should bid the speaker, and all the house of commons, kiss his ———, they durst not send a serjeant at arms for him.' The beaten boy, much nettled at his speech, laid down his money, as the other did: 'Now,' said the boy, 'my master is the King of France, and I am come over, with some of his servants, to fetch horses out of England; go bid thy master and the house of commons send a serjeant at arms to fetch him over.'

Sam. Before my heart, it was a good answer; I hope he won his monies.

Will. So he did; but it was put into a waterman's hands, and, when it was demanded, says the beaten boy, 'Sirrah, give it him, if you dare; if his master be the King of France, I'll make you answer it before the house of commons.' The waterman durst do no other but give either their own monies: there is no contending with parliament-men, or parliament-men's men, nor boys.

Tom. And yet I know a bailiff has nabbed several of them, and matters not a straw to arrest any member of the last parliament.

Will. That's nothing, they are now no parliament-men; but let's see, if that stout fellow dare nab any of them, when they are new chosen.

Tom. That I don't know.

Will. O, those that are in any danger of bailiffs are mighty cunning at their times, and know their hits to a minute; they appear abroad at London, a certain number of days before the sitting of the house, as sure as swallows against warm weather; and, after the sessions, they are presto, begone, not one to be seen, except it be, that we chance to carry them by water from the Temple, or White-Friars, to Scotland-Yard; they have a strong garison in either of those places out of privilege-time, as they call it.

Sam. Well, but pray thee, Will, let us have it all out, what they did.

Will. It is impossible, as I told thee, for me to tell a quarter what they did; they stopped Irish, Scotch, and Welch cattle from coming to the city; and pork, mutton, veal, and lamb from any of those places; and it was said, if they had sat long enough, they would have stopped Essex calves, and Hampshire hogs.

Tom. And yet the city still doats upon these parliaments.

Will. Nay, they would have made such laws about wearing of cloth and woollen stuffs, as would have beggared an hundred thousand souls, that are silk-weavers, silk-dyers, and such like.

Will. What matter they? If they can but find a way to make acts to set their grounds dearer, and rack their poor tenants, they care not if half of the kingdom starve.

Sam. And yet they talk so much for the general good, and against the absolute power of the king and the court: how can they make this out?

Will. They call that power, which they themselves both do act by, and would govern all by, the liberty of the subject; though no subject, but a few members, have any liberty at all: but, if his majesty, God bless him, should act by the same power, and do the same things, which they do, then they call the same power flat, downright tyranny.

Tom. Dost not thee remember, Will, one day the last summer, when our barge lay against York-stairs, there was a great noise about the head bailiff of Westminster's breaking into an embassender's house, to seize upon some goods, which belonged to a man that was condemned to be hanged at Tyburn; and, upon complaint of the embassender to the king, the said bailiff was taken and clapped into the Tower; and every body said he would be hanged, at the least, for breaking the common law of all nations: but the next news we heard was, that he had got some sort of a warrant, was made by the long parliament, that set him at liberty within three hours after he was committed.

Will. I remember the time very well; they call those warrants *habeas corpuses*, and they will fetch a prisoner, committed by the king, out of any jail in England; but not one committed by the house of commons; and this they call privilege of parliament.

Tom. All these gentlemen, that were fetched up by messengers and serjeants, they might, by the common law, have chosen whether they would have come, or not. There was a knight in our county, at Oxford, that was sent for by a messenger, and he told the messenger, he had something else to do, and would not come, and said he would justify it.

Will. Surely, this was just about the time they were dissolved, otherwise he durst not have been so bold.

Tom. He said he had been a member himself many years, and knew no law to compel any man to come before the house of commons, unless he had a mind himself; and therefore they sent to the king, to get his majesty's proclamation to fetch him before them.

Will. So then his majesty's proclamation, issued out at the desire of the commons, is of force; but, when sent out by himself, is worth nothing at all.

Sam. Why so?

Will. Because, I remember, there were several sent for in custody, for obeying the king's proclamation against petitions, and brought to their knees: if, therefore, that had been a good proclamation, why should any body have suffered for it? And, for any thing I know, if his majesty should have made a proclamation to fetch up that knight, or any body that disobeyed their messenger, it had deserved as much to have been disobeyed, as that against petitions, unless the house of commons can make a proclamation contrary to law a good one, as this would have been: for, what need had they of the king's proclamation, if there had been law to have fetched those men before them?

Tom. Now, if those men, that were fetched up, did dare to sue, and the lawyers did dare to do their office, and the judges did dare to give judgment, I am of opinion, they might bring actions of false imprisonment against the messengers that fetched them up: for, if they had not full power to punish those, who did not obey them, then surely those, who were fetched, had wrong done them.

Sam. But, I dare assure thee, neither lawyer, nor judge, dare meddle with any such matter. If any of these gentlemen would be so venturesome, they will find no law to stand against the votes of the commons, till they find they are as much brought under, as, they say, Henry the Eighth brought them; they durst not prate in his days, as now they do.

Will. What did he do?

Tom. I have heard a fellow of Maudlin College say, he tumbled* them, and made them do what he would himself, and not what they had a mind to; and not a word of tyranny, or arbitrary power.

Sam. But, pray thee, Will, some more of their doings.

Will. I have told thee, it is without end; and therefore I will tell thee the last thing they did; which was this: They voted, that, if any man advised his majesty to prorogue them upon any account, but to disinherit the duke, he was an enemy to the king and kingdom; nay, he was a pensioner to the French king.

Tom. What, whether he ever received any money from the French king, or no?

Will. Ay, though he never received a penny of money from him, or any body else, by his means, or order.

Sam. For any thing I know, they might as well have said, that he had been my lord mayor's bull-rider. I have often heard say, that a parliament can make a man into a woman; and now, I see, they can make a man into a pensioner of France, though he be none.

Tom. What, then, was done?

Will. That very day, notwithstanding all this, they were prorogued.

Tom. Then, surely, they will say, either they were prorogued by the advice of somebody, who, for that advice, is a pensioner; or, if his majesty prorogued them on his own head, then they will think, though they dare not say, that he himself is a pensioner.

* Ignorantly, for humbled.

Will. And, within a few days after, they were dissolved, and another ordered to be called at your town of Oxford.

Tom. Well, for all that Sam's parson said, there was a parliament called at Oxford, that was called the mad parliament, yet will I be hanged, if ever that was half so mad, as this thou hast told us off; for, according to thy tale, this parliament let nothing escape them. To his majesty they would have given nothing, nor let any body lend him any thing, but would get from him what they could: from the duke they would have taken his birth-right: the church and religion they would have cast in a new mould; the bishops and clerks they would have new-fashioned, if not utterly laid aside: banished many of the nobles; taught the judges of Westminster-hall new laws, and made them pay for practising the old; terrified most of the loyal gentry of the kingdom with serjeants, messengers, and expensive journies; the same with mayors, sheriffs, and bailiffs; fault or no fault, taken away courts and privileges from several shires, to their great harm, to revenge themselves of particular men; not only hindered Irish cattle, and other provisions, from the city, but beggared many thousands of families of silk-weavers, and other poor handicrafts-men.

Sam. Nay, these very men were got to that height, they would have abused any body they met with, gentle or simple; not paid a farthing for crossing the ferry, but said, they were frank in parliament-time, as their masters letters were at the post-house.

Tom. Was not this, then, as mad a parliament, as that parliament they talk on at our town? If this next prove a madder than the last, if it sit at our town, I will give any man leave to hang me at the mast of my barge.

Sam. For all this, I believe they will not sit at Oxford; for, they say, a many noblemen* have petitioned the king's majesty against it.

Will. And I can tell thee, his majesty said, they should sit at Oxford, for all that.

Tom. Pray thee, who were these noblemen that petitioned?

Will. I cannot tell thee, who they were, by their names; but he, that was the rump's first general, delivered it.

Sam. He! thou art a fool, Will; he is dead at least thirty years since: I remember I have seen him, as if he had been alive, in a buff coat, amongst the tombs at Westminster.

Will. Well, I am sure he bears the same name†, and, probably, it may be his son; for this man follows that man's steps: then there was him that was general of the horse to the rump; that, I am sure, is the very man himself; and another lord, that sat in the rump house of commons, with a blue garter about him; a thing that was never done before.

Tom. That cannot be; I remember that lord myself, he is dead, I am confident.

Will. It may be, then, it was his son. There was, besides, another, whose father, some say, beheaded the king; but, if he did not, it is

* See the Introduction. † The Earl of Essex.

certain he was in disguise on the scaffold: and then he, that set them on all this, as it is talked, is a little, lame, purblind lord, that has been a man in all the times ever since the first rebellion, and still turned time enough to save himself, though others were hanged for the same fact: he now sets them upon all the mischiefs done, and, if he live to it, will leave them in the lurch.

Tom. That is old usual with him, and yet he is no better than those that stood it out to the last, and deserved hemp many a fair year since.

Will. He will come to it yet for all his cunning, the devil will cozen him at last: all the rest were covenanters, or their sons, except one or two disguised lords.

Tom. I hope his majesty will remember what these men did with his father, and not be advised by any such.

Sam. Well, when all this is said, I am still of opinion, London is the fittest place in the kingdom for a parliament; for there every body finds their conveniency: his majesty his house at Whitehall, the nobles their own houses, the members convenient accommodation of lodging, and every body their ease.

Tom. I question whether too much conveniency for parliaments be not hurtful to business: for, when they are less commodiously served, they will mind their business the better, and make more haste with their work, that they may get so much sooner home: not but that I know, they may have all conveniences at our town, and sufficient accommodation for all the followers of a parliament, that are requisite to attend it.

Will. The plain truth is, there are now a-days abundance of people do follow parliaments, over what there used to be in former times, as I have heard people say: and this London has such new buildings, that it lodges them all conveniently, if there were five times as many.

Tom. Thou art in the right of it, Will, that there does more people follow the parliaments a late time, than formerly; that is, the scoundrel rabble of London, who are ready, and have been these forty years, to back any seditious petition; and to come to Westminster and Whitehall, like a land-flood in our river, that threatens all the country. These, encouraged by discontented members, when they cannot get the lords to join in their malicious acts, threaten no less now, than they did to his majesty's father, God bless him: and I think it no great loss, if these gentlemen be left at home to mind their trades at London.

Sam. But the scholars of Oxford are thought, by many, will be as unmannerly as the prentices in London.

Tom. I will tell thee, Sam, if the parliament will behave themselves as they ought, to the king's majesty, and the royal line, and offer no injury to the church, bishops, clergy, university, nor scholars, and give the king his reasonable requests, I will warrant thee, the scholars will be as civil as can be; but, by my faith, if they find either the church, or themselves touched upon, it will be a hard matter to rule them: they are like seamen, one and all.

Sam. Still I am for old London; thou knowest the king has borrowed many hundred thousand pounds of the city, and the East India company, and never needed to want monies for a fair word to the city.

Tom. It is very true; but he always paid double interest for what he had of them: so that it was a greater courtesy to the city to lend it, than to the king to have the loan. But now the business is over, they will lend no more money, but upon parliament security. Had they continued to have been the same city they were in 1660, and some years after, I believe the king would never have removed the parliament to Oxford; but, since they now are become that city they were in 1640, I think the king does wiser to remove the parliament to Oxford, that true, loyal city, where every man loves the name of the king, and that shewed so much fidelity to his father: then let the parliament and the factious city of London send him to Oxford, as they did his father.

Will. Then let us all go to Oxford, and pray for the good success of this parliament.

A Second Discourse betwixt Sam, the Ferryman of Dochet, Will, the Waterman of London, and Tom, the Bargeman of Oxford, upon the Coming of the two last down the River from Oxford.

Sam. How does all our friends at the court at Oxford? It is strange, Will, thou shouldst come again so soon.

Will. Thou knowest, I told thee, I mostly follow the court; and 'faith, at this time, he had been a cunning man that had gone before it; his majesty gave not so good warning of his return to London, as he did of his going to Oxford.

Sam. But what says Tom, now, to his mad parliament? I hope he has no reason to complain of this parliament.

Tom. But the town of Oxford will have reason to complain, while they live: but the best on it is, some Londoners will have houses to set in Oxford, at as good rates as they took them. Had his majesty made a cocking, or a hunting match at Oxford, he had done it a better turn, than to have brought such guests as these were.

Will. I heard some say, they were so mad they were called from London, that they resolved to do something at Oxford, should make them be suddenly sent away again; and so bilk the town of their expectation.

Sam. They say the town much mattered not the court, and the mayor, and the aldermen of Oxford, were as much against it, as the common council is at London.

Tom. O, that is, because the university is so much for the king, God bless him, and his houshold: for this is a certain rule, if the university be for the court, the town will be for the country, as they call it: Nay, if the university be for Jesus Christ, the town holds themselves obliged in conscience to be for the Devil.

Sam. But still, Tom, this does not answer what thou said'st of this parliament, which thou wouldest warrant would do such brave things, if they sat at Oxford.

Tom. I must confess I was mistaken, as my father was before me: for he took once a London boy to be his prentice; and though he knew him to be a little light-finger'd, and given to lying and swearing, yet he hoped, if he could get him to Oxford, he could cure him; and took

infinite care and pains about him, and daily told him what would be the end of him, if he would not lay aside his London tricks, and become a downright, honest Oxford bargeman; but all in vain, what was bred in the bone would never be out of the flesh: he fell, by little and little, to downright thieving, and hanged he was in the end; and, as my father afterwards learned, the rogue's father and grandfather, and many of his kindred, had been thieves before him.

Will. What's all this to the purpose, what have either we or the parliament to do with thy father or his thievish prentice? He was not the first bargeman by a hundred, that have been hanged.

Sam. Well said, Will, here's a precious story indeed, and nothing to the purpose.

Tom. You do not know the meaning, I perceive, of a parable, or an Æsop's Fable; when ye have taught these shavers at London, with your rehearsals*, and at Westminster with their votes, resolves, and stories, to nose their master, and abuse their fellows, then you send them down to Oxford, to be cured of the r—— when it is too late. They are no more to be reclaimed than a sheep-worrier; nor will any thing cure them, but that which cured my father's prentice: now there's the precious story you talked of so much. And yet, for all this, you cannot dash us in the teeth with any Oxford acts of parliament. Had their noses been kept to the grindle-stone as close at Westminster, as it was at Oxford, they would not have been so high in the in-step. I was sure, if they sat at Oxford, they must either make good acts, or none at all.

Sam. A will have it but one way or other; these Oxford rogues learn to wrangle of the boys, and will never yield, right or wrong.

Will. Well, but for all his bragging, there was that done at this parliament at Oxford, was never done at Westminster.

Tom. Pray thee, what was that?

Will. There was as near a lye, not to be the downright lye, given to the king, as heart could think.

Sam. How so, man?

Will. I will tell thee. For example's sake, if I should say, it is an unwarrantable thing for any man to pull down Windsor great park pail, and ride through to Bagshot market; if thou sayest this is a warrantable trick, though all the world knew the contrary, dost not thee come very near to give me the lye, what thinkest thou by this?

Sam. Surely he, that did this, had his breeding at Billingsgate, or at Hog-Norton.

Tom. But, if he had a foul tongue, he had a good pair of heels, for he gave ground a hundred miles in a very few hours.

Will. That was but to be out of the way, while the thing was hot, it will quickly be forgot. I'll warrant thee, once in a short time, I shall see this very man come in his coach to Westminster-Hall, with a quoif on, if not a red gown. Such mannerly behaviour, as this, has been an only way to preferment.

Tom. But, I think, he better deserves to go up Holbourn in a wooden chariot, and have a horse night-cap put on at the farther end.

* See before, p. 490.

Will. These kind of people do no more matter what they say, than a dog does that has stolen a joint of meat from the hook; they only run away for a while, and when they think all is quiet, and forgotten, then they come again with as much confidence, as if they had never done no mischief at all.

Sam. The reason of this is, because they never light of the whip for their roguery; and so escaping scot-free makes them so bold.

Will. Ay, ay, let a man suffer a prentice to prate and talk, and, the next, he gives you two words for one; and then, if you offer to correct him, have at your ears. Black Tom, of Lambeth, that was an honest, good fellow, as ever took an oar by the end, suffered his prentice so long, that, when he would have corrected him, it was too late; and, being a lusty, young rogue, he threw him over-board into the Thames; and, had not I come by, by chance, he had been drowned.

Tom. Nay, nothing madded me so much, as that the house of commons praised this fellow, and ordered him thanks for his compliment he made.

Will. O brave Oxford still; for, at Westminster, they always used to have so much good manners, as to give his majesty thanks for his speech, whether it pleased them, or not; and now they thank a man that gives him the lye.

Sam. But pray, my masters, what did they do that little time they sat; or, at least-wise, what would they have done?

Tom. I will tell thee, thou sayest, the parson told thee of a parliament once at Oxford, was called the mad-parliament; I think, this may be called the foolish and k—vish parliament: they were in hand to make such a king of the duke, if he should have survived his brother, as thou never heardest of in thy life.

Will. A king? why, the Portingals King*, that they keep a close prisoner, in an old castle, at the rock of Lisbon, is an emperor, in comparison of that they would have made him†: a must have had the name of a king, but none of the power; nor have lived in any of his dominions, or within 500 miles. Would not this have been a brave king‡?

Sam. Pray thee tell me what have they to do with Scotland?

Tom. With Scotland? O, they make a good title to Scotland‖; for Oliver conquered it for the rump, and, these being the rump's heirs, they think Scotland belongs to them as well as England; for, as sure as thou stands there, they keep the commonwealth's title a foot in their minds, though they dare not publickly own it.

Sam. How should that be?

Tom. I will tell thee, if I have a crown in my pocket, and thou hast a mind to have it from me, there is but three ways to get it, either by sleight of hand to pick it from me, or by words to persuade me out of it, or take it from me by a strong hand. Now the first and last not being so convenient nor easy; if thou canst use words to make me give it thee, is not that the best way?

* Don Alphonso, deposed by his brother Peter the Second, who was not content to seize the crown and imprison his brother; but obtained a dispensation of the pope, to marry his brother's wife also.

† The Duke of York.

‡ These were some of the expedients proposed instead of the bill of exclusion; which expedients the duke's friends opposed with greater vehemency than the bill of exclusion.

Will. No doubt of it.

Tom. Then words have prevailed a great way, and will possibly be attempted farther; but, if those will not do, thou knowest what follows next; besides, it is apparent, they aimed now to make a push for a commonwealth; for they affronted the king, in the first place, as I have told you; then, in the next place, they voted the lords denial to try Fitz-Harris* was a denial of justice, and hinderance of discovering of the popish plot, and twenty stories more they called it; which was as much as to say, they were not fit to sit in that house; for, if they were unjust in their doings, and countenanced the popish plot, what worse could have been said of them? And if this had taken, at the next vote they had been useless, and then welcome the rump again; they would only have wanted him that was headed at the Tower-hill twenty years ago, what did you call him?

Will. I believe thou meanest Sir Harry Vain†.

Tom. Ay, ay, that was he, if he had been alive to have joined with the purblind lord, and the colonel with cut fingers, and a few more, all had been right.

Sam. Pray thee, Tom, what would they have done with this Fitz-Harris, what is that fellow?

Tom. I think nobody knows what he is‡; but I take him to be a cross-biter§; but if he chance to be hanged, as he is like to be, it is doubtful he will be cross-bitten himself.

Sam. Why the parliament were bloody mad at him, and would needs have hanged him themselves.

Tom. O Sam, thou knowest not parliament-craft, the next way home sometimes is the farthest about. If they could have gotten the lords to have received the impeachment against him, they would have kept him alive, and played more tricks than thou canst imagine; they would have made him bowl off and on, as thou dost at nine pins, and made his evidence good and right in what they had a mind; and arrant lyes in what they liked not. And he had been as far from hanging by their means, as the lords in the Tower; only they would possibly have found law to have bailed him; which could not be found for the treasurer Danby, whom they know they have no power to hang, unless they do with him, as with the old Earl of Strafford‖.

Will. But, for all their cunning, he may yet come to be hanged;

* This Fitz-Harris was employed by the court to write a seditious pamphlet, which, being privately printed, was to be sent by penny-post to the protestant lords, &c. which opposed the court; and then their houses were to be immediately searched, and, where these pamphlets could be found, they were to be made the foundation of a plot against the government. This scheme was communicated to one Everard, and by him discovered to Sir William Waller, who informed the king of it, who ordered Fitz-Harris to be taken into custody, but declared his resentment at Sir William, saying, 'That he had broken all his measures.' Therefore the house of commons resolved to examine and try the Irish Priest, Fitz-Harris, at their own bar, hoping to make a full discovery of so wicked a design, and to bring the contrivers thereof to condign punishment. But the court influenced the lords to reject the impeachment of Fitz-Harris by the commons, and to order him to be prosecuted at common law, where the court had power to prevent any material discoveries; and immediately to sacrifice the man, who had so imprudently divulged the secret intrusted to him.

† al. Vane.

‡ He was an Irish papist who had free access to the Duchess of Portsmouth, and kept a correspondence with her favourite woman, Mrs. Wall, and with the French ambassador's confessor.

§ viz. A trapanner.

‖ Make a law on purpose.

and if he be, stand clear, I believe there will be stories told, some will not be willing to hear.

Sam. Before my heart, you two are gotten very cunning at state affairs, I believe you did nothing but listen and hearken after news.

Tom. If the parliament had sat at our town a twelvemonth, I would not have wrought in my barge an hour; but, if ever a parliament deserved a by-name, this little short-arsed* one deserved that I have given it, both for meddling with what they did so simply, and meddling with those people and places out of their power.

Sam. Well, but now this parliament is dissolved, all this is over, and now they have neither power to vote, nor act, nor nothing; and I hope we shall have quietness, and the court at Windsor.

Tom. It is true, they are unroosted from their publick sitting-places, both at Westminster and Oxford; but the men that shape out all the work are not idle; that will appear before long in the Common Hall of London, and from other places where they have power to set mischief on foot.

Tom. I remember Gaffer Tompson of Abington had a dozen men and boys that laboured his barge; and, to his cost, he found they were all plotted together to rob, steal, and to do him any mischief they could: nay, would almost tell him to his face, they would have what they list. He was a quiet honest man, and loved not trouble, and hoped, in vain, for amendment a long time; but at last he took a resolution and turned them all off at once, and got a new floor-full, that knew nothing of the roguery of the other crew; and then all things went well with him.

Will. He was in the right of that; for, if he had left any of the old ones in the barge, they would have corrupted all the rest.

Tom. Dost not think, there are some old rumpers has done a great hurt amongst the members?

Will. I am for a new floor full or none at all; there is no hopes of any good from Tompson's old crew.

Tom. Gaffer Tompson has a special care, not only to keep his new men from companying with the old ones at London and at Abington; but also, that they should not come and rob him by a strong hand.

Will. They durst hardly do that; for then it had come to *hangum tuum.* However, it was wisdom in him to have an eye to them, for they met often together to consult which way to be revenged of him; and however he knew the laws of the land would protect him, which must protect every body.

Sam. I pray God bless his majesty, and give him power to put his laws in execution; and then, I think, none but his enemies will have occasion to repine; and let the disbanded reformadoes do what they dare. Amen.

* Because it sat but seven days.

THE

CHARACTER OF A DISBANDED COURTIER,

Ingenium Galbæ male habitat.

From a Folio Edition, printed at London, Anno Dom. 1681.

HE was born with an aspiring mind, by much too high flown, for his quality and his estate. His dexterity, in doing ill, made him thought capable of performing admirably well, if ever he came to be employed and entrusted. He was preferred, for ability, to high degrees of honour and office, admitted into the cabinet councils, made acquainted with all the secret wheels (and could tell how many cogs there were in each wheel) upon which the great engine of state was turned, and kept in motion. By the favour of his prince, he acquired sufficient riches to support the splendor of a new-raised family.

His glory was so eminently conspicuous, that there were but few persons below the crown seemed above him: And nothing was wanting to render his felicity as lasting as nature intended his life, but a heart that knew how to be grateful to a most munificent benefactor. He thought all the favours and honours he enjoyed were less than the reward of his merit: That thought puffed him with pride; such a sort of pride, as is commonly attended with an irrecoverable fall, (which was his fortune:) and, at his fall (like that of his predecessor) might very well have been proclaimed: 'Woe to you, the inhabitants of the earth, for the devil is come down among you.'

Open revenge against his sovereign, being too dangerous to attempt, he presently resolves upon secret. He exposes all the weaknesses and infirmities of the court (from which no court is free) and where he can find no real faults, he feigns imaginary ones, and passes them off for current. By this new and false optick, he represents every mole-hill of mistake, in the publick administration, for a mountain as tall as Teneriff, and as dangerous as the top of Ætna. Nay, he multiplies and magnifies the very miscarriages, which were the effect of his own evil counsel. He amuses the freest nation in the universe, with wild rumours, and extravagant apprehensions of slavery; under the government of a prince, who, in acts of favour, mercy, and clemency, has exceeded all his predecessors. He fills the heads of the people full with whimsical fears of fantastick devils (chimeras which only his malice had raised) on purpose to frighten them out of their loyalty and their wits, and prepare and ripen them for bedlam, or for rebellion. He

makes the pretences of * liberty, the stirrup to get up, and † religion the steed he rides, in pursuit of his monstrous designs. With these pretences, he cheats the innocent; and promising to open their eyes, serves them, as the apostate angel did our parents in Paradise, only blows into them the dust of disobedience, and robs them of those jewels he pretends to bestow, viz. Liberty and religion; which are both so much talked of and both so little understood.

Being a gentleman of little or no religion himself, he seems, for all that, to espouse every division and subdivision of it; every faction and person, who are bold enough to stand stiff in opposition against the well settled government. What avails it, that he is, in his own nature, a frugal man? He keeps open house for entertainment of all state male-contents, without consideration either of qualities or qualifications. And what is he the better for being temperate himself, so long as he accompanies and carouses, and contracts intimacy and amity, with the lewdest debauchees, that he thinks will help to forward his private intrigues? He becomes all things to all men, in the very worst of senses; perverting the design of St. Paul, that he may, at least, delude some, to be as bad as himself.

Having lost his honour with his prince, and reputation with the best of men, he cringes, and creeps, and sneaks, to the lowest and basest of the people, to procure himself, among them, an empty, vain-glorious, and undeserved name, the patriot of his country.

And, lastly, hoping to be made the little head of the great rabble, he persuades them to believe, that they are all betrayed: encourages them to strike home against the enemies of king and kingdom (pointing at the faithfullest and most affectionate servants to both) well knowing that the mighty fabrick can never be shaken, till its main pillars and supporters be, by cunning and sly stratagem, either destroyed, or undermined.

By this, may appear the weakness of that modern piece of state policy, ‡ 'Oblige your enemies, your friends you are sure of already:' And the transcendent wisdom of Solomon's advice: 'Let thy own friend, and thy father's friend, never be forsaken.'

* Liberty is not a freedom for every man to do what he pleases; an exemption from just laws: These laws were made for the punishment of transgressors; and are the true liberty of every honest man. The destroying of which laws is throwing down the fence, whereby virtuous and good men are secured and protected.

† Religion does not consist in the stubborn adhering to this or that party, or in crying up one faction as infallible, and censuring all others as damnable: But in 'doing justice, and loving mercy, and walking humbly with God (says Micah the prophet). And is first pure, and then peaceable,' says St. James the apostle.

‡ Of King Charles the Second.

THE EMPEROR'S CONCESSIONS

TO HIS

PROTESTANT SUBJECTS OF HUNGARY,

AS THEY WERE SENT FROM VIENNA IN LATIN, AND ARE NOW TRANSLATED OUT OF THE ORIGINAL COPY.

London: Printed in 1681. Folio, containing two pages.

As our news-papers often mention the Queen of Hungary's ratification of the privileges granted by her imperial ancestors to the protestants in Hungary, I presume, that the following specimens of them will be acceptable, and worthy to be preserved in this collection.

The most gracious resolution of his sacred Imperial Majesty, our most benign Lord, in the matters of religion; obtained by the mediation of his Excellency the Palatine of Hungary, the eighth of this present month of October, 1681. *Exhibited by the Vice-Palatine to the noble and magnificent lord, representing the royal person, and to all the illustrious states and orders of the realm, in the state-house of that kingdom;* viz.

I.

THAT all and singular the states and orders within that kingdom, whether they be peers, or gentlemen, or free cities and privileged towns, that immediately relate to the crown, shall remain in their faith and religion.

II. That all the Hungarian soldiers, that inhabit on the frontiers of the kingdom, shall enjoy the same freedom of religion.

III. That not only the aforesaid liberty in religion shall be granted to them, but also the free use and exercise thereof; saving to the several lords of the soil their rights and properties.

IV. That it shall not be lawful for either party, hereafter, to remove, or expel the ministers of the church for religion, in such places where the exercise of their religion is practised.

V. That there shall be no more seizures of churches.

VI. That those churches, which, in the time of the late troubles, from 1670, till now, have been seized, shall remain to the present possessors.

VII. That, in every county, those of the Augustan * confession, and all such as are comprehended under that name, shall have liberty to build a church for the exercise of their religion, if there be none there already.

VIII. That, if they have any churches there already, they shall be left to them, together with the revenues thereunto belonging.

* Protestant.

IX. That it shall be lawful for the peers and gentlemen, in the said counties, to erect and endow chapels, or places of worship, for the exercise of their religion, within their respective castles.

X. That all things, contained in the first article of the pacification at Vienna, shall be in force.

XI. That, in all parts of the kingdom of Hungary belonging to the emperor, the catholicks shall have the free use and exercise of their religion.

XII. That particularly those of Posnia, that are of the Augustan confession, shall have power to build one church, in a convenient place to be appointed for that purpose: also, that those of the city of Sopronia shall remain undisturbed in the possession of the exercise of their religion, which they now enjoy.

XIII. That the grievances, which hereafter arise, in matters of religion, shall not be determined by force of arms, but by the king only, after he hath heard both parties; and that the eighth article of the sixth decree of King Ladislaus shall be revived and observed.

XIV. That all the inhabitants of the kingdom, of what rank, order, or degree soever, shall abstain from reviling and reproaching each other's religion, or the professors thereof, upon pain of incurring his majesty's highest displeasure.

"Letters, which came by the same post with the foregoing conces-"sions, add, that the Diet at Odenburg were then upon the point of "restoring the goods and estates which had been taken from the Male-"contents, and to make satisfaction for damages sustained by them; "and that there was no doubt but, the grand affair of religion being "adjusted, this and other points would soon be determined. Also that "the peace between the emperor and the grand seignior would be con-"tinued ten years longer. So that it was hoped, that his imperial "majesty, together with the states of Hungary, and the princes and "states of the empire, would speedily unite against the French, whom "they now look upon as the common enemy of Christendom, rather "than the Turk."

A LETTER* TO A PERSON OF HONOUR,

CONCERNING

THE KING'S DISAVOWING THE HAVING BEEN MARRIED TO THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH'S MOTHER.

Quarto, containing twenty four pages.

My Lord,

AS you cannot but have seen his majesty's declaration, wherein he renounceth the having been married to the Duke of Monmouth's

* This is the 63d number in the catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

mother; so I believe you will not be displeased to have an account of the sense of the thinking men about the town concerning it. And this without either disguising, or concealing what is publickly discoursed, I shall, as becomes your lordship's servant, address myself to give you.

And in the first place, they say it is no surprise to them, that seeing the Duke of York hath gotten the ascendant of the king, he should hector him into, or at least extort from him the foresaid declaration. For, can any imagine, that he who for some time renounced his own wife, and had provided persons to swear a familiarity with her, which made her unworthy of being duchess, should scruple to importune the king, to do as much by Mrs. Walters, though it were never so demonstrable that he was married unto her? The course he practised himself, he may without any breach of charity be thought ready to prescribe to others. And it may be, he thinks it will be some extenuation of what he did himself, if people can be brought to believe that it is a disease natural to the family, and which runs in a blood. Now we all know, not only with what asseverations the duke disclaimed his marriage with Mrs. Hyde, but with what reflexions upon her chastity he did it. And yet the proofs of the said marriage were so evident, that he was necessitated at last to acknowledge it; and to own her for his wife, after he had by himself, and many others, proclaimed her for no better than a common whore. And I am sure it left this impression upon most persons, that his faith to men was not very far to be relied on, seeing he made so slight of that faith, which he had plighted in an ordinance of God to a harmless lady.

Secondly, most men do observe this difference between the king's renouncing Mrs. Walters, and the duke's disclaiming Mrs. Hyde; that what the duke did, was an act of inclination and choice, whereas it is apparent, that what the king hath done, is the result of dread and fear. For, to use his majesty's own expression not long ago, 'He was harrassed out of his life, by the importunity of his brother,' &c. as he added, 'he could rather chuse to die than live so uneasily as he did, while he withstood their daily sollicitations in this matter.' And as nothing made the duke honest to Mrs. Hyde, but the interposition of his majesty's authority, from a sense of the justness of the lady's complaint; so they believe the king is only injurious, through the influence of others, and that when rescued out of ill hands, and left to himself, he will return to be just. For though his majesty be a prince of that clearness of understanding, that they cannot baffle him by false reasonings, yet he hath so much of James's timidness, that they can huff and over-awe him to things most opposite to his judgment, as well as cross to his interest. And let me upon this occasion remind your lordship of a story, of a Scots nobleman to my Lord Burleigh, upon that wise statesman's desiring a character of King James, long before he ascended the English throne. 'If your lordship,' saith the blunt Scotsman, 'know a jackanapes, you cannot but understand, that if I have him in my hands, I can make him bite you, whereas, if you get him into your hands, you may make him bite me.'

Thirdly, the whole town is apprehensive, that the king, through endeavouring by this act to secure himself in the grace, at least forbear-

ance of the duke, and popish party, will find in the issue, that instead thereof, he hath left himself naked and exposed to their wrath and malice. Nor is there any thing more probable than that what the king calls and intends only, for a declaration to serve his present occasions, they will transform into his last will and testament, to accommodate theirs. If Queen Elisabeth, when tempted to declare her successor, declined it with this saying, 'that such an act would be the digging her grave, before she were dead:' have we not great cause to apprehend that, the king having by this act digged his own grave, his brother, or the Jesuits, under whose government he is, will find hands to bring and put him into it, lest through delay, something should intervene that would fill it up again? it is a pity, that none would call to his majesty's memory that saying of Tacitus, *suspectus semper invisusq; dominanti qui proximus destinatur.* Which, by varying a little from the Latin, I will English thus: 'that he ought to be always suspected, and carefully watched against by the ruler, who most ardently hopes, and thinks himself in likelihood to succeed him.' Statesmen in old times reckoned it for a maxime in politicks, that, *ne mentio fieret hæredis, vivo adhuc principe;* 'that while the prince liveth, there ought not to be so much as a mentioning of any whose right it was to come after.' For as subtle Tiberius upbraided Macro, that he forsook the setting sun, to worship the rising; so King Charles may have, in time, if he have not already, cause to object the same to some about him. That crafty emperor knew more of the art of self-preservation, than crowned heads in our days seem to do. For though he had adopted Germanicus, at the command of Augustus, of whom he received the empire, yet having a son of his own, namely Drusus, he would never declare in favour of either so long as they lived, but judged his own safety to consist in leaving it doubtful, whose title to the universal monarchy was best. However, say most of his majesty's subjects, though we have not been able to prevent the king from this unwary act, by which he hath staked his life to the pleasure of his enemies, yet we will be kinder to him than he hath been to himself, and contribute all we can to his security; and that is, by letting the world know, that we will revenge his death, by sacrificing the whole popish party upon his grave, in case he should come to an untimely end.

Fourthly, this declaration would be received with less hesitation in the minds of people, if kings and princes were not made of the same mould with other men, and liable to the like failures, and moral prevarications, that the rest of the sons of Adam are. And therefore, observing how common it is for persons upon a lower ground to renounce their wives, and most sacredly disclaim their marriages; they conceive it is not impossible, but that these, who move in higher spheres, may upon strong temptations do the like. Yea, our own history furnisheth us with an instance of a great king, and one who swayed the English scepter, who is transmitted to us, with this blot in his escutcheon. The person I mean is Edward the Fourth, who being a sprightly and amorous prince, was suddenly contracted and married to Elinor Talbot, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and that not only without any witnesses, save Dr. Thomas Stillington, bishop of Bath, into whose

hands the contract was made, and who officiated at, and celebrated the marriage, but besides the poor doctor was strictly enjoined by the king to conceal it; and you may easily suppose the timorous prelate would not fail in his duty to majesty, at least so long as he knew the king in a condition to punish and avenge the discovery. Now Edward the Fourth, finding thereupon admission into the embraces of the lady, and having satiated himself a while by secret enjoyments, and withal reckoning that none could, or at least durst detect by what holy ties he was bound unto her; he did some years after, notwithstanding the person to whom he was affianced still survived, both deny what was so solemnly transacted in the presence of Almighty God between them, and withal married another woman, namely, my Lady Elisabeth Gray. Your lordship may see the story both in Buck's Life of Richard the Third, page 16, &c. and in Comines's History of Lewis the Eleventh. And without making any application of it to the present case, I shall crave liberty to make these remarks upon it.

1. That it is possible for princes, especially such as have accompanied with many women, to have weak memories, and to forget upon what terms they contracted their first friendships with them. For, finding how their familiarity arose with others of that sex, they may grow, by degrees, into a kind of persuasion, that their interest, in all, was established upon no better terms. Or, if they should not be supposed so forgetful as this amounts unto, yet the love of change may make them stifle their knowledge, especially when the objects of their fresh amours cannot be otherwise brought to entertain their flame, but with a provision for their own honour.

2 That the denials of kings are not to be subscribed unto with an implicit faith; but that we ought to use the same discretion in believing, or not believing, what they say, that we esteem ourselves privileged to use towards others, in the credit which they require we should give unto them. For, though princes be not liable to be impleaded in our courts, nor be subject to penalties, that transgressing subjects are; yet, seeing they may be guilty of the same facts, which would both leave a reproach upon common men, and make them obnoxious to punishments; it cannot rationally be expected, that their bare words should restrain the freedom of our thoughts, or give law to our understandings, in the judgment that we are to make of cases and things.

3. I would observe, that though the judicial courts could not, and the parliaments, during Edward's reign, would not take cognisance of that king's contemning and violating the ordinance of God, by disclaiming his lawful wife; yet the righteous judge of heaven and earth, in a little while after, animadverted severely on the offence; for not only his two sons, whom he had by the Lady Gray, were murdered by their uncle, but the kingdom was translated from his family, and not only bestowed upon the chiefest enemy of his house, but upon one, who, among all that, for a long series before, had been rivals for the crown, had the weakest title.

4. It is not unworthy also of our notice, that, notwithstanding King Edward's denying his first marriage, and assuming another lady unto his conjugal bed, yet all this could neither prevent the future inquiry

into this matter, nor the parliament's recognising the marriage with Elinor Talbot, 1 Rich. III. and, besides the imputation of a bigamist, which is thereby stamped upon him to all ages, his children, by the second venter, were bastardised by statute, and an occasion, from thence taken, to place the scepter in the hand of Richard.

Fifthly, nothing, in this declaration, can preclude the Duke of Monmouth, or any other true Englishman, from enquiring, when time serveth, by legal and due ways, into the truth or falshood of the king's marriage with Mrs. Walters; for the duke cannot be denied the same right, which appertains to every person in the kingdom, namely, the justifying his own legitimacy in due course and form. And should he chuse to sit down with the imputation of a bastard, with all the other losses which attend it; yet there are those in the nation, who, preferring their duty to God, their country, themselves, and an injured gentleman, before a reverence to one man, especially acting under the influence of a popish brother, will bring that whole business into an impartial examination, before such, where a single negative will not be allowed as a sufficient proof to invalidate affirmative testimonies, providing such can be had. And, should that marriage hereafter be authentically proved, how ill will they be found to have deserved both of the king and kingdom, that have either surprised, cajoled, or threatened his majesty to bring such a slur upon his honour and reputation, as this declaration will, to all ages, intail? And, my lord, is it not strange, if there was never any such marriage, that Mrs. Walters should not only, when in travel with the said D. but at many other times, particularly in her last hours, when in the prospect of approaching death, and ensuing judgment, affirm it with that positiveness which she did? And is it not more surprising, if there had been no such marriage, that Dr. Fuller, late Bishop of Lincoln, should so often, and in *verbo sacerdotis*, declare to divers worthy persons, that he married them. Nay, what should bias the innkeeper at Liege, to make it the great mystery with which he entertained his English guests, that the marriage was celebrated and consummated in his house; and that both he and his wife were eye and ear witnesses of it. Moreover, if it were such an idle story, as the declaration represents it, how came it to pass, that when some persons, lately examined about the black box, declared, that they had heard of such a thing, as the king's being married to that gentlewoman, they should be immediately commanded to withdraw, and told, that this was not the business they were interrogated about? Besides, my lord, as all, who were abroad with his majesty at that time, knew the passion the king had for that person; so some of us can remember, how, through immoderate love to her, being reduced to a condition that his life was despaired of, and the late queen, his mother, receiving intelligence both of his disease and the cause of it, she consented to his espousing of her, rather than that he should consume and perish in his otherwise unquenchable flames. Moreover, as there were few had better opportunities of being acquainted with this whole affair, than my late Lord Chancellor Hyde, so, I am sure, the advantages likely to accrue to his off-spring, by the seclusion of the Duke of Monmouth from all title to the crown, may be judged sufficient inducements to have prevailed with

him, if not to have asserted the said duke's bastardy, yet to have been silent in the case, and not to have proclaimed the legitimacy. And yet that very lord, being in danger of an impeachment in parliament, for advising and persuading the king to a marriage with Queen Catharine, excused himself from all sinistrous ends in that affair, by affirming, that his majesty had a lawful son of his own by a former marriage (specifying by name the Duke of Monmouth) to succeed to his crown and dignity. Now, though it may be supposed that a person may sometimes lye for his interest, yet no man can be thought to do so, in order to the prejudice, as well of himself, as his whole posterity: and if we believe men speaking falsehoods, in subserviency to their honour and profit, shall we not give credit to them, when they speak truth to their own damage, and that of all those who are dear unto them? Certainly, the positive confession and testimony of this one person, being against the interest of his whole family, is of more weight, than the denials of any number whatsoever, when merely to promote their safety and advantage, or to serve the exaltation of the papal cause. These are but few of the many particulars I could acquaint your lordship with, relating to the confirmation of a marriage between the king and Mrs. Walters: but it is a piece of necessary wisdom, at this juncture, to know what not to say, as well as to understand what to say. And, to tell you plainly, I am more a servant and a friend to my country, than, by pretending to plead the duke's cause, and to be useful to the nation, to discover the witnesses which are in reserve, or betray the farther evidences, which are to be produced, when this matter shall come before a competent judicature.

Sixthly, it is matter of no small trouble, to such as truly love his majesty, that the king's integrity and honour should be brought to stake, in a matter, wherein both the present age, and the succeeding, may take occasion to question, and bring into examination, his truth and sincerity. For though it is not impossible, but that princes, considering the temptations with which they are surrounded, may sometimes, through inadvertency, and, at other times, upon state-motives, endeavour to impose upon the credulity, if not abuse the faith of their people: yet the veracity of a supreme governor is of that importance to himself, and so necessary to the veneration which his people ought to maintain for him, that he is not to bring his credit to pawn, unless it be in such cases wherein his people may, if not apologise for, yet connive at the indiscretion and weakness of their ruler, should he be found to delude them. Nor hath any thing obstructed the affairs of princes more, and prevented their people's believing them, when they spoke their most inward thoughts, than the forfeiture of their credit in matters wherein their subjects relied upon the honour and truth of their word. For they who do not mean as they speak, when people are prepared to hear them, must not expect that their words should be much relied upon, when their tongues are the true interpreters of their minds. And let me tell your lordship, that this last declaration hath caused multitudes of his majesty's best subjects to reflect upon, and take a view of many of his former declarations, that from them they may be furnished with reasons for justifying themselves in the suspension of their assent to

this. And I wish there had not been that cause administered by foregoing ones, which may, with too many, lessen the value of the royal word, in that bearing date the second of June.

The first of this kind he ever published, after he came in view of being restored to the sovereignty over these kingdoms, was that dated at Breda, the fourth of April, 1660, wherein he promised liberty to all tender consciences, and engaged the sacred word of a king, that no man should be disquieted, or called in question, for differences in matter of religion, provided they did not disturb the peace of the kingdom. Now, though I will not dispute about the sense wherein this declaration was meant, nor concerning the end for which it was calculated and framed, yet this I may be allowed to say, that there are a great many of his majesty's liege people, who have tasted dealings directly repugnant unto it, and may justly complain of some failure in the accomplishment of it.

It is true, his majesty is not originally to be blamed, that it had not the hoped-for effects: but, withal, that prince, that can be over-ruled to recede from a promise which contributed so much to his happy and peaceable restoration, may be supposed capable of such impressions, from men of ill minds, as may make him venture his royal word, in other cases, beyond the measures of justice. But, seeing it were a business of too much fatigue, to call over all the declarations since his majesty actually occupied the British throne, I shall therefore remind your lordship only of two more: whereof, the first is that of January the second, 1671, wherein the king, upon shutting up the exchequer, declares, on the word of a prince, that the restraint, put upon payments out of the treasury, should continue no longer than till the last of December, 1672; and yet the fulfilling of this is still prorogued, though it be now above nine years since the royal word was pledged for making it good.

The other, that I shall refresh your memory with, is that of the twentieth of April, 1679, wherein his majesty, having shrived himself, and craved absolution for all past matters, solemnly declareth, that he would, for time to come, lay aside the use of any single ministry, or private advices, or foreign committees, for the general direction of his affairs; and that he would afterwards govern his kingdoms by the advice of that council which he had then chosen, together with the frequent use of his great council of parliament, as being the true and antient constitution of this state and government. Far be it from me to blame his majesty for the disappointment of those hopes which the people had so universally conceived upon that declaration, which was so full of ingenuity and candour, and so adapted to the honour, safety, and interest both of king and kingdom; but this may be said without the least umbrage of irreverence, that the same pestilent men, who were able to cause his majesty to violate such a declaration, wherein he spoke the most like a wise and good prince that ever he did, may be also able by the same ascendant influence to wrest an unadvised and bad one from him. The same councils which prevailed upon him to go against both his royal word, and all the maxims of policy with which he is so richly endowed; may they not likewise be conceived to have

over-ruled him in this, to speak against his knowledge and those moral principles of truth and justice, with which, when left to himself, he appears to be imbued? Nor do I doubt, but that, among other things they had in prospect to compass by this declaration, they hoped to shut his majesty out of the love of his best protestant subjects, so that, when brought to fall by their traitorous conspiracies, his death may be at once unlamented and unrevenged. But let them not flatter themselves; for, if there be any thing false or unjust in it, we ascribe it all to their rage against our laws and our religion, and do only complain of the king's facility in suffering himself to be so openly abused.

Seventhly, but whereas there is one thing in the declaration by which men of honest and easy minds, being unacquainted with the practices of the world, are apt to be somewhat startled; namely, 'The king's 'calling Almighty God to witness, and affirming, upon the faith of a 'Christian, that there was never any marriage, or contract of marriage, 'had or made between him and Mrs. Walters;' I think myself obliged to lay before you the sense and apprehensions which wisest heads have of that protestation and solemn appeal.

If, say they, neither the eye nor dread of God, nor the faith of a Christian, are effectual to restrain a person from adulteries and promiscuous scatterings, can we have any security that they will prevent such a one from the guilt of other crimes? he who neither trembleth, nor blusheth to proclaim his uncleannessess to all the world, will he forbear sins of any kind or hue out of principle, though he may possibly omit them by accident, and in compliance with interest?

It was a maxim of an antient ruler, that, as children are to be cousened with nuts, so men are to be deluded with asseverations and oaths. And upon this occasion they call to mind the character fastened upon Charles the Ninth of France, namely, that the surest symptoms, by which it was known when he spoke falsly, was the endeavouring to confirm what he said by the most dreadful imprecations, and execrable oaths. And what our own historians leave upon the memory of his royal majesty's own grandfather, in this point, I had rather you should learn from Wilson's History of King James, than be told by me. Besides, say others, who knoweth but that the king, through the like impression of fear, under which he lifted up his hand to the most high God at Scone, when crowned in Scotland, may have been influenced and over-awed to make this late appeal and protestation?

He who hath done one such thing, and especially with that solemnity and profession of sincerity wherewith he took the covenant; can it be otherwise apprehended but that he may do the like again, if there be sufficient cause for the same passion which biassed him against knowledge and conscience then? Nay, the utmost inducement that swayed and determined him, contrary to his judgment and light, to swear by the great God, in terms so august and awful in Scotland, was merely an apprehension of being otherwise secluded from his right over that kingdom; but it is more than probable, that no less than a dread of losing his life, as well as three kingdoms, hath necessitated him to this which he hath now done. Now it is but considering the seasons when the several declarations pronounced in council, and at last published to the

world, were made; and you will be soon convinced that they were extorted from him, partly by the necessity of his affairs, and partly by the frightful ascendancy which his brother hath obtained over him. For the first, which we are here in the print told of, was that made the sixth of January, 1678, when the condition and posture, wherein things then stood, made it indispensably needful that the king should oblige his brother to withdraw, and which the Duke of York, (though he knew that his stay here, at that time, would have, in all likelihood, involved his majesty under inextricable difficulties) refused to comply with, till he had wrested that declaration from him.

And for the second, which was made also in council, March 3, 1678, it is obvious to every considering man, and demonstrable to all the world, that it was the effect of that necessity which his majesty's affairs had reduced him unto. For the parliament being to meet the sixth of that month, and it appearing by the several returns of the persons elected to sit, that we were like to have a house of true English gentlemen, who would not only inspect the late popish plot, but enquire into the miscarriages of publick ministers: hereupon, as the duke threatened to return, unless the king would make some fresh declaration, whereby, being pronounced and represented as next heir, he might be screened from the angry but just resentments of the nation; so divers persons at home, who knew themselves unpardonably criminal, applied their thoughts to find out a method, by which a misunderstanding might, in a short time, arise between the king and his parliament. And apprehending that the Duke of York could not possibly escape the animadversion of the house, all the treasons and crimes, whereof others were only guilty in their respective parts and proportions, meeting in him as so many lines in their center; they accordingly by threatening to make their own compositions, and to lay open all those matters which they conceived his majesty to be most sollicitous to have concealed, brought the king to make that declaration. Whereby having in effect signified the Duke of York to be the next in right to succeed, they reckoned they had wrought him to such an espousal of his brother, as must needs break all measures of fair correspondency with his parliament. And, as this was the principal thing they aimed at, so by denouncing still to provide for their own security, in detecting whatsoever they knew, they kept him to an adhesion to the declaration which he had made, and thereby not only embarrassed all his affairs, but so embroiled him with the house of commons, as that in a few weeks they compassed the dissolution of the parliament.

Having thus briefly represented unto your lordship, under what influence of necessity and fear, these declarations were at first made in council, I need not tell you through what impressions by the incessant importunity, and daily hectoring of his majesty by the duke, now at Windsor, they come at last to be printed and proclaimed to the world. The king, poor gentleman, is willing to buy his peace at any rates, and hath here staked his honour, not to say his conscience, for it? But as you know that neither concessions, declarations, nor alienations made by a person in duress, or under threatenings, or swayed by apprehensions of the hazard of his life, can oblige others, though they be such

as are wrapped up in or concluded by him, in all cases where he is supposed free; so, in plain English, the generality of the people, and those of the best sense, hold themselves no ways affected or prescribed unto by these declarations. For we, who knew the tenor of them when they lay concealed in the council-books, and yet thought ourselves at liberty to believe as our judgments conducted us, are not likely to have our minds altered by the bare printing of them. But, how far the conscience of the king is concerned or defiled, I leave to those of the theologick faculty to resolve; only I judge, that the same casuistical divinity whereby they salved the conscience and vindicated the honour of the king in the case of the covenant, and withal discharged him from the obligation which it was supposed to have put upon him, may, whensoever he thinks meet, stand him in good stead, and afford him the same relief in the case of the late declarations.

Eighthly, there is one thing farther that must not be omitted, because it gives us amazement, and yet affords us pleasant diversion; namely, the motive they have brought his majesty to alledge for his making and publishing this declaration. I confess I could not read it without surprize and wonderful emotion. And I dare say, when you think seriously of it, you will find pity stir in your heart to your abused prince, and your blood swell in your veins through indignation at some about him. For, after the care they have suffered him to take for preserving our religion, lives, and liberties, from the designs of the papists, by dissolving two parliaments, and so often proroguing a third, they bring him now to publish this declaration to relieve the minds of his loving subjects from their fears, and to prevent the ill consequences, which a belief of his having been married to the Duke of Monmouth's mother may have in future times upon the peace of these kingdoms. A most proper way to extinguish our fears, by doing all that he can, to subject us hereafter to one who is the professed enemy of our established religion and legal government. But that your lordship may the better comprehend how highly we are obliged to his majesty for his love and tenderness to his people in all that they judge dear and valuable, by designing so hopeful a successor over them; I shall recount some of those many particulars from which we esteem ourselves capable of judging what a gracious and desirable prince this dear and beloved brother is like to prove.

1. He is a gentleman that hath renounced the religion wherein he was not only educated, and which these nations profess, but which he had consigned unto him sealed with the blood of his father, and entailed upon him and the whole line by no less than his grandfather's curse, in case any of old James's offspring should depart from it.

2. He hath made it his business to seduce his majesty's subjects to the papal faith, and to enslave them to a foreign jurisdiction. And, by his addresses, sollicitations, and preferments, wherewith he is able to reward such mercenary souls, as are ready to make sale of their religion, he hath made more converts to the church of Rome, than all the English missionaries have been able to do.

3. Through the power which he hath obtained over the king, he hath procured the chiefest places of strength, in the nation, and some of the

greatest trusts, as well civil and religious, as military, to be conferred upon known papists, and sworn enemies to the protestant cause, and English liberties.

4. He hath been the principal promoter of arbitrary government, and of making the king's interest both distinct from, and opposite to, that of his people. And this he hath done in pursuance of papal advice, and in subserviency to the Romish interest. For where the monarch is absolute, and the lives and fortunes of whole nations are enslaved to the will and pleasure of one person; the mere wheedling of a lustful, weak, or inconsiderate prince will go a great length in the gaining vast multitudes to adore the triple crown. And, for such as shall prove stubborn and refractory, it is but meritorious to kill them, and then convert their lands to the use of the holy see.

5. It was this darling and beloved one, that authorised the burning of London; and not only made his own palace a sanctuary to the villains, who were suspected as instruments of that dreadful conflagration, but rescued and discharged divers who were apprehended in the very fact. And this he did partly in revenge, forasmuch as London had been both the magazine of strength and treasure, during the war with the late king; and partly to gratify his popish friends, by destroying the bulwark of the protestant religion, and the chief receptacle of the hereticks.

6. It was this presumptive heir, that all along obliged his majesty to neglect the concerning himself in favour of the protestants abroad; and did so order it, through his power over the king, that never any foreign alliance was made, but was abused to the betraying of them. And here let me call over a story, and perhaps a more tragical one, and accompanied with baser treachery, than any history is able to acquaint you with. One Monsieur Rohux, a French gentleman, coming into England, to treat with the king concerning an alliance between his majesty and foreign protestants, merely for the preservation of their religion; and having acquainted the Duke of York with his errand, after he had, in a private conference or two, transacted with the king about it: this royal prince, out of his wonted kindness to the protestants, and the reformed religion, caused Rouveny (lieger ambassador from France at this court) to stand behind the hangings at St. James's, while he made this innocent gentleman discourse over the whole business. Upon which, Mons. Rouveny being obliged to acquaint his master with it, Mons. Rohux, who (upon some intimation that the duke had betrayed him) had withdrawn hence to Switzerland, was there seized by a party of French horse, and brought to the Bastile; whence, after some time's imprisonment, he was carried to the place of execution, and broken upon the wheel.

7. It was through the Duke of York's means, that both the first and second wars were commenced against the Dutch; and that in order, not only to weaken the protestants, by their mutual destroying of each other, but in hopes to have turned the victorious arms of the king upon the hereticks at home, and the patrons of English liberty.

8. It was this zealous prince, for the honour and safety of Britain, that advised the breaking of the triple league, which was the wisest

conjunction, and most for the glory of the king's reign, and the preservation of his dominions, that ever he entered into. And this he did, not only to gratify France, whose pensioner, as well as whose confederate he hath been, but to leave the protestants here naked to the attempts of the papists. For he knew, that, while that league continued firm, the King of Sweden, and the States of Holland, would have construed all designs upon the protestants in England, as done against those of the same religion with themselves, and in favour of whose profession they had entered into that alliance.

9. He hath not only maintained correspondence with foreign princes, to the betraying the king's counsels, but hath confederated with them for the extirpation of our religion, and overthrowing our legal government. And besides many other evidences of this, which it is not convenient to mention at present: the depositions, which arrived with the committee of secrecy during the session of the late parliament, together with Coleman's letters, and that which he wrote in the duke's name, and indeed by his command, do uncontroulably demonstrate it.

10. He was consenting to, and hath co-operated in the whole popish plot, for both his confessor and his secretary did, with his knowledge and approbation, seal the resolves for the king's death.

11. It was the duke, who, when the king had revealed the first discovery of the hellish Romish plot to him, immediately communicated it to Father Bedingfield, that so the conspirators might know how to secure their papers, and abscond themselves.

12. It was he, who, through his command over the post-office, prevented the intercepting the letters from St. Omers, and other foreign seminaries, whereby that whole damnable conspiracy would have been more fully detected.

13. He employed his own duchess to transport several of the traytors to Holland, that so they might escape the search that was made for them, and the punishment they had deserved.

14. It was he who suborned, encouraged, and rewarded the vilest miscreants to frame and swear a plot against the protestants; and this he did to beget a disbelief of the popish conspiracy, and in order to destroy such of the nobility and gentry, as were the chief assertors of the reformed religion, and English liberty.

15. It was he, who advised the several prorogations and dissolutions of parliaments, whensoever they were either considering the bleeding condition of the protestant interest abroad, or supplicating the king to an alliance with protestant princes for its protection and preservation.

16. It was he, in whose favour the dissolution of the last parliament was procured, and who hath prevented the sitting of this, after eight several times appointed for their meeting. And all to hinder the trial of the traitorous lords in the tower, and to obstruct the further search into the many hellish plots, wherein himself and the rest of the papists are engaged, for the subversion of our religion and laws, and the destruction of the lives of his majesty and people. And how much he hath lessened his majesty's interest in the hearts of his subjects, and weakened their confidence in his royal word, by obliging him to treat this parliament as he hath done, seeing, in his speech to both houses,

March 6, 1678, he had so solemnly declared his resolution to meet his people frequently in parliaments; and into what straits and wants they have thereby also reduced him, I shall rather leave your lordship silently to consider, than take upon me at this time to unfold.

17. It was he, who, after he had for so many years promoted the aiding and succouring of France with English forces, 'till that aspiring prince was ascending to a power and greatness, not to be in any probability withstood or controuled, did at last engage his majesty in making the general peace, which is a thing so highly prejudicial to all Europe, in the unavoidable consequences of it.

18. It was he who countenanced and enlivened the late traitorous combination of apprentices and ruffians, and who, together with the lords in the tower, issued out the money, both for the expences of their entertainments, and for the providing them with arms, to disturb the peace of the city and kingdom, and assault the houses and lives of his majesty's liege people.

19. It is he who hath inrolled and secretly mustered men in all counties of England, and who, besides the English papists, whom, at this time, he hath called from all parts of the nation to London, it is also provided of a great number of Irish, who formerly washed their hands in the blood of protestants, or are the genuine offspring of those that did. Now, being thus furnished and invironed, he is resolved (unless God in his providence miraculously interpose) to put all to a venture, and play over the same game in England, that was, heretofore, acted in Ireland.

20. It is he who cherisheth in his bosom, and exalteth to the highest trusts, such as Colonel Worden, who betrayed his majesty's secrets to the usurping powers, particularly to Mr. Scot. Nay, himself may be charged with many things, in those times, whereby we may apparently discover both his treachery to his majesty, and his ambition to have usurped the crown from him. For, when a loyal party of the English fleet had espoused his majesty's right and title, against the enemies of his crown and person, the duke, who, being then aboard, should have encouraged, and ventured his life in conjunction with them, did, instead thereof, by a most shameful and disloyal deserting of them, both discourage them in their fidelity, and, so far as in him lay, oblige them to compound for themselves, with a seclusion of his majesty's interest. Yea, besides this, when the Scots were treating with the king at Breda, in order to the establishing him in the throne of that kingdom, the Duke of York was, at that very time, transacting with such as remained faithful to the king's title here, that they would renounce his elder brother, and chuse him for their sovereign. Nor do I believe, that his majesty can forget the occasion and design upon which the duke forsook him at Bruges, and withdrew to Holland; so that the king was necessitated not only to command him, upon his allegiance, to return, but was forced to send the Duke of Ormond, and some other persons of quality, to threaten, as well as persuade him, before he would go back.

21. It is he, who, not thinking the declaration enough to facilitate his ascension to the throne, or to secure him from resistance in the at-

tempts he purposeth upon our lives and liberties, hath been, and still is endeavouring to be admitted, and let further into the government, and, accordingly, hath accosted the king, by my Lord Durass, in that matter. This is the more surprising, forasmuch as one would think, that it is not possible he should be further let into the government, having Berwick, Hull, Langer-point, Sheerness, Portsmouth, and the magazine of the Tower (Legg being now master of the ordnance) in the hands of his sworn vassals and creatures; and having also the superintendency of all civil affairs in him, unless, by taking the scepter actually into his hand, he should confine the king to a country house, and an annual pension. And his partisans about the town talk of no less, than the having the duke crowned, during the king's life, as Henry the Second, though upon far different reasons, was crowned, in conjunction with King Stephen. And I wish that what the brother of the King of Portugal hath, of late years, effected against his prince, did not awaken our jealousy to fear that the same may be attempted, by a dispensation from the infallible chair elsewhere. However, they have taken care, should they accomplish this design, that they may not be obliged to entertain our Catharine, as they, in Portugal, did the French madam, married to Alphonso; forasmuch as the best part of the portion with our princess, namely Tangier, is, through the courage and conduct of my Lord Inchequine, one of the duke's greatest confidents, as good as disposed of. But, should they proceed in this design against his majesty, it becomes all his majesty's good subjects to endeavour, as one man, the rescuing him from under their power, seeing the very designment of such a thing is a treason of so high a nature against the king, that we should be wanting in our allegiance, should we not apply ourselves in the use of all possible ways and means to punish and avenge, as well as prevent the execution of it. Now, my lord, these are but few of the many particulars, by which we are sufficiently enlightened concerning the Duke of York; and we may abundantly learn from these, how much we are indebted to his majesty for his grace, favour, and care, in appointing such a one after him to succeed over us. Do not all our fears hereupon immediately vanish and die; and hope, joy, and gladness revive in our hearts, on this prospect, with the king hath given us of so good an heir? But, poor prince, we at once compassionate and forgive him, knowing that this proceeds not from his inclination, but that he hath been hurried and forced to it. Nor do we need any further assurance of the inward propensions of his majesty's heart, and the dislike his breast is filled with for what he hath done, but the endeavours which he used, under daily and manifold importunities to the contrary, to have avoided it, and the sadness which appears in his countenance, since over-awed to publish this declaration. And as for the Duke of York, let him not deceive himself; for as he may perceive by this, that we fully understand him, and know the kindness he entertains for us; so we are prepared for him, and resolved to return unto him, and his, in the kind they intend to bring. For, having both divine and human laws on our side, we are resolved neither to be papists nor slaves, and, consequently, not to be

subjects to him, who hath avowed either utterly to extirpate us, or to reduce and compel us to be both the one and the other.

Lastly, for the issuing of all this controversy, concerning whose right it is to succeed next after his majesty, men, here about the town, accustomed to discourse, think that there need but two proposals, and those very rational ones, to be made. The first is, that, the parliament being admitted to sit, they may examine this affair, whereof they alone are competent judges. Whatsoever declarations may otherwise signify, yet it is a principle which can never be obliterated out of the minds of Englishmen, that they are neither binding laws, nor can alienate or extinguish the rights of any. Shall the son of a common person be allowed the liberty to justify his legitimacy, in case his father prove so forgetful, or so unnatural, as to disclaim him? And shall the Duke of Monmouth, merely by being the son of a king, forfeit this just and universal privilege? If his majesty was indeed married to that discountenanced gentleman's mother, he is, by our laws, the son of the kingdom, as well as the son of King Charles. And therefore it is necessary, as well as fit, that the people should, in all due and legal ways, understand whether they have any interest or not in him, before they be commanded to renounce him, or resign it. All therefore we desire is, that this matter may be impartially and fairly heard; and that before those, who alone have right to be judges of it; and, as no other course but this can satisfy the minds of people, so it cannot be expected that, upon the authority of a declaration, especially gotten as this was, they should sacrifice the share, which, for any thing yet appears, they have in him, as their apparent prince and next heir to the throne. And, unless this be obtained, the people will, undoubtedly, think their own rights invaded, whatsoever the said duke judgeth of his.

The second thing we would humbly beg, as well as propose, is, that, the parliament being called to sit, the Duke of York may be legally tried for his manifold treasons and conspiracies against the king and kingdom. For, if he be innocent, and that the right of succession be his, all men will quietly acquiesce under him; but, if he should prove guilty, as we no wise question but that he will, shall his treasons, when a subject, qualify him to be a king, and pave the way for his rising to the throne? According to all equity, as well as law, he ought first to justify himself from all traitorous attempts and acts against the king and people, before he be allowed to have his claim heard, concerning any title that, in time to come, he may have to rule over these nations. I shall subjoin no more at present, save that

I am,

London, June the 10th, 1681. My Lord,

Your most obedient Servant.

THE TEARS OF THE PRESS,

WITH REFLECTIONS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF ENGLAND.

London, printed and are to be sold by Richard Janeway, in Queen's-head Alley, in Paternoster Row, 1681. Quarto, containing nine pages.

THE Press might be employed against, or for itself, according to the good, or hurt, its labours have spread abroad in the world. Look on them on the one side, you will confess, the tears of the press were but the livery of its guilt; nor is the paper more stained, than authors, or readers. The invention of printing, whether as mischievous as that of guns, is doubtful. The ink hath poison in it, the historian, as well as naturalist, will confess; for, impannel a jury of inquest, whence learning, or religion, hath been poisoned, and *scribendi cacoethes*, dabbling in ink, will be found guilty. For,

Learning hath surfeited us; for, amongst other excesses, that of learning may surfeit us, according to Tacitus; and this was true before printing, when the cure of the disease most are sick *(nisi te scire hoc sciat alter)* of publishing; which was harder, by reason of laborious transcription, vanity, or contradictions employing the pen even then. Of the former, let Didymus the grammarian lead the van; of whom Seneca saith, '*Quatuor millia librorum scripsit; miser, si tam multa supervacua legisset!*' that he wrote four thousand books; miserable man, if he had read so many pamphlets! And, in those controversies about Homer's country; whether Anacreon offended more in incontinence, or intemperance, &c. most of them being stuffed with such, or grammatical questions: a disease continued, if not increased since printing, two much declining things for the declension of words: witness such laborious works in criticisms needless. (I asperse not the wise choice of useful queries in that study.) The result, it may be, of many pages is the alteration of a word or letter, its addition, or subtraction. O painful waste-paper! How empty is the press oftentimes, when fullest? Empty we must acknowledge that, which vanity filleth, as we may well think, when it issueth some poetick legend of some love-martyr, or some pious romance of more than saints ever did; or some fool, busied about government, in the neglect of his own affairs and sphere. What pamphlets these late times have swarmed with, the studious shopkeeper knoweth, who spendeth no small time at the bulk, in reading and censuring modern controversies, or news; and will be readier to tell you what the times lack, than to ask you, what you lack? We live in an age, wherein was never less quarter given to paper. Should Boccalini's parliament of Parnassus be called among us, I fear our shops would be filled with printed waste-paper, condemned to tobacco, fruit,

&c. Hardly any cap-paper would be in use, till that of legends, pamphlets, &c. were spent. How justly may we take up that complaint in Strad. Lib. i. Prælect. 1. wherein he brings in printers complaining against rhiming (poetick they would be called) pedlars into the press: *quique noctu somniant, hæc mane lucem videre illico gestiant.* Already, what danger are we in of eating up Antichrist confuted in the bottom of a pye? or to light tobacco with the dark holdings-forth of new lights? To see the Antinomian honey-comb holding physick (at the second hand) in a stool-pan, sure, argueth a surfeit in the press, that thus swarmeth with vanity, or controversies; which is its worst fault, as being the mischief of a sadder and engaging consequence. Alas, what now is the press, but an office of contention, issuing rather challenges, than books? When pulpits grow hoarse with railing, then doth this take up the quarrel, that often admitteth of no arbitrator, setting the world on fire of contention, schism, and heresy; introducing strife, wars, and bloodshed. Alas, how miserably is truth torn by antilogies and little better than scolding, and suffereth more by this pen and ink war, than by pike and bloodshed! By how much more captivating of assent sophistry is, than success, among reasonable souls (that coming nearer reason, than success doth justice.) And we know, truth is often watered by martyrs blood, receiving more strength from the red-lettered days in an almanack, than whole tomes of *pro's* and *con's*. And what truths, politicks, or news suffer by the press, is weekly experienced. It is nothing to kill a man this week, and, with ink, instead of *aqua vitæ*, fetch him alive the next; to drown two admirals in one week, and to buoy them up again next; so that many of those pamphlets may be better termed Weekly Bills of Truth's Mortality, than faithful intelligences of affairs.

Nor fareth it better with peace, than truth; the feathers and plume seconding the quarrel of the quill, from inveighings to invading, declarations to defiance, remonstrances to resistance, and that to blood.

The press rippeth up the faults and disgraces of a nation, and then the sword the bowels of it. What printing beginneth, by way of challenge, its contemporary invention, guns, answers in destruction-accents.

And the enormities of the press are caused partly by writers, and partly by readers.

Among writers, some write to eat; as beggars examine not the virtues of benefactors, but such, as they hope or find able or willing, they ply, be they good or bad, wise men or fools; so do they beg of any theme that will sell; true or false, good or bad, in rhime or prose, and that, pitiful or passable, all is one: ink must earn ale, and, it may be, three-penny ordinaries; write they must, against things, or men (if the spirit of contradiction prove saleable) that they can neither master, nor conquer; sparing neither Bacons, Harveys, Digbys, Browns, &c. though nought else do they obtain, except such a credit, as he did, that set Diana's temple on fire to perpetuate his fame.

Another sort are discoverers of their affections, by taking up the cudgels on one side or other; and it is come to that now, that an author scarce

passeth, that writeth not controversies ecclesiastical, political, or philosophical; though far better it were for publick good, there were more (deserving the name of Johannes de Indagine) progressive pioneers in the mines of knowledge, than controverters of what is sound; it would lessen the number of conciliators, which cannot themselves now write, but as engagedly biassed to one side, or other: but these are *desiderata, vereor, semper desideranda*: things wanting, and to be desired, I fear, for ever.

A second cause of the enormities of the press are buyers. The chapman's vanity and weakness of choice maketh the mart of less worthy books the bigger. Such is the fate of books, as of other ware, the coarser the ware, the more the seller getteth by it. Examine the truth, and it will too evidently appear, that, in these times, the bookseller hath frequently got most by those books, that the buyer hath got least by, being not only the luck of Rabelais's bookseller, that was a loser by his book of Seneca and Judgment, but abundantly repaired by that ingenious nothing, 'The Life of Garagantua and Pantagruel.' What age ever brought forth more, or bought more printed waste-paper? To read which is the worst spending of time (next the making them) and the greater price given for them, and far above their worth.

But, the distemper of the press being so various and hazardous, what cures can we propose?

Why truly, for them in Fieri, no such correcting the press, as breaking it; but the chiefest help is prophylactical, a care preservatory. Also, an *index expurgatorius* of vanity and whimsies would save paper from being so stained, and would keep it from burning, it may be, by the common hangman; and so a nation less molested, idle persons better employed. But, not to make our eyes sore by looking on the hurt, let us turn them on the benefits of a well-employed press; and then we shall see it a mint of solid worth, the good it hath done, and yet may do, being inestimable. It is truth, armoury, the book of knowledge, and nursery of religion; a battering-ram to destroy and overthrow the mighty walls of heresy and error; and also communicative of all wholesome learning and science, and never suffering a want of the sincere milk of the word, nor Piety's Practice to be out of print (and that not only in one book) constantly issuing out helps to doing, as well as knowing our duty. But the worth of the warehouse will be best known by the wares, which are books; which will herein appear, which also no prudent man will deny, that they are.

For company, good friends; in doubts, counsellors; in damps, comforters; time's prospective; the home-traveller's ship or horse; the busy man's best recreation, the opiate of idle weariness, the mind's best ordinary, nature's garden and seed-plot of immortality; time spent needlesly from them is consumed; but, with them, twice gained; time, captivated and snatched from a man by incursions of business, thefts, or visitants, or by one's own carelesness lost, is, by these, redeemed in life; they are the soul's *viaticum*, and, against death, a cordial.

THE LAST

MEMORIAL OF THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR,

FAITHFULLY TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

London, printed for Francis Smith, at the Elephant and Castle, near the Royal Exchange, in Cornhill, 1681. Folio, containing two pages.

SIR,

DON Pedro Ronquillo, Ambassador of Spain, saith, that, by a memorial, which he presented to your majesty, the fifteenth of December, he did set forth the infractions which the most Christian King hath made since the peace of Nimeguen, from the month of September, after the difference was agreed about the title of the Duke of Burgundy, which was alledged for a pretence to suspend the conference at Courtray, according to the fifteenth article of that treaty; in order to the adjusting in an amicable way all the limits, pretensions, and differences of the two crowns, which should result from that treaty: and your majesty was pleased by your royal order of the fifteenth of December, to order your envoy extraordinary, at Paris, to put in execution what was contained in the said memorial. By the last post, the said ambassador received letters of first instant, from the Marquis de la Fuente, who is ambassador at Paris, in which he gives an account of the complaints he had made to the Christian King, about the excesses and infractions, which are committed against the inhabitants of Fontarabia, and in the Low Countries, and particularly about a message, which the governor of Tournay sent to the Prince of Parma, pretending, that not one pallisado should be laid at Bovignies, which incontestably hath been a separated state, and comprehended in the country of Namur. After many violent contestations, the answer of the most Christian king was, 'That he did not doubt, but that the catholick king would give order to his commissioner at Fontarabia, to proceed in the treaty, leaving each party in the possession, which, at present, they hold; as if a violent usurpation, under the surety of the good faith of the conference, could, in one day, be concluded to be an actual possession; that, for what relates to the Low Countries, he cannot abstain from taking possession of that, which, he supposes, doth appertain to him, according to what he shall declare at the conference of Courtray.'

To this violent, as well as undecent answer, the Marquis de la Fuente, with the strength of the undoubted justice and reason, which the king my master hath, concluding he did not receive the same, not knowing how to impart it to his catholick majesty, and that he beseeched him to resolve what was just; to which reply it was answered: 'That he would consider it.' And, at the same time, his most Christian ma-

jesty hath ordered his forces to enter in the Spanish Low Countries, to hinder the fortifying of Bovignies.

This proceeding doth exceed all limits, and cannot be reasonably endured; for the most Christian king will, by force of arms, be arbitrator, and command in the dominions of the catholick king, thereby hindering him, from fortifying a place, which is his own; when, by the article of Nimeguen, it is allowed to be done, by both parties. And when the French King himself hath made use of the same article, in order to have the course of the waters stopped, that they may not hinder the fortifying his towns; as it was more particularly done at Mennin, causing the river Lisse to be lowered, that they might, with more facility, fortify that town, a place, which was wholly open, and which, the French King is fortifying and enlarging in extent, much more than it was before: so that now, Sir, these are not infractions, but a declared war: The designs of the French being publick, that, they intend to besiege Luxemburg, and that, from thence, they will go to Namur, when the fact of hindering the fortification of Bovignies, which is upon the Mose, almost over-against Dinant, makes it clear and past doubt; especially, the most Christian king having possessed himself of all the towns, that are upon the river Mose, from Charlemont, and of the most part of the territory between that river, and the Sambre, in such a manner, that they have gotten almost all the country of Namur, as well as that of Luxemburg; and, thereby, those two provinces are left without communication.

By these infractions, and clear beginnings of war, the under-written ambassador doth apply himself to your majesty as a mediator, that you would cause what was agreed, by the peace of Nimeguen, to be observed; and as an ally, that you would defend it, and resist the violence of France; your majesty being obliged to the one, and to the other, by the treaties; in which consideration, he cannot omit saying, that although the frontiers of Spain by Cantabria and Catalonia are infested, and by the treaty of Cassal, between the French king and the Duke of Mantua, the dominions of Italy are in apparent danger, and no less the Indies, where Count d'Estre is with a squadron of ships, all which are the countries, that do compose the greatest power of the Spanish monarchy; notwithstanding this, his catholick majesty has postponed these his greatest concerns, to the defence of that little, which remains to him, in the Low Countries; although it be lessened of a great part of territory, which the French have violently possessed themselves of, since the peace of Nimeguen, which hath been the only cause, that we have not been able to keep that country in a better posture; for each unjust usurpation, of the French, had broken the measures which were taken, and reduced us to seek others; and, therefore, his majesty hath already sent considerable supplies to Flanders, and appointed the Prince of Parma, governor thereof, as an experienced soldier, and one who hath been viceroy of several kingdoms, thereby to encourage those subjects, with these endeavours; and that they may be governed by a grandson, and of the same name of Alexander Farnese, whom, with so much love, they reverence.

All this, Sir, hath been done, in hopes that the union and interest

of England with Spain, will produce mutual effects of conveniences to both crowns; for no good Englishman can doubt, that, if there be no opposition made to the present great power of France, it is impossible, but that, in a few days, they should possess themselves of the Low Countries; and that the states-general should subject themselves, by reason of the impossibility of resisting the powerful. And afterwards, your majesty and England shall be the first in perceiving this mischief; to remedy which, it will be then impossible; and at present, nothing is capable to suppress these evils, but the power of England, at this time, the only in Europe, that can restrain the torrent of France. The differences, which are at present in England, do occasion these bold attempts of the French king, and encourage him in the continuation of his vast designs; upon the whole so apparent already, that there is no clear-sighted understanding, but will apprehend them. All the princes and powers of Europe, as also, his most Christian majesty, are in expectation of the success of this parliament, and of the agreement of England; the first, to take measures, in order to shake off the yoke, which they are like to be made subject to: and the most Christian king hath also for a time restrained his ambition, and at present nothing doth encourage him to deliver himself up to it, but the differences, which he sees, breaking out here, giving it out as well within as without this kingdom, 'That he is assured, they will not be reconciled; and that, in the mean while, he may make up the conquest of the Low Countries, which is the master-key of the universal monarchy.' And the first door, which he will open with it, shall be that of England, without further trouble, than that of maintaining the differences, with great promises, and with a small charge; and whatsoever he shall find most for his advantage, will be first invaded by him.

That this disunion is the chief encouragement of the design and enterprises of the most Christian king, in the Low Countries, is apparent; and there are so great proofs of this truth, that it is blindness not to see them: and the ambassador will only acquaint your majesty, with one late instance, which doth manifest the same, which is, 'That his most Christian majesty sees the emperor is making considerable levies; as also, the Elector of Saxony, and other princes of the empire; that the Electors of Bavaria, and Brandenburgh, have declared, that they will not suffer his proceedings against the empire, and the princes of the same, and that they will oppose it with all their power.'

His most Christian majesty, after so many violent answers, which he himself had made, and also his ministers, to all the princes of Germany, hath now answered the emperor's Envoy Extraordinary, 'That he doth agree in appointing a conference, in one of the imperial cities, to decide and explain the ambiguous points of the articles of the peace of Nimeguen, concerning the possessions taken in Alsatia; and that, as soon as the commissioners are met, the chamber of Metz shall cease its proceedings, and all manner of no-

velty, and that they will hear such a person, as shall treat for the Duke of Lorrain. And, although it is evident, that this is intended to lay asleep the minds, as well of the emperor, as of the other princes concerned, and that they may cool the vigour of their preparations, which they are making for their defence, it is also known, that this is in order to work with more safety, against the Low Countries; for, at the same time, that he offers to suspend the attempts in the empire, he continues in possessing himself of all the Spanish open country, executing acts of open war, by hindering the fortification of Bovignies; which is the same thing, as blocking up of Luxemburg and Namur; so that it is made evident, that, if he saw the differences of England appeased, and united to its own defence (for such ought to be reputed that of the Spanish monarchy, and, in particular, that of the Low Countries) it is infallible and certain, that he would moderate his designs, and limit his resolutions, as it appears he doth in Germany; seeing that the emperor, and all the body of the empire, do unite for its defence.

The ambassador doth very well know, that the agitation of this kingdom is great, and that the pretensions seem to be distant; but he is sorry, and it makes his heart bleed to see, that there is no way opened to an union; and, as there is nothing impossible in human things, his pain doth increase, seeing there is no step made to quench these heats. If England was not so much threatened with ruin, by the exaltation of the French, as the Low Countries are, the pretensions and rights might be followed to the uttermost point; but running the same fortune with the monarchy of Spain, because Flanders is a battery to England and Spain, and the Indies the treasure of its riches, and the chief strength of its commerce, beyond all places, where this nation doth trade; and, therefore, it doth not allow that their interest should be considered as a foreigner, nor that the distractions, in which all are now involved, should be calmed by the same methods, which could be done in a secured tranquillity; so that the ambassador doth promise himself, that, considering these reasons, and that France being at this time a gangrene, which doth penetrate to the very heart of England, all grounds of differences shall cease, and that it will not, with its own ruin, involve the rest of Christendom in the same fate.

Therefore, the ambassador doth pray your majesty, that, as a mediator, or as an ally, you would effectually apply yourself to prevent the loss of the Low Countries, and consequently of all the rest, hoping from your majesty's great prudence, that you will make choice of the most efficacious means to that end, and to the establishing of the quiet of Europe.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF

THE CHURCH OF IRELAND,

During the Reigns of King Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Queen Mary;

Wherein are several material passages, omitted by other historians, concerning the manner how that kingdom was first converted to the protestant religion; and how, by the special providence of God, Dr. Cole, a bloody agent of Queen Mary, was prevented in his designs against the protestants there: set forth in the life and death of George Browne, sometime Archbishop of Dublin, who was the first of the Romish clergy in Ireland that threw off the pope's supremacy, and forsook the idolatrous worship of Rome; with a sermon of his on that subject.

Printed at London, and sold by Randal Taylor, 1681. Quarto, containing twenty pages.

The Reformation of the Church of Ireland, in the life and death of George Browne, sometime Archbishop of Dublin, &c.

GEORGE BROWNE, by birth an Englishman, of the order of St. Augustine in London, and provincial of the friars of the same order in England, being a man of a meek and peaceable spirit, was preferred to the Archiepiscopal See of Dublin by King Henry the Eighth, and consecrated, before his arrival into Ireland, by Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, two other bishops assisting him, viz. John, then Bishop of Rochester, and Nicholas, then Bishop of Salisbury, on the 19th of March, Anno 1535.

The Reverend James Usher, late primate of Armagh, amongst his memorials of Ireland, gives this holy father this description: George Browne was a man of a chearful countenance, in his acts and deeds plain downright, to the poor merciful and compassionate, pitying the state and condition of the souls of the people, advising them, when he was provincial of the Augustine Order in England, to make their applications solely to Christ; which advice coming to the ears of Henry the Eighth, he became a favourite, and upon the decease of John Allen, late Archbishop of Dublin, became his successor. Within five years after he had enjoyed that see, he (much about the time that King Henry the Eighth began to demolish the priories, abbies, and monasteries, formerly built by the Romish clergy within these his majesty's dominions of England and Ireland) caused all superstitious relicks and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and out of the rest of the churches within his diocese; he caused the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, and the creed, to be placed, being gilded and in frames, about the altar in the cathedral of Christ Church in Dublin. He was

the first that turned from the Romish religion of the clergy here in Ireland, to embrace the reformation of the Church of England; for which fact he was by Queen Mary laid aside, and his temporality taken from him; yet he patiently endured affliction for the truth to the end.

Upon the reformation of King Henry the Eighth in England, and at his renouncing the papal power or supremacy of Rome, the Lord Thomas Cromwell, then lord privy-seal, wrote unto George Browne, then Archbishop of Dublin, signifying from his highness (then terming the king by that title) that he was fallen absolutely from Rome in spiritual matters, within his dominion of England, and how it was his royal will and pleasure to have his subjects there in Ireland to obey his commands as in England, nominating the said George Browne, archbishop, one of his commissioners for the execution thereof, who in a short space of time wrote to the lord privy-seal, as follows:

My most honoured Lord,

'Your humble servant receiving your mandate, as one of his highness's commissioners, hath endeavoured, almost to the danger and hazard of this temporal life, to procure the nobility and gentry of this nation to due obedience, in owning of his highness their supreme head, as well spiritual as temporal, and do find much oppugning therein, especially by my brother Armagh,* who hath been the main oppugner; and so hath withdrawn most of his suffragans and clergy within his see and jurisdiction. He made a speech to them, laying a curse on the people whosoever should own his highness's supremacy; saying, that isle, as it is in their Irish chronicles, *insula sacra*, belongs to none but to the Bishop of Rome, and that it was the Bishop of Rome's predecessors gave it to the king's ancestors. There be two messengers by the priests of Armagh, and by that archbishop, now lately sent to the Bishop of Rome. Your lordship may inform his highness, that it is convenient to call a parliament in this nation, to pass the supremacy by act; for they do not much matter his highness's commission which your lordship sent us over. This island hath been for a long time held in ignorance by the Romish orders; and, as for their secular orders, they be in a manner as ignorant as the people, being not able to say mass, or pronounce the words, they not knowing what they themselves say in the Roman tongue. The common people of this isle are more zealous in their blindness, than the saints and martyrs were in truth at the beginning of the gospel. I send to you, my very good lord, these things, that your lordship and his highness may consult what is to be done. It is feared O Neal will be ordered by the Bishop of Rome to oppose your lordship's order from the king's highness; for the natives are much in numbers within his powers. I do pray the Lord Christ to defend your lordship from your enemies.'

Dublin, 4 Kalend. Decembris, 1535.

The year following a parliament was called in Ireland, the Lord

* George Cromer, then Archbishop of Armagh.

Leonard Grey being then King Henry's viceroy of that nation, in which George Browne, then being not many months above a year in his archiepiscopal chair in Dublin, stood up and made this short speech following:

My lords and gentry of this his majesty's realm of Ireland,

'Behold, your obedience to your king is the observing of your God 'and Saviour Christ; for he, that high priest of our souls, paid tribute 'to Cæsar, though no Christian; greater honour, then, surely, is due 'to your prince's highness the king, and a Christian one: Rome, and 'her bishops, in the fathers days, acknowledged emperors, kings, and 'princes to be supreme over their dominions, nay, Christ's own vicars; 'and it is as much to the Bishop of Rome's shame to deny what their 'precedent bishops owned; therefore his highness claims but what he 'can justify the Bishop Eleutherius gave to St. Lucius, the first 'Christian king of the Britons: so that I shall, without scrupling, vote 'his highness King Henry my supreme over ecclesiastick matters as 'well as temporal, and head thereof, even of both isles, England and 'Ireland, and that without guilt of conscience, or sin to God; and he, 'who will not pass this act, as I do, is no true subject to his highness.'

This speech of George Browne startled the other bishops and lords so, that, at last, through great difficulty, it passed; upon which speech Justice Brabazon seconded him, as appears by his letters to the lord Thomas Cromwell, then lord privy-seal of England; which original is in that famous library of Sir Robert Cotton, out of which Sir James Ware, that learned antiquary, transcribed the same.

Within a few years after that the act of supremacy had passed in Ireland, we do find a letter, written by George Browne to the Lord Cromwell, complaining of the clergy, how they fell off from what had passed, and how the Bishop of Rome had contrived matters against the then reformation. Collected by Sir James Ware, out of an old register some time in the custom of Adam Loftus, Hugh Corwin's successor, and also Archbishop of Dublin.

TO THE LORD PRIVY-SEAL'S HONOURABLE GOOD LORDSHIP. EX AUTOGRAPHO.

Right honourable and my singular good Lord,

'I acknowledge my bounden duty to your lordship's good will to 'me, next to my Saviour Christ's, for the place I now possess; I pray 'God give me his grace to execute the same to his glory and his high-'ness's honour, with your lordship's instructions. The people of this 'nation are zealous, yet blind and unknowing; most of the clergy, as 'your lordship hath had from me before, being ignorant, and not able 'to speak right words in the mass, or liturgy, as being not skilled in the 'Latin Grammar; so that a bird may be taught to speak with as much 'sense, as several of them do in this country. These sorts, though not 'scholars, yet are crafty to cozen the poor common people, and to dis-'suade them from following his highness's orders. George, my brother

'of Armagh, doth underhand occasion quarrels, and is not active to 'execute his highness's orders in his diocese.

'I have observed your lordship's letter of commission, and do find 'several of my pupils leave me for so doing. I will not put others in 'their livings, till I do know your lordship's pleasure; for it is meet I 'acquaint you first, that the Romish relicks and images of both my 'cathedrals in Dublin, of the holy Trinity, and of St. Patrick's, took off 'the common people from the true worship; but the prior and the dean 'find them so sweet for their gain, that they heed not my words: there-'fore send in your lordship's next to me an order more full, and a chide 'to them and their canons, that they might be removed. Let the or-'der be, that the chief governors may assist me in it. The prior and 'dean have written to Rome to be encouraged; and, if it be not 'hindered before they have a mandate from the Bishop of Rome, the 'people will be bold, and then tug long, before his highness can submit 'them to his grace's orders. The country folk here much hate your 'lordship, and despitefully call you, in their Irish tongue, the Black-'smith's Son.

'The Duke of Norfolk is, by Armagh and that clergy, desired to 'assist them not to suffer his highness to alter church rules here in 'Ireland. As a friend, I desire your lordship to look to your noble 'person, for Rome hath a great kindness for that duke (for it is so 'talked here) and will reward him and his children. Rome hath great 'favours for this nation, purposely to oppose his highness; and so have 'got, since the act passed, great indulgences for rebellion; therefore 'my hope is lost, yet my zeal is to do according to your lordship's or-'ders. God keep your lordship from your enemies here and in Eng-'land.

Your lordship's at commandment,

Dublin, 3 Kalend. Apr. 1538. GEORGE BROWNE.

Soon after this letter had been written, news came to the castle of Dublin, that the Bishop of Rome had sent over a bull of excommunication of all those who had, or shall own the king's supremacy within the Irish nation; which caused the archbishop to write accordingly:

TO THE LORD PRIVY-SEAL WITH SPEED.

Right Honourable,

'My duty premised, it may please your lordship to be advertised, 'since my last, there has come to Armagh and his clergy a private com-'mission from the Bishop of Rome, prohibiting his gracious highness's 'people here in this nation to own his royal supremacy, and joining a 'curse to all them and theirs who shall not, within forty days, confess 'to their confessors, after the publishing of it to them, that they have 'done amiss in so doing; the substance, as our secretary hath trans-'lated the same into English, is thus:

"I A. B. from this present hour forward in the presence of the "holy Trinity, of the blessed virgin mother of God, of St. Peter, of the "holy apostles, archangels, angels, saints, and of all the holy host of

" heaven, shall and will be always obedient to the holy see of St. Peter " of Rome, and to my holy lord the Pope of Rome and his successors, " in all things as well spiritual as temporal, not consenting in the least " that his holiness shall lose the least title or dignity belonging to the " papacy of our mother church of Rome, or to the regality of St. Peter.

" I do vow and swear to maintain, help, and assist the just laws, " liberties, and rights of the mother church of Rome.

" I do likewise promise to confer, to defend and promote, if not per- " sonally, yet willingly, as in ability able, either by advice, skill, " estate, money, or otherwise, the Church of Rome and her laws, " against all whatsoever, resisting the same.

" I further vow to oppugn all hereticks, either in making or setting " forth edicts or commands contrary to the mother church of Rome; " and, in case any such to be moved or composed, to resist it to the " uttermost of my power, with the first conveniency and opportunity I " can possibly.

I count and value all acts made or to be made by heretical powers of " no force or worth, or be practised or obeyed by myself, or by any " other son of the mother church of Rome.

" I do further declare him or her, father or mother, brother or sister, " son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, " kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others, nearest or " dearest relations, friend or acquaintance whatsoever, accursed, that " either do or shall hold, for the time to come, any ecclesiastical or " civil power above the authority of the mother church, or that do or " shall obey, for the time to come, any of her, the mother of churches, " opposers or enemies, or contrary to the same, of which I have here " sworn unto; so God, the blessed virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the " holy evangelists help, &c."

' His highness, viceroy of this nation, is of little or no power with ' the old natives, therefore your lordship will expect of me no more than ' I am able: this nation is poor in wealth, and not sufficient now at ' present to oppose them: it is observed, that, ever since his highness's ' ancestors had this nation in possession, the old natives have been crav- ' ing foreign power to assist and rule them; and now both English race ' and Irish begin to oppose your lordship's orders, and do lay aside ' their national old quarrels, which I fear will, if any thing will, cause a ' foreigner to invade this nation: I pray God I may be a false prophet, ' yet your good lordship must pardon my opinion, for I write to your ' lordship as a warning.'

Your humble and true servant,

Dublin, May 1538. GEORGE BROWNE.

Upon the feast of St. John Baptist following, the said George Browne seized one Thady O Brian, one of the order of St. Francis, who had papers from Rome, as follows, being sent to the lord privy-seal by a special messenger:

My son O Neal,

' Thou and thy fathers were all along faithful to the mother church ' of Rome: his holiness Paul, now pope, and the council of the holy

'fathers there, have lately found out a prophecy, there remaining, of 'one St. Lacerianus, an Irish bishop of Cashell; wherein he saith, that 'the mother church of Rome falleth, when in Ireland the catholick 'faith is overcome: therefore, for the glory of the mother church, the 'honour of St. Peter, and your own secureness, suppress heresy and his 'holiness's enemies; for, when the Roman faith there perisheth, the 'see of Rome falleth also; therefore the council of cardinals have 'thought fit to encourage your country of Ireland, as a sacred island, 'being certified, whilst the mother church hath a son of worth as your-'self, and of those that shall succour you, and join therein, that she will 'never fall, but have more or less a holding in Britain, in spite of fate. 'Thus having obeyed the order of the most sacred council, we recom-'mend your princely person to the holy Trinity of the blessed Virgin, 'of St. Peter, St Paul, and of all the heavenly Host of Heaven. 'Amen.'

EPISCOPUS METENSIS.

Romæ 4 Kalend. May 1538.

Upon further examination and searches made, this Thady O Brian was pilloried, and confined a prisoner until his highness's further order for his tryal; but, news coming over that he must be hanged, he made himself away in the Castle of Dublin, on the eve of the feast of St. James; yet his dead corpse was carried to the Gallows-green and hanged up, and after there buried: but it was said, by the Register of St. Francis's monastery of Dublin, that they brought him from thence and buried him in that monastery.

George Browne having enjoyed the see of Dublin seven years or thereabouts, King Henry the Eighth, upon the dissolution of the abbies, priories, and monasteries here in Ireland, changed the priory of the Blessed Trinity of Dublin into a deanery and chapter, since which mutation, it hath generally bore the name of Christ-Church.

Upon this alteration, as it appears upon record, this cathedral consisted of a dean and chapter, a chanter, a treasurer, six vicars chorals, and two singing boys, allowing to them two forty-five pounds six shillings English, *durante beneplacito;* which sum his daughter Queen Mary confirmed for ever, having confirmed the deanery, yet with alterations, as she was a Romanist.

This cathedral continued after this said form, though not in popery, even until King James's days, who then altered all what King Henry and his daughter had done; and, upon this second alteration, he constituted a dean, a chanter, a chancellor, a treasurer, three prebends, six vicars chorals, and four singing boys; ordering likewise, that the Archdeacon of Dublin should have a place in the choir, and a vote in the chapter. As for a further description of this cathedral, we shall omit it; having reserved the same for a large narrative of the said cathedral, in a book which is ready for the press, intitled, The Antiquities of the City of Dublin.

King Henry the Eighth deceasing, and his hopeful offspring, King Edward the Sixth, succeeding within a short space after his royal father's death, that hopeful prince, by the advice of his privy-council,

began to consider what good effects the translation of the holy Bible had done, also how much it had enlightened the understanding of his subjects; they altered the Liturgy-book from what King Henry had formerly printed and established, causing the same to be printed in English, commanding the same to be read and sung in the several cathedrals and parish churches of England, for the common benefit of the nobility, gentry, and commonalty; and, that his subjects of Ireland might likewise participate of the same sweetness, he sent over orders to his viceroy Sir Anthony St. Leger, then being lord deputy of that nation, that the same be forthwith there in Ireland observed within their several bishopricks, cathedrals, and parish churches; which was first observed in Christ.church at Dublin, on the feast of Easter 1551, before the said Sir Anthony, George Browne, and the mayor and bailiffs of Dublin, John Lockwood being then dean of the said cathedral.

The Translation of the Copy of the Order, for the Liturgy of the Church of England to be read in Ireland, runs as follows:

'To our trusty and well-beloved Sir Anth. St. Leger, knight, our chief 'governor of our kingdom of Ireland.

'*Edward by the grace of God, &c.*

'Whereas our gracious father, King Henry the Eighth of happy 'memory, taking into consideration the bondage and heavy yoke that 'his true and faithful subjects sustained under the jurisdiction of the 'Bishop of Rome, as also the ignorance the commonalty were in; how 'several fabulous stories and lying wonders misled our subjects in both 'our realms of England and Ireland, grasping thereby the means thereof 'into their hands, also dispensing with the sins of our nations, by their 'indulgences and pardons, for gain, purposely to cherish all evil vices, 'as robberies, rebellions, thefts, whoredoms, blasphemy, idolatry, &c. 'He, our gracious father King Henry of happy memory, hereupon dis-'solved all priories, monasteries, abbies, and other pretended religi-'ous houses, as being but nurseries for vice or luxury, more than for 'sacred learning: He therefore, that it might more plainly appear to 'the world, that those orders had kept the light of the gospel from his 'people, thought it most fit and convenient for the preservation of their 'souls and bodies, that the Holy Scriptures should be translated, 'printed, and placed in all parish churches within his dominions, for 'his faithful subjects to increase their knowledge of God, and of our 'Saviour Jesus Christ. We therefore, for the general benefit of our 'well-beloved subjects understandings, whenever assembled or met 'together, in the said several parish churches, either to pray, or to 'hear prayers read, that they may the better join therein, in unity, 'heart, and voice, have caused the liturgy and prayers of the church to 'be translated into our mother-tongue of this realm of England, ac-'cording to the assembly of divines lately met within the same, for that 'purpose. We therefore will and command, as also authorise you, 'Sir Anthony St. Leger, knight, our viceroy of that our kingdom of

'Ireland, to give special notice to all our clergy, as well archbishops, 'bishops, deans, archdeacons, as others our secular parish priests 'within that our said kingdom of Ireland, to perfect, execute, and 'obey this our royal will and pleasure accordingly.

'Given at our mannor of Greenwich, Febr. 6, in the fifth year 'of our reign.

'*E. R.*

Several Collections from Anthony Martin, formerly Bishop of Meath.

Before proclamations were issued out, Sir Anthony St. Leger, upon this order, called an assembly of the archbishops and bishops, together with others of the then clergy of Ireland; in which assembly he signified unto them as well his majesty's order aforesaid, as also the opinions of those bishops and clergy of England, who had adhered unto this order, saying, That it was his majesty's will and pleasure, consenting unto their serious considerations and opinions, then acted and agreed on in England, as to ecclesiastical matters, that the same be in Ireland so likewise celebrated and performed.

Sir Anthony St. Leger having spoken to this effect, George Dowdall, who succeeded George Cromer in the primacy of Armagh, stood up; who, through his Romish zeal to the pope, laboured with all his power and force to oppose the liturgy of the church, that it might not be read or sung in the church; saying, then shall every illiterate fellow read service, or mass, as he in those days termed the word service.

To this saying of the archbishop's, Sir Anthony replyed, 'No your grace is mistaken, for we have too many illiterate priests amongst us already, who neither can pronounce the Latin, nor know what it means, no more than the common people that hear them; but, when the people hear the liturgy in English, they and the priest will then understand what they pray for.'

Upon this reply, George Dowdall bade Sir Anthony beware of the clergy's curse.

Sir Anthony made answer, 'I fear no strange curse, so long as I have the blessing of that church which I believe to be the true one.'

The archbishop again said, 'Can there be a truer church, than the church of St. Peter, the mother-church of Rome?'

Sir Anthony returned this answer: 'I thought we had been all of the church of Christ; for he calls all true believers in him his church, and himself the head thereof.

The archbishop replied, 'And is not St. Peter the church of Christ?'

Sir Anthony returned this answer: 'St. Peter was a member of Christ's church, but the church was not St. Peter's; neither was St. Peter, but Christ, the head thereof.'

Then George Dowdall, the primate of Armagh, rose up, and several of the suffragan bishops under his jurisdiction, saving only Edward Staples, then bishop of Meath, who tarried with the rest of the clergy

then assembled, on the calends of March, according to the old stile, 1551; but, if we reckon as from the Annunciation of our Lady, which was the twenty-fifth of March, it was 1550.

Sir Anthony then took up the order, and held it forth to George Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, who, standing up, received it, saying: This order, good brethren, is from our gracious king, and from the rest of our brethren, the fathers and clergy of England, who have consulted herein, and compared the Holy Scriptures with what they have done; unto whom I submit, as Jesus did to Cæsar, in all things just and lawful, making no questions why or wherefore, as we own him our true and lawful king.

After this, several of the meeker, or most moderate of the bishops and clergy of Ireland cohered with George Browne, the Archbishop of Dublin; amongst whom, Edward Staples, Bishop of Meath, who was put out from his bishoprick, for so doing, in Queen Mary's days, on the twenty-ninth of June, 1554; John Bale, who, on the second of February, 1552, was consecrated Bishop of Ossory for his fidelity, and afterwards, by Queen Mary, expelled: Also Thomas Lancaster, Bishop of Kildare, who was at the same time put from his bishoprick, with several others of the clergy, being all expelled upon Queen Mary's coming to the crown.

When these passages had passed, Sir Anthony was in a short time after recalled for England, and Sir James Crofts of Herefordshire, knight, placed chief in his stead; who began his government from the twenty-ninth of April, 1551.

Sir James Crofts, upon his coming over, endeavoured much for the persuading of George Dowdall to adhere to the order aforesaid; but, Dowdall being obstinate, his majesty, and the learned privy-council then of England, for his perverseness, upon the twentieth of October following, took away the title of Primate of all Ireland from him, and conferred the same on George Browne, then Archbishop of Dublin, and to his successors, by reason that he was the first of the Irish bishops, who embraced the order for establishing of the English liturgy and reformation in Ireland; which place he enjoyed during the remainder of King Edward's reign, and for a certain time after, as you shall know further in its due course and place.

Alterations following one after another, even upon this reformation of the church of England, and the title of primacy being disposed of, as we have already mentioned, unto George Browne aforesaid, some writers saying, that George Dowdall was banished, others, that he was not, but went voluntary of his own will; yet, not to dispute the case, another archbishop was consecrated in lieu of him, though then living; by which it was then held lawful; as also that constituting of archbishops and bishops was in the power of kings, and not in the power of popes, or of the Bishop of Rome; which would be much to the abasement of the powers of the crown of England ever to resign, or to acknowledge to the contrary.

Hugh Goodacre, Batchelor of Divinity, was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh by the said George Browne, together with John Bale, Bishop of Ossory, already mentioned, in Christ-church in Dublin, on the

second of February, Anno 1552, Thomas, Bishop of Kildare, and Eugenius, Bishop of Down and Connor, assisting him; yet, notwithstanding Hugh Goodacre's consecration, George Browne then held the title of primacy of all Ireland.

This reformation and alteration having not time to settle, or to take reet, it was soon quashed and pulled down by that lamentable loss of that hopeful prince, King Edward the Sixth, who died at Greenwich, the sixth of June, 1553.

Upon King Edward's decease, the council having met to consult together upon the affairs of these dominions, as also how they might confirm and establish what they had already ordered and enacted, as well in ecclesiastical matters as temporal, a division soon sprung up, some being for the choice of Lady Jane Grey, others for Queen Mary; at last, upon conclusion, Mary, the king's sister, was voted queen, upon the proposals and promises, which she made to the council, to confirm all that had been perfected by her father King Henry the Eighth, and her brother King Edward, and his honoured council.

After she had been crowned and inthroned, she, for the space of three or four months, seemed moderate to the Protestant reformers, yet all that while combined with Rome and her emissaries; but, having accomplished her designs, she revoked her fair promises (which with papists is a rule) esteeming it no sin to break contracts or covenants with hereticks and protestants, numbered with such sort of people, especially with papists, these promises vanished; and then began the Romish church not only to undo what King Henry, and his son King Edward had reformed, but to prosecute the reformers and reformed with fire and faggot.

But to our purpose: Upon the eleventh of November, Anno 1553, she recalled Sir James Crofts, and sent over Sir Anthony St. Leger lord deputy into Ireland. This Sir Anthony had not been half a year chief governor of Ireland, before Queen Mary revoked the title of primacy from Geoge Browne, expelling Hugh Goodacre out of the archbishoprick of Armagh, and recalling George Dowdall to his see, and restoring him to the primacy of all Ireland, as formerly; which title hath ever since stood firm in Armagh, without any revocation either by Queen Elisabeth, or by any of her successors.

George Browne, upon this revocation, was by George Dowdall expelled, and not thought fit to continue in his see of Dublin, as being a married man; and it is thought, had he not been married, he had been expelled, having appeared so much for the reformation in both these former kings days. Upon the expelling of this George Browne, all the temporalities belonging to the archbishoprick were disposed of unto Thomas Lockwood, then Dean of Christ-church in Dublin; it having been an ancient custom ever, upon the translation, or death of any of these archbishops, to deposit the temporalities into the hands of the priors formerly of that cathedral, when it was a priory, and called by the cathedral of the Blessed Trinity: And it is observable, the last prior became the first dean, upon the alteration as aforesaid.

The see of Dublin, after this expulsion, lay vacant for two years or thereabouts, until Hugh Corrin, alias Corwin, was placed therein:

This Hugh was born in Westmoreland, a doctor of the law, being formerly Archdeacon of Oxford, and Dean of Hereford: he was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin in the cathedral of St. Paul's in London, on the eighth of September, Anno 1555. He after, upon the thirteenth of the same month, was by Queen Mary, made Chancellor of Ireland; and, upon the twenty-fifth of the said September, he received this letter from the Queen, directed to Thomas Lockwood, the Dean of Christ-church, it being an ancient custom formerly, to recommend the archbishop, whensoever constituted for that see, to the prior of that said cathedral.

Queen Mary's Letter to the Dean and Chapter of Christ-Church in Dublin, to receive the Archbishop of Dublin honourably, and with due respect.

Copia vera, ex Libro nigro Sanctæ Trinitatis Dublinii.

'*To our trusty and well-beloved the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral* '*of Christ-church, within our realm of Ireland.*

MARY THE QUEEN,

'Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well; and forasmuch as the 'Right Reverend Father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved Coun-'sellor the Archbishop of Dublin, being lately chosen for that see, re-'paireth speedily to that our realm of Ireland, as well to reside upon 'the cure of his bishoprick, which now of long time hath been destitute 'of a catholick bishop, as also to occupy the office of our high chancel-'lor of that our realm; albeit we have good hopes ye will in all 'things of yourselves, carry yourselves towards him, as becometh you; 'yet, to the intent he might the better govern the charge committed 'unto him, to the honour of Almighty God, and for the remain of our 'service, we have thought fit to require and charge you, that for your 'part ye do reverently receive him, honour, and humbly obey him in 'all things, as appertaineth to your duties tending to God's glory, our 'honour, and the commonweal of that our realm; whereby ye shall 'please God, and do us acceptable service.

'Given under our signet at the mannor of Greenwich, the twenty-'fifth of September, in the second and third years of our reign.'

I have here inserted this letter, upon two accounts: First, as being a record remaining in the cathedral: Secondly, because there hath been some discourse of late, whether the Archbishop of Dublin had power herein, or whether it was upon King Henry's mutation made a deanery, as Whitehall Chapel is, and no cathedral; but, by this letter, it shews it is both still a cathedral, and subject to the Archbishop of Dublin.

George Browne lived not long after the consecration of this Hugh Corwin; yet I have, amongst my manuscripts, a writing of a papist, who would fain have persuaded the world, that this George Browne died through joy, having had a bull from the pope to be restored to his see of Dublin, which must needs be false, upon this account of Sir James

Ware, who writeth these very words of him in his book, entitled *De Præsulibus Hiberniæ*. pag. 120, 1554, *Circa tempus Georgius Browneus (quod conjugatus esset) per Dowdallum Archiepiscopum Armachanum & alios Delegatos exauthoritatus est*, otherwise the pope, if he had granted such a Bull, must likewise have dispensed with his marriage, it being contrary to the Romish tennets for bishops to marry. Having related thus much of George Browne, and of ecclesiastical matters, during his life, we shall proceed a little further concerning a short sermon of his, preached unto the people in Christ-church, upon the first Sunday after Easter, Anno 1551, being a copy of the same given to Sir James Ware, knight, by Anthony Martin, late Bishop of Meath, who formerly was tutor to the said Sir James Ware, when he was a student of Trinity College, Dublin.

THE TEXT, Psal. cxix. ver. 18.

Open mine eyes, that I may see the wonders of thy law.

The wonders of the Lord God have for a long time been hid from the children of men, which hath happened by Rome's not permitting the common people to read the Holy Scriptures; for to prevent you, that you might not know the comfort of your salvation, but to depend wholly on the Church of Rome, they will not permit it to be in any tongue but in the Latin, saying that Latin was the Roman tongue. But the wonderful God inspired the holy apostles with the knowledge of all languages, that they might teach all people in their proper tongue and language; which caused our wise King Henry, before his death, to have the Holy Scriptures transcribed into the English tongue, for the good of his subjects, that their 'eyes may be opened to behold the wondrous things out of the law of the Lord.' But there are false prophets at this instant, and will be to the end of the world, that shall deceive you with false doctrines, expounding this text, or that, purposely to confound your understandings, and to lead you captive into a wilderness of confusion, whom you shall take as your friends, but they shall be your greatest enemies, speaking against the tenents of Rome, and yet be set on by Rome; these shall be a rigid people, full of fury and envy.

But, to prevent these things that are to come, observe Christ and his apostles: 'Let all things he done with decency, with mildness, and in order;' fervently crying unto God, 'Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold the wondrous things out of thy law:' then should you rightly keep the law and the prophets. It is the part of a prince to be wise, for he hath a great charge to rule and govern a nation. Your late king foreseeing Rome and her pope' intentions, how that he intended to inslave his subjects, and to keep them in the state of ignorance, consulted with the learned of his realm, knowing that youth might quickly be wrought on; therefore he prepared, before his death, a wise and learned sort of counsellors for his son's overseers; not trusting to one or two, but to several, that he might the better rule his people; whose eyes the Lord God Almighty hath opened betimes, to behold his wondrous works.

Though the words of my text be plainly thus *(open thou mine eyes)* the meanest of you that hear me have eyes, but the true meaning of the words is, endue us with understanding; for a fool hath eyes, and sees men, women, beasts, birds, and other things, but yet wants understanding: so, when we say, *open thou our eyes*, we desire the Lord God to instruct and teach us the knowledge of his laws.

When you were lately led in blindness, your eyes beheld the images that then stood in several of the monasteries and churches, until they were removed: yet all this while were your understandings blinded, because ye believed in them, and placed your trust in them.

Suppose an artist or workman make an image either of man or woman, and at last a clergyman of Rome give it such a name, calling it St. Peter, or St. Paul, or St. Mary, or St. Anne; must not that man, though he behold his own handy-work, and knows in his heart that it was his own work, be blind, and void of reason and understanding of the law of God, and of the wondrous things that are contained in the law of the Lord? Yes, surely, he must be blind, and void of reason, and of the true faith, that would worship the same.

The workman carved the eyes, but these eyes see not; he likewise carved the ears, but they hear not; the nose, and it smells not; the mouth, and it neither breathes nor speaks; the hands, they feel not; the feet, but they stand stock still.

How therefore can your prayers be acceptable unto this image, that sees you not approaching towards it, that hears you not when you pray to it, that smells not the sweet smells, be they of myrrh or frankincense burning before it? How can it absolve you, when the mouth is not able to say, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee?' And if you place a certain sum of money in the palm of the hand of that image; come you again to-morrow, the money, it is true, shall find a customer, but the image never the wiser, who took it; and, if you desire to have it come unto you, it cannot without help; therefore the workman, that made this image, is as blind, as deaf, as dumb, and as void of sense as the image itself, and so, be ye all that put your trust in them.

Therefore of late new artificers by springs have made artificial ones, which for a certain time shall move, and ye shall believe it to be real and certain; but beware, good people, for they be but lying wonders, purposely that ye may break the law of God. And thus hath the devil devised a lying wonder, that ye may be deluded to break the law of the Lord, which is, 'Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image.' O Lord, 'open thou our eyes, our ears, and our understanding, that we may behold the wondrous things that are in thy law. The law of God is an undefiled law.' Oh! why should we be so wicked then as to defile that law, which the almighty God hath made so pure without blemish. 'Jesus came to fulfil the law, and not to abolish the law.' But there are a new fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves Jesuits, which will deceive many, who are much after the Scribes and Pharisees manner amongst the Jews; they shall strive to abolish the truths, and shall come very near to do it: for these sorts will turn themselves into several forms, with the heathen, an heathenist; with atheists, an atheist; with the Jews, a Jew; and with the reformers, a refor-

made; purposely to know your intentions, your minds, your hearts, and your inclinations, and thereby bring you at last to be like the fool that 'said in his heart there was no God.' These shall spread over the whole world, shall be admitted into the councils of princes, and they never the wiser; charming of them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts, and the secrets therein, unto them, and yet they not perceive it; which will happen from falling from the law of God, by neglect of fulfilling of the law of God, and by winking at their sins; yet in the end, God, to justify his law, shall suddenly cut off this society even by the hands of those who have most succoured them, and made use of them; so that at the end they shall become odious to all nations: They shall be worse than Jews, having no resting place upon earth, and then shall a Jew have more favour than a Jesuit. Now, to arm you all good Christians against these things that are to come, lest ye be led into temptation: cry unto the Lord your God, and heartily pray that he would be so merciful unto you as to 'open the eyes of your understanding, that you may behold the wonders and pleasantness that is in his law,' which God of his mercy grant that you may all do.

Thus concluding with the acts and deeds of this reverend father, we shall end with Queen Mary's designs, how she intended to have persecuted the Protestants in Ireland, but was by Providence prevented; as you shall further know by this following relation, being averred by several sufficient persons as well ecclesiastical as civil.

Queen Mary, having dealt severely with the Protestants in England, about the latter part of her reign, signed a commission for to take the same course with them in Ireland, and, to execute the same with greater force, she nominates Doctor Cole one of the commissioners, sending the commission by this Doctor, who in his journey coming to Chester, the mayor of that city, hearing that her majesty was sending a messenger into Ireland, and he being a churchman, waited on the doctor, who in discourse with the mayor taketh out of a cloke-bag a leather box, saying unto him, 'Here is a commission that shall lash the hereticks of Ireland,' calling the Protestants by that title. The good woman of the house, being well affected to the Protestant religion, and also having a brother named John Edmonds of the same, then a citizen in Dublin, was much troubled at the doctor's words; but watching her convenient time, whilst the mayor took his leave, and the doctor complimented him down the stairs, she opens the box and takes the commission out, placing in lieu thereof a sheet of paper with a pack of cards, the knave of clubs faced uppermost, wrapped up. The doctor coming up to his chamber, suspecting nothing of what had been done, put up the box as formerly. The next day, going to the water-side, wind and weather serving him, he sails towards Ireland, and landed on the seventh of October, 1558, at Dublin; then coming to the castle, the Lord Fitz-Walters, being lord deputy, sent for him to come before him and the privy-council; who coming in, after he had made a speech relating upon what account he came over, he presents the box unto the lord deputy, who causing it to be opened, that the secretary might read the commission, there was nothing save a pack of cards with the knave of clubs uppermost; which not only startled the lord deputy and council,

but the doctor, who assured them he had a commission, but knew not how it was gone. Then the lord deputy made answer, 'Let us have another commission, and we will shuffle the cards in the mean while.' The doctor being troubled in his mind went away, and returned into England; and coming to the court obtained another commission; but, staying for a wind at the water-side, news came unto him, that the queen was dead, and thus God preserved the Protestants in Ireland.

This being a copy of Richard Earl of Cork's Memorials, as also of Henry Usher, sometime Lord Primate of Armagh, being also entered amongst Sir James Ware's manuscripts, who hath often heard the late James Usher, nephew to the said Henry, and also Primate of Armagh, aver the same, and wondered that Mr. Fox had not inserted it in his Acts and Monuments. There is yet living a reverend father of the church, Henry now Lord Bishop of Meath, who can affirm this relation, from the same James Usher, late Lord Primate of all Ireland.

Upon the recalling of the Lord Fitz-Walters into England, Queen Elisabeth, who succeeded her sister, discoursing with the said lord, concerning several passages in Ireland, amongst other discourses he related the aforesaid passage that had happened in Ireland; which so delighted the queen, that her majesty sent for the good woman named Elisabeth Edmonds, but by her husband named Mattershad, and gave her a pension of forty pounds *durante vita*, for saving her Protestant subjects of Ireland.

THE

LAST SPEECH* OF MR. OLIVER PLUNKET,

TITULAR PRIMATE OF IRELAND,

WHO WAS EXECUTED AT TYBURN,

ON FRIDAY THE FIRST OF THIS INSTANT JULY, 1681.

WRITTEN BY HIS OWN HAND.

London, printed by N. Thompson, 1681. Folio, containing four pages.

I Have, some few days past, abided my trial at the King's Bench, and now very soon I must hold up my hand at the King of Kings Bench, and appear before a judge, who cannot be deceived by false witnesses, or corrupted allegations: for he knoweth the secrets of hearts: Neither can he deceive any, or give an unjust sentence, or be misled by respect of persons; he being all goodness, and a most just judge, will infallibly decree an eternal reward for all good works, and condign punishment for the smallest transgression against his commandments.

* This is the 436th article in the catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

Which, being a most certain and undoubted truth, it would be a wicked act, and contrary to my perpetual welfare, that I should now, by declaring any thing contrary to truth, commit a detestable sin, for which, within a very short time, I must receive sentence of everlasting damnation; after which, there is no reprieve, or hope of pardon. I will therefore confess the truth, without any equivocation, and make use of the words according to their accustomed signification; assuring you, moreover, that I am of that certain persuasion, that no power, not only upon earth, but also in heaven, can dispense with me, or give me leave to make a false protestation: and I protest, upon the word of a dying man, and as I hope for salvation, at the hands of the Supreme Judge, that I will declare the naked truth, with all candour and sincerity; and, that my affairs may be the better known to all the world.

It is to be observed, that I have been accused in Ireland of treason and præmunire, and that there I was arraigned and brought to my trial; but the prosecutors, men of flagitious and infamous lives, perceiving that I had records and witnesses, who would evidently convince them, and clearly shew my innocency, and their wickedness: they voluntarily absented themselves, and came to this city, to procure that I should be brought hither to my trial (where the crimes objected were not committed) where the jury did not know me, or the qualities of my accusers, and were not informed of several circumstances conducing to a fair trial. Here, after six months close imprisonment, or thereabouts, I was brought to the bar, the third of May, and arraigned for a crime, for which I was before arraigned in Ireland: a strange resolution! a rare fact, of which you will hardly find a precedent these five-hundred years past: but, whereas my witnesses and records were in Ireland, the Lord Chief Justice gave me five weeks time, to get them brought hither: but by reason of the uncertainty of the seas, of wind and weather, and of the difficulty of getting copies of records, and bringing many witnesses from several counties in Ireland, and for many other impediments (of which affidavit was made) I could not at the end of the five weeks, get the records and witnesses brought hither; I therefore begged for twelve days more, that I might be in a readiness for my trial, which the Lord Chief Justice denied; and so I was brought to my trial, and exposed, as it were, with my hands tied, to those merciless perjurors, who did aim at my life, by accusing me of these following points:

First, that I have sent letters by one Nial O Neale, who was my page, to Monsieur Baldeschi, the pope's secretary; to the Bishop of Aix, and to Principe Colonna, that they might sollicit foreign powers to invade Ireland; and also to have sent letters to Cardinal Bullion to the same effect.

Secondly, to have employed Captain Con O Neale, to the French King for succour.

Thirdly, to have levied and exacted monies from the clergy of Ireland, to bring in the French, and to maintain seventy-thousand men.

Fourthly, to have had in a readiness seventy-thousand men, and lists made of them, and to have given directions to one Friar Duffy to

make a list of two-hundred and fifty men, in the parish of Foghart, in the county of Lowth.

Fifthly, to have surrounded all the forts and harbours of Ireland, and to have fixed upon Carlingford, as a fit harbour, for the French's landing.

Sixthly, to have had several councils and meetings, where there was money allotted for introducing the French.

Finally, that a meeting, in the county of Monaghan, some ten or twelve years past, there were three-hundred gentlemen of three several counties, to wit, Monaghan, Cavan, and Armagh; whom I did exhort to take arms, to recover their estates.

To the first, I answer, that Nial O Neale was never my servant or page, and that I never sent letter or letters by him to Monsieur Baldeschi, or the Bishop of Aix, or to Principe Colonna. And I say, that the English translation of that pretended letter, produced by the Friar Macmoyer, is a mere invention of his, and never penned by me, or its original, either in English, Latin, Italian, or any other language. I affirm moreover, that I never wrote letter or letters to Cardinal Bullion, or any of the French King's ministers; neither did any, who was in that court either speak to me, or write to me, directly or indirectly, of any plot or conspiracy against my king or country. Farther, I vow that I never sent agent or agents to Rome, or to any other court, about any civil or temporal affairs: And it is well known, for it is a precept publickly printed, that clergymen, living in countries, where the Government is not of Roman Catholicks, are commanded by Rome, not to write to Rome, concerning any civil or temporal affairs. And I do aver, that I never received letter or letters from the pope or from any other of his ministers making the least mention of any such matters: so that the Friars Macmoyer and Duffy swore most falsly, as to such letter or letters, agent or agents.

To the second, I say that I never employed Captain Con O Neal to the French king, or to any of his ministers; and that I never wrote to him, or received letters from him; and that I never saw him but once, nor ever spoke to him, to the best of my remembrance, ten words; and as for his being in Charlemount, or Dungannon, I never saw him in them towns, or knew of his being in those places: so that as to Con O Neal, Tryer Mac-Moyer's depositions are most false.

To the third, I say, that I never levied any money, for a plot or conspiracy, for bringing in Spaniards or French, neither did I ever receive any upon that account, from priests or friars, as Priest Mac-Clave and Friar Duffy most untruly asserted. I assure you, that I never received from any clergyman in Ireland, but what was due to me, by ancient custom, for my maintenance, and what my predecessors, these hundred years past, were used to receive; nay, I received less than many of them. And if all that the catholick clergy of Ireland get in the year, were put in one purse, it would signify little or nothing to introduce the French, or to raise an army of seventy thousand men, which I had inlisted and ready, as Friar Mac-Moyer most falsly deposed: neither is it less untrue, what Friar Duffy attested, viz. 'That I direct-

ed him to make a list of two hundred and fifty men, in the parish of Foghart, in the county of Lowth.

To the fifth, I answer, that I never surrounded all the forts and harbours of Ireland, and that I was never at Cork, Kinsale, Bantry, Youghal, Dungarvan, or Knockfergus; and, these thirty-six years past, I was not at Limerick, Dungannon, or Wexford. As for Carlingford, I was never in it but once, and stayed not in it, above half an hour: neither did I consider the fort or haven; neither had I it in my thoughts or imagination to fix upon it, or upon any other fort or haven, for landing of French or Spaniards; and whilst I was at Carlingford (by mere chance, passing that way) Friar Duffy was not in my company, as he most falsly swore.

To the sixth, I say, that I was never at any meeting or council, where there was mention made of allotting or collecting of monies, for a plot or conspiracy; and it is well known that the catholick clergy of Ireland, who have neither lands nor revenues, and hardly are able to keep decent cloaths upon their backs, and life and soul together, can raise no considerable sum; nay cannot spare as much as would maintain half a regiment.

To the seventh, I answer, that I was never at any meeting of three hundred gentlemen in the county of Monaghan, or of any gentlemen of the three counties of Monaghan, Armagh, and Cavan, nor of one county, nor of one barony; and that I never exhorted gentleman or gentlemen either there, or in any other part of Ireland, to take arms for the recovering their estates: and it is well known that there are not, even in all the province of Ulster, three hundred Irish Roman catholicks, who had estates, or lost estates by the late rebellion: and as it is well known, all my thoughts and endeavours were for the quiet of my country, and especially of that province.

Now to be brief, as I hope for salvation, I never sent letter or letters, agent, or agents, to pope, king, prince, or prelate, concerning any plot or conspiracy against my king or country: I never raised sum or sums of money, great or small, to maintain soldier or soldiers, all the days of my life: I never knew or heard, neither did it come to my thoughts or imagination, that the French were to land at Carlingford; and I believe, there is none who saw Ireland even in a map, but will think it a mere romance; I never knew of any plotters or conspirators in Ireland but such as were notorious and proclaimed, commonly called Tories, whom I did endeavour to suppress. And as I hope for salvation, I always have been, and am intirely innocent of the treasons laid to my charge, and of any other whatsoever.

And though I be not guilty of the crimes, of which I am accused, yet I believe none came ever to this place, who is in such a condition as I am; for if I should even acknowledge, which in conscience I cannot do, because I should bely myself, the chief crimes laid to my charge, no wiseman, that knows Ireland, would believe me. If I should confess that I was able to raise seventy thousand men, in the districts of which I had care, to wit, in Ulster; nay, even in all Ireland, and to have levied and exacted monies from the Roman clergy for their maintenance, and to have prepared Carlingford, for the French's landing, all

would but laugh at me; it being well known, that all the revenues of Ireland, both spiritual and temporal, possessed by his majesty's subjects, are scarce able to raise and maintain an army of seventy thousand men. If I will deny all those crimes, as I did, and do, yet it may be that some, who are not acquainted with the affairs of Ireland, will not believe, that my denial is grounded upon truth, though I assert it, with my last breath. I dare venture farther, and affirm, 'That if these points of seventy thousand men, &c. had been sworn before any Protestant jury in Ireland, and had been even acknowledged by me, at the bar, they would not believe me, no more than if it had been deposed, and confessed by me, that I had flown in the air from Dublin to Holyhead.'

You see, therefore, what a condition I am in, and you have heard what protestations I have made of innocency, and I hope you will believe the words of a dying man; and, that you may be the more induced to give me credit, I assure you, that a great peer sent me notice, that he would save my life, if I would accuse others. But I answered, that I never knew of any conspirators in Ireland; but such, as I said before, as were publickly known outlaws: and that, to save my life, I would not falsly accuse any, nor prejudice my own soul. *Quid prodest homini*, &c. To take away any man's life, or goods, wrongfully, ill becometh any Christian, especially a man of my calling, being a clergyman of the catholick church, and also an unworthy prelate, which I do openly confess. Neither will I deny to have exercised, in Ireland, the functions of a catholick prelate, as long as there was any connivance or toleration; and by preaching, teaching, and statutes, to have endeavoured to bring the clergy, of which I had a care, to a due comportment, according to their calling; and, though thereby I did but my duty, yet some, who would not amend, had a prejudice for me, and especially my accusers, to whom I did endeavour to do good; I mean the clergymen; as for the four laymen, who appeared against me, viz. Florence Mac Moyer, the two Neals, and Hanlon, I was never acquainted with them; but you see how I am requited, and how by false oaths they brought me to this untimely death; which wicked act, being a defect of persons, ought not to reflect upon the order of St. Francis, or upon the Roman catholick clergy. It being well known, that there was a Judas among the twelve apostles, and a wicked man called Nicholas amongst the seven deacons: and even, as one of the said deacons, to wit, holy Stephen, did pray for those who stoned him to death; so do I, for those who, with perjuries, spill my innocent blood, saying, as St. Stephen did, 'O Lord, lay not this sin to them.' I do heartily forgive them, and also the judges, who, by denying me sufficient time, to bring my records and witnesses from Ireland, did expose my life to evident danger. I do also forgive all those, who had a hand in bringing me from Ireland, to be tried here, where it was morally impossible for me to have a fair trial. I do finally forgive all who did concur, directly or indirectly, to take away my life, and I ask forgiveness of all those whom I ever offended by thought, word, or deed.

I beseech the all-powerful, that his divine majesty grant our king, queen, and the Duke of York, and all the royal family, health, long

life, and all prosperity in this world, and in the next, everlasting felicity.

Now, that I have shewed sufficiently, as I think, how innocent I am of any plot or conspiracy: I would I were able, with the like truth, to clear myself of high crimes committed against the Divine Majesty's commandments, often transgressed by me, for which I am sorry with all my heart; and if I should, or could live a thousand years, I have a firm resolution, and a strong purpose, by your grace, O my God, never to offend you; and I beseech your Divine Majesty, by the merits of Christ, and by the intercession of his blessed mother, and all the holy angels and saints, to forgive me my sins, and to grant my soul eternal rest. *Miserere mei Deus*, &c. *Parce animæ*, &c. *In manus tuas*, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

To the final satisfaction of all persons, that have the charity to believe the words of a dying man: I again declare before God, as I hope for salvation, what is contained in this paper, is the plain and naked truth, without any equivocation, mental reservation, or secret evasion whatsoever; taking the words in their usual sense and meaning, as Protestants do, when they discourse with all candour and sincerity. To all which, I have here subscribed my hand,

Oliver Plunket.

THE POPE'S DREADFUL CURSE,

BEING THE FORM OF

EXCOMMUNICATION OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

TAKEN OUT OF THE

Leger-Book of the Church of Rochester, now in the Custody of the Dean and Chapter there.

WRIT BY ERNULFUS THE BISHOP.

London, printed and are to be sold by L. C. on Ludgate-Hill, 1681, Folio, containing two pages.

'BY the authority of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and 'Holy Ghost, and of the holy canons, and of the undefiled Vir-'gin Mary, the mother and patroness of our Saviour, and of all the 'celestial virtues, angels, arch-angels, thrones, dominions, powers, 'cherubins, and seraphins, and of the holy patriarchs, prophets, and 'of all the apostles, and evangelists, and of the holy innocents, who in

'the sight of the holy lamb are found worthy to sing the new song, and 'of the holy martyrs, and holy confessors, and of the holy virgins, and 'of all the saints, and together with all the holy and elect of God; we 'excommunicate and anathematise him or them, malefactor or male-'factors.—And from the thresholds of the holy church of God Almighty 'we sequester them, that he or they may be tormented, disposed, and 'delivered over with Dathan and Abiram, and with those who say unto 'the Lord God, 'Depart from us, we know not thy ways.' And, as 'fire is quenched with water, so let the light of him, or them, for ever-'more, unless it shall repent him or them, and they make satisfaction. 'Amen.

'May the Father, who created man, curse him or them. May the 'Son, who suffered for us, curse him or them. May the Holy Ghost, 'who was given to us in our baptism, curse him or them. May the 'holy cross, which Christ for our salvation, triumphing over his enemy, 'ascended, curse him or them. May the holy and eternal Virgin 'Mary, mother of God, curse him or them. May St. Michael, the 'advocate of holy souls, curse him or them. May all the angels and 'archangels, principalities and powers, and all the heavenly host, curse 'him or them. May the laudable number of the patriarchs and pro-'phets, curse him or them. May St. John, the chief forerunner and 'baptist of Christ, curse him or them. May St. Peter, and St. Paul, 'and St. Andrew, and all other Christ's apostles, together with the rest of 'his disciples, and the four evangelists, who by their preaching converted 'the universal world, curse him or them. May the holy and wonder-'ful company of martyrs and confessors, who by their holy works are 'found pleasing to God Almighty, curse him or them. May the holy 'choir of the holy virgins, who for the honour of Christ have despised 'the things of the world, curse him or them. May all the saints, who, 'from the beginning of the world to everlasting ages, are found to be 'the beloved of God, curse him or them. May the heavens and earth, 'and all the holy things remaining therein, curse him or them.'

'May he or they be cursed, wherever he or they be, whether in their 'house, or in their field, or in the highway, or in the path, or in the 'wood, or in the water, or in the church. May he or they be cursed 'in living, in dying, in eating, in drinking, in being hungry, in being 'thirsty, in fasting, in sleeping, in slumbering, in waking, in walking, 'in standing, in sitting, in lying, in working, in resting, in pissing, in 'shitting, and in bloodletting. May he or they be cursed in all the 'faculties of their body. May he or they be cursed inwardly and out-'wardly. May he or they be cursed in the hair of his or their head. 'May he or they be cursed in his or their brain. May he or they be 'cursed in the top of his or their head, in their temples, in their fore-'head, in their ears, in their eye-brows, in their cheeks, in their jaw-'bones, in their nostrils, in their fore-teeth or grinders, in their lips, in 'their throat, in their shoulders, in their wrists, in their arms, in their 'hands, in their fingers, in their breast, in their heart, and in all the 'interior parts to their very stomach; in their reins, in the groin, in 'the thighs, in the genitals, in the hips, in the knees, in the legs, in the 'feet, in the joints, and in the nails. May he or they be cursed in all

'their joints from the top of the head, to the sole of the foot. May 'there not be any soundness in him or them.

'May the Son of the living God, with all the glory of his majesty, 'curse him or them; and may heaven, with all the powers which move 'therein, rise against him or them, to damn him or them, unless it 'shall repent him or them, or that he or they shall make satisfaction. 'Amen. Amen. So be it.'

A LETTER FROM PARIS

FROM SIR GEORGE WAKEMAN TO HIS FRIEND SIR W. S.

IN LONDON.

Printed for T. B. in the year 1681, folio, containing two pages.

DEAR SIR,

I Cannot but wonder at your confidence, in staying in England among the national Bedlam of resolute hereticks; for I think the people are all mad, and resolve to question the integrity of the saints, since they have impeached the justice. I hear with great trouble that you have got your *quietus est*, and have left the woolpack, and thrown from your shoulders that great grievance of the nation, justice. You are no longer mounted like Rhadamanthus on the bench, weighing the very essence of all causes to a mite, in the golden balance of judgement. I should have taken you for justice herself, but they say she is blind; and I am sure you can see (as the old homely proverb has it) 'which side your bread is buttered on.' Let every one speak as they find, I am sure you dealt justly by me, for I protest I am as innocent as the child that is unborn, and have been acquitted by the law, and therefore, if I pleased, might return to England; but I have several reasons, best known to myself, for my staying on this side the water. But, Morblew, it is not to plot; I leave that to the Jesuits, who are a sort of people I have nothing to do with. I cannot but remember your former kindness, and, having no other means, as the French proverb has it, '*Je vous paye en Monnoye de Cordelier*,' I will pay you with thanks and prayers; and I hope to see you again triumphant with the purse in your hand: but, in the mean time, I invite you to Paris; I think it would be a great deal of prudence to shun the storm that is like to blow from Oxford, about the twenty-first of March next, as I find predicted by several judicious astrologers. Here you will be out of harm's way, and who knows but you may become at Paris as famous for law and justice, as I am grown for physick? I am in great practice, and live like myself: I have lately purchased the receipts of Madam ———— of her heirs, at the value of three hundred pistoles, in which I have found out the quintessence of poisons, a secret I much studied all my life. I have also here met with a Jew, and a disguised Banian, who came lately out of the Great

Mogul's territories, both which have furnished me with most choice drugs, not to be had in Spain or Italy. I will shortly send you a pair of perfumed gloves, to present your enemies with; never fear the operation, the effluvia shall blast like the pestilence, and at several leagues distance. Every man according to his calling, for *medicina est scientia insalubrium*, as well as *salubrium*, and is *adjectio* and *subtractio;* to kill *secundum artem* requires as much skill, as to cure, and we are most useful either way among mortals. By Æsculapius the bearded son of Apollo, I cannot refrain excursions in my own element; but I hope you will pardon me, and for that I must enquire after the state of your body. It is my opinion, that this air will be much more agreeable to your constitution, than that of London. The spring is now coming on, and the latter end of March, or the beginning of April, will be a most seasonable time to move your body; but I beseech you, not to take any parliamentary pills; they have too much Colecinthida in them, and will work too violently; you have but a tender body, none knows so well your constitution as myself; I wish I could inspect your water; if it be bloody, it is an ill sign. I think the Spaw or the waters of Bourbon, would be proper for you. I desire you would be pleased to remember me to my old friend, with whom sometimes we used to dust it; but especially to old father J. S. you know he is a close man, and first brought us together, I wonder where he hides these dangerous times: bid him beware of the three hundred, and then let the eight thousand go whistle; you are acquainted with my cyphers: pray let me have a letter from you as soon as you can, either by the ordinary post, or by Monsieur Pritchant, whom I shortly expect, and who has orders to wait on you before he comes away. I am, Sir,

Your highly obliged Friend,
and most humble Servant, G. W.

Paris, Feb. 25, New Stile.

POSTSCRIPT.

Just as I had concluded, in comes Monsieur Pompone, my good friend, who tells me, that, though you sit not on the bench, you still stand in the cabinet; and, though you plead not at the bar, you give chamber-council. I am glad of it with all my heart; but that wise man bid me tell you, that you should lash the wheels of your chariot, they are too much oiled, and run like Jehu's, and that you use the whip of zeal, till you have jaded your horses reason and judgment, who have drawn up hill so hard, that they are become blind. He bids me also put you in mind of an Italian saying, '*Piu tosto tardi, che in fretta:*' take breath, be rather late, than do your business in haste; I advise you, therefore, to get an hold fast, that you lose not ground, such as wains have when they draw up a steep hill, that keeps them from running backward, when they are at a stand, and the horses take breath. The King of France's bitt-maker has promised me an exact pattern of a parliamentary snaffle and cavason, which I will send over to you, for I understand that the French gag, which the Earl of D. had got, is broke. This is an excellent device, I assure you, for the French king has more

than one parliament in his kingdom, and, by this means, he has made them as gentle as asses, and, without either wincing or braying, carry his edicts through all his large territories. He makes no requests; *sic volo sic jubeo*, is all the language he uses; I am much in love with his government, and may shortly send you some of his policies. Be careful of your health this spring, and have a care of changing the air, unless in France; farewell. G. W.

A VOICE FROM THE DEAD:

OR,

THE SPEECH OF AN OLD NOBLE PEER:

BEING THE EXCELLENT

ORATION OF THE LEARNED AND FAMOUS BOETIUS, TO THE EMPEROR THEODORICUS.

London, printed and sold by Richard Janeway, 1681. Quarto, containing eight pages.

SIR,

I AM not ignorant, that we are in a time, wherein it is, as it were, much easier to fly, than to speak of the state of this empire without offence to any; and that all discourse, which at this present may be framed, will ever be suspected by those, who have made even our thoughts criminal to your majesty.

Yet, must I needs say, it is a matter very hard to be silent in so great revolutions of affairs, since Nature hath not created us like crocodiles, who are said to have eyes to weep, and not a tongue to complain. I perceive we lose, as it were, all that which we have of Roman in us, and that, in this universal disaster, where all the world should strengthen their arms against violence, men are contented to do, as in thunder, every one prays the thunder-bolt may not fall upon his own house, and very little regards the danger of his neighbour: so likewise we see many senators, whose dignity ought to put into their mouths good and forcible words for the defence of justice, satisfying themselves to avoid the blow, and expecting safety in common ruins.

As for myself, I freely protest, that being born of blood which never learned to flatter any man, and seeing myself in a rank where my silence may prove injurious to the publick, since I cannot uphold liberty, already too much leaning to its ruin, I will, at least, support the image of it, and in so general a servitude, speak something, wherein I will either discharge my conscience for the present, or comfort my ashes for the time to come.

Alas! sir, when I behold you sitting upon the throne of glory, whereunto the hand of God seemeth to have raised you by a miracle, forti-

fied you by discretion, and blessed you with so many prosperities; I cannot chuse but remember, with the most tender resentments of my heart, the calms of the first years, when you took into your hand the stern of this large empire. Who ever saw divers metals so happily commixed, as we then beheld different nations united into one intire body under your authority? What consent in affections? What correspondence in all orders? What vigour in laws? What obedience in subjects? What agreement in the senate? What applause amongst the people? What policy in cities? What good fortune in arms? What blessing in all the success of your affairs?

Seemed it not, that God had affixed to your standards and edicts some secret virtue, which made the one triumph in war, and the other become prosperous in peace, with so much terror and reputation, that even things opposite of their own nature, knit themselves firmly together for your benefit?

O, sir! what is become of that golden face of your government? who hath metamorphosed it into this leaden visage? perhaps, you thought it was a part of the greatness of your majesty, to hold a senate under, to whom all the good emperors have so much ascribed, that they esteemed them as necessary for their greatness, as leaves about the rose to set out its beauty.

I could tell you, sir, how much these counsels are pernicious, were it not that the experience of the years of your reign hath taught you more than all the malignity of men can deface. If you will be pleased to call as yet to counsel your wit and understanding, which God hath replenished with so many fair and noble lights; believe me, you shall find this people is as the herb Basil, which rendereth a good savour, as it is said, when gently handled, and createth scorpions when rudely chased. Hold us in the estimation and condition, wherein you have hitherto retained us, and you shall see nothing more tractable than the Roman people; but, if you proceed with these violences, by which some daily pervert your good nature, it is to be feared, lest this severity produce not rather poison, even for those who hope out of it to derive sweetness.

Our enemies cease not to exasperate you, upon want of respect due to your majesty; and yet, God knows, we have so regarded royal authority, that seeing it in most unjust hands, where it lost its lustre, we suffered it not to lose the fruit of our obedience.

Allow, sir, the liberty, which ever hath been the most precious inheritance of this empire. You have placed men over our heads, who, to become great, and unwilling to seem any thing less than what they are, seek to smother in our miseries the baseness of their own birth, and believe the means to justify their own carriage, is to take away eyes from those who have them, and to render tongues mute, lest they may learn a truth. Now-a-days, to be born rich is to become a prey, and to arrive at government with some super-eminencies of wit, is to raise enemies; all great actions are suspected; and it seemeth, that to find safety, we must seek it either in ignorance or idleness.

We have so learned to obey, that we would not, hitherto, so much as enter into consideration of the distribution you made of your favours,

leaving them more free, than are the sun's rays, and contenting us to honour the character of your majesty, as well on rocks, as marbles and silver. But now, when we see the precious interests of the kingdom, in hands less pure than we wish, what else can we do in so publick a calamity, but here most humbly remonstrate that which the subtle dissemble, the miserable suffer, the good deplore, and even the very stones relate?

Where is the time, Sir, when we heard those noble words to proceed from your mouth, that the flock may be sheared, not flayed; that a body overcharged sunk to the ground; that there was no tribute comparable to the precious commodities derived from the love of subjects. Now, all the cities and countries bewail the rigorous concussions they feel, to satisfy, with their sweat and blood, the avarice of some particulars, who are, notwithstanding, as greedy as fire, and more insatiable than the abyss.

I exasperate not here our miseries, by an amplification of words. I have, Sir, made you to see, when you pleased to hear me in your cabinet, the tears of provinces, which softened your heart to compassion, and opened your hands to liberality; so that if your good affections be not altered by some, you are capable enough to discharge heaven of all promises, which it hath made unto us, by the happiness of your empire.

Unseal those eyes, which you so often have opened for the comfort of your poor subjects, and in what part soever you turn them, you shall behold nothing but miseries. Is it not a strange thing, that slaves being sometimes sold to courteous masters, sweeten the sharpness of their condition by some gentle usage, and that there should be none, but the people of Rome, who yearly buy out their bondage? None but the people of Rome, who were made accountable for the goods pulled from them, and tributary for the shipwreck of their poverty?

From thence the way is taken to the oppression of magistrates, and some are persuaded, that, thoroughly to mow the meadow, you must humble the heads of plants most eminent. Paulinus is dispoiled, Albinus is guilty of treason: They are culpable enough, since they are rich and powerful. It is said, there can be no safety found but in their disgrace: and who seeth not, that these proceedings tend to the ruin of that most noble body, which almost thirty years maintained your royal crown?

But, alas! Sir, if we exclaim against witches, who poison fountains, how can we be silent, seeing endeavour is used to invenom the soul of the prince, who is the source of all counsels, to the end we may hereafter find poison, where we hope for remedies?

Sir, only behold and imitate yourself, reassume that spirit, which made you reign in our hearts, as well as in your provinces: Distinguish flatterers from true friends; hearken to those, whose loyalty you have known in the success of so many prosperities.

Remember yourself, that you were made to reign over men, not as a man, but as the law; to bear your subjects in your bosom, and not

trample them under foot; to teach by example, and not constrain by force; to be a father of citizens, and not a master of slaves.

Remember yourself, kings are given by heaven, for the use of people, and that they ought not to have so much regard to the extent of their power, as not to consider the measure of their obligations. Handle the matter so, that the greatness of your majesty may appear in its goodness; and that this word, which you heretofore had in your mouth, may stick eternally in your heart, when you said, 'A good prince ought not to fear any thing so much, as to be too much feared.'

Boetius, who made this oration, was author of that incomparable philosophical discourse, De Consolatione, being consul of Rome, under the said Theodoricus, the first emperor of the Gothish race, about the year of our Lord 500. And this speech was first published long since in Causin's Holy Court, fol. 290. in these very words, as any person may find, that pleases to examine it. But *Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit*, the upshot of the business was, that the emperor was much offended at this his freedom; and, being spurred on by his three mischievous favourites, Trigilla, Congiastus, and Cyprianus, first banished, and afterwards murdered the wise and faithful Boetius, who had served him many years with an intire and irreproachable loyalty. And soon after Theodoricus himself died distracted, and the empire, in a very few years, was snatched from his successor, by the victorious arms of Justinian, emperor of Constantinople.

THE HONOUR AND COURAGE OF OUR ENGLISH PARLIAMENTS,

IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELISABETH,

OF EVER BLESSED MEMORY,

IN DEFENDING OF HER, AND THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

Expressed in some of the preambles of the acts for subsidies, granted to that famous princess.

Post tot———
Tendimus in Latium?

That man who doth not defend his religion and country, having the law on his side, will, either through slavish fear, or for base interest, when times change, most certainly give up, and sacrifice both.

London, printed for John Wickins, at the White-Hart, against St. Dunstan's Church, in Fleet-Street, 1681. Quarto, containing twenty-four pages.

An Act of a Subsidy, with two Fifteenths and Tenths granted by the Temporalty.*

THE certain knowledge and perfect sense, which we your majesty's most humble subjects have and feel, of the great felicity which

* Rastall's Stat. 5. Eliz. c. 27.

since your reign we hitherto have enjoyed, and now presently do enjoy, far beyond all other nations, our neighbours; yea, much augmented to our happiness, having regard to the former troublesome times amongst ourselves; doth vehemently press and inforce us, first and principally, with all our hearts and souls, to acknowledge our most bounden duty to Almighty God, the King of Kings, for his excellent, singular, and divine goodness, shewed to us his creatures, in preserving for our safety, after so many storms, your royal princely person our most gracious queen, and in guiding and directing the same for our happiness, in so happy an age, thus happily, quietly, and providently to govern us his people committed to your charge: And next for the same great benefits bestowed upon us by his merciful goodness, and through your majesty's person and regimen, to offer ourselves most ready, with all obeysance and loyalty, to serve, and most humbly to obey your majesty, as God's immediate minister on earth, and supreme governor over us, to the uttermost of our power and end of our lives. And furthermore, considering with ourselves, and beholding manifestly with our lives, the many notable, beneficial, and princely acts done by your majesty, with the assent of God's favour, in these few years, for the weal and surety of this your realm.

First, in restoring us to the favour, knowledge, and true service of Almighty God, by restoration into this Church of England of a sincere, uniform rule and order in Christian religion, by delivery of us and our consciences, from a foreign, unnatural tyranny and power, notwithstanding the many and great threatenings of worldly power to the contrary.

Next, by reducing this your realm, and all other your dominions, from war, wherein you found it, to peace with your neighbours: which two godly acts your majesty did accomplish immediately at your first entry to this your crown.

Thirdly, by the evident delivery of this realm from the great and manifest intended invasions, conspired and prepared by strangers (the ancient enemies of this realm) joining therewith the princely and upright preservation of the liberty of the next realm and nation of Scotland, from imminent captivity and desolation, and so without any bloody battle, most providently, though chargeable, delivering the force of the enemy intended against this realm to their reproof.

Fourthly, by repairing, storing, inriching, building, and reinforcing, this your realm, with the worthiest treasures of armour, ammunition, and all kind of provisions, offensive and defensive for war, and of a princely navy of ships for the service and defence of this your country, and us your people.

And next thereto, as it were in a time almost desperate and doubtful, for the weight of the matter, by converting of the loathsome, and vile, great, and long-grown bulk of copper and counterfeit monies, eating and daily consuming the honour and wealth of this realm, like a canker, into treasures only of gold and silver monies, without having any piece of copper money current in this realm, a singular pre-eminence above all countries in Christendom.

And, lastly, by a most provident and seasonable enterprise, now taken in hand this year, being thereto necessarily provoked (besides the foresight for safety of your own realm) for the defence also of your majesty's tender young brother, and next neighbour, the French King; being forcibly governed against his laws and liberty, by reason of the ambition of certain of his uncontented subjects, being not disposed to live as subjects in quietness, as the experience of them towards this realm hath also proved: and consequently, in this enterprise, your majesty not forgetting the just and seasonable recovery of an ancient portion of this your crown, lately and unfortunately spoiled and broken off. And we also taking and sensibly feeling, from the highest of us to the lowest, through all degrees, places, and times, an universal and most blessed fruit of justice, both for our lives, lands, goods, and behaviour, without exception of persons, to the inestimable, yea, and unaccustomed comfort and joy of all your good and faithful subjects, and to the singular recommendation of your majesty's happiness to all posterity, being hitherto never compelled to tax or reprehend, much less to draw blood of any person for any offence to your majesty's royal person (a blessedness never enjoyed so long by any of your progenitors, to our knowledge:) Which princely and notable acts, with many others not here for length to be rehearsed, have been, and, for continuance thereof, must needs be so burdenous and chargeable to your majesty, that, though we cannot indeed find an example of any one meet present or gift, by name of subsidy, or any other relief or aid granted to any of your progenitors, sufficient to recompense and acquit some one of these your many princely and notable acts, or the charges therein sustained; yet we, meaning, and freely of ourselves intending, according to our bounden duties, to make some kind of declaration, specification, and recognition of our great debts of service to your majesty, being not able to make any full satisfaction, as your majesty's most humble, obedient, and loving subjects, humbly on our knees, beseech your highness, that at this time, instead of satisfaction for our great debts due for your princely demerits and charges, our small gift may not be measured with your acts, or with our own debts to your majesty, but, of your accustomed clemency, accepted jointly with the treasure of our humble, infinite, and unmeasurable thoughts and intentions of our hearts towards your majesty; and that, for the acceptation thereof, it may be, by your highness, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, enacted as followeth:

*An Act * of one Fifteenth and Tenth, and one Subsidy, granted by the Temporalty.*

We your majesty's most humble subjects, meaning, according to our most bounden duties, to present unto your majesty, by way of subsidy, some relief for the great extraordinary charges sustained in the defence of your majesty's dominions and countries against sundry dangerous at-

* Anno 8 Elis. Cap. 18. Rastal.

tempts, cannot forbear but, with all humbleness, most thankfully to set before the same our most lowly thanks for three special matters proceeding from your majesty, to our benefit, joy, and comfort, in this present assembly.

First, for the most princely consideration had of us, in the forbearing at this time some portion of that, which, according to the greatness and necessity of your affairs, we of duty meant and intended to have yielded unto your majesty.

Secondly, for the most comfortable assurance and promise, by your majesty made and declared unto us, that, for our weal and surety, your majesty would marry as soon as God should give you opportunity to accomplish the same; whereof we have received infinite comfort, and shall pray to Almighty God to further and prosper all your majesty's actions tending thereunto, that we your most natural subjects may speedily see some noble issue of your body, to continue perpetually by descent the succession of this imperial crown.

Thirdly, for the great hope and comfort we have conceived, by the means of your majesty's most honourable speech uttered and declared unto us, of your majesty's most gracious and princely disposition, and determination, when time shall thereunto serve conveniently, with the surety of your majesty's person, and the weal and tranquillity of your realm, to have due regard to the further establishing of the succession of your imperial crown, as law and justice shall require the same, after the succession of the issue of your body. In which your gracious disposition and care for us, we most humbly beseech Almighty God to continue your majesty, and to prosper your intentions and actions, to establish that, which, with assent of your realm in parliament, may be agreeable and consonant to law and justice, and to remain to all ages hereafter inviolable, and to the praise, honour, and memory of your majesty and yours perpetually; and that, touching the grant of your said subsidy, it may be enacted in manner and form following:

An Act for the Grant of one Subsidy, and two Fifteenths and Tenths, by the Temporalty.*

We your majesty's most obedient, humble, faithful, and loving subjects, being here in your most high court of parliament assembled, cannot, but at your first meeting and consultation, enter into due consideration of the great charges your highness hath sustained, not only in seeking, by way of prevention, to stop such foreign attempts as otherwise, not provided for, might have been made very dangerous against this your highness's realm, and us your subjects (which hath not, and, as we well consider, could not be performed, without the employment, divers ways, of some great portion of treasure) but especially hath been now of late put to an infinite charge, both by sea and by land, in the prosecution of certain evil affected members of your highness's realm of Ireland, that most disloyally, unnaturally entered into actual rebellion, with a manifest intent to shake off the subjection

* Anno 23 Eliz. Cap. 15. Rastal.

and obedience, that, by the laws of God and man, they are bound to yield: And in as much as in them was to deprive and bereave the crown of that realm, from this your imperial crown of England, to which it hath been so many years joined and annexed, and that principally, by the procurement of the Bishop of Rome, enemy to God, your majesty, and to all this your realm, not without the countenance and help of some other great and mighty potentates, his adherents: Although Almighty God, of his goodness, hath hitherto given your majesty victory, and diverted the attempts, making them vain and fruitless.

And, therefore, these things by us considered, we cannot, but with all dutifulness, if we did consider the charges past, without regard of the necessity to withstand future attempts, but present unto your majesty our readiness, yielding unto your highness some liberal contribution: But when we enter into further consideration, First, how the fire, kindled in that your highness's realm of Ireland, is not yet quenched, whereby your majesty is forced, to your infinite charges, as well to subdue the evil affected of that realm, as also to impeach the foreign assistance, that by common report, and especially by sollicitation of sundry traytors that were naturally born subjects to this, and that your crown of Ireland, but unnaturally are broken off, and become monstrous rotten members, is preparing to repair thither, to continue great forces in pay, as well by sea as by land.

Secondly, what advertisements and forewarnings come, as it were, from all parts of Christendom, of an intended invasion, not only against your said realm of Ireland, but against the rest of your majesty's realms and dominions.

And, lastly, what practices are lately set a-broach, and in part put in execution, to breed a divorce and alienation of the good amity that hath been between your majesty and your next neighbour, which, if the same should take place, cannot but be an occasion of great expences and charges.

Therefore, upon view of the premisses, considering the great and most necessary charges already past, by your highness sustained, and greater like to ensue (if we were so ingrate as to forget the great benefits that we have received through the goodness of Almighty God, under your majesty's most blessed and happy government, as the like was never enjoyed by any subjects of this land) cannot, but in regard of our own particular safeties, strain ourselves, to the utmost of our power, to yield such contribution, as the preservation of your most excellent majesty, and of ourselves, your most humble subjects, doth most justly require.

And, therefore, to shew ourselves, as well thankful towards your majesty, as careful to provide that which may be for our own safety, do, with all humility, present unto your highness a subsidy, and two fifteenths and tenths, towards your highness's great charges.

An Act for the Grant of one intire Subsidy and two Fifteenths and Tenths granted by the Temporalty.*

Considering with ourselves, most gracious sovereign, what infinite charges your highness hath been driven to sustain, besides your continual princely care to prevent and withstand the sundry most dangerous practices and enterprises of long time devised, and from time to time continually pursued and put in practice by that capital enemy unto God and your majesty, who, for maintenance of his usurped authority, and to suppress the true Christian religion, professed within your majesty's realms of England and Ireland, hath, by all means to him possible, provoked and stirred up others of great power, to do what they can, for the utter ruinating of the former happy estates of both the same realms, which through the assistance of the Almighty, and by your majesty's great care, and politick foresight, hath been hitherto, and by God's grace hereafter, still shall be sufficiently and effectually provided for and defended: And understanding also, that, at this present, there are very great preparations made and making in foreign parts both for sea and land, of intentions to invade your majesty's realms and dominions, to the great danger of all your good and faithful subjects: And weighing with ourselves, how providently these their like intentions have been hitherto prevented and frustrate, and the inward peace of your realm longer continued, than ever was in any time of your progenitors, and how necessarily great quantity of your treasure hath been expended in maintenance of the said peace, and what dangerous effects would follow, if, by God's goodness, and some politick means, the same course should not be continued, and these intended invasions withstood without delay, which we manifestly see can in no wise be done or performed, without a continual and inestimable charge: We, therefore, your majesty's most loyal and obedient subjects, having in all duty, for God's honour, your majesty's safety, and our own surety and liberty, as it behoveth us, due consideration of the premisses, should shew ourselves not only most unthankful for so many, and for so inestimable benefits, so long time received by God's goodness; using your majesty as his special distributer of the same in your princely and careful government of us, but also utterly careless, yea, willfully contemners of our own quiet and safety, if we should not make offer to yield unto your majesty (besides the service of our bodies naturally due to be bestowed in defence of our common mother and country) some contribution of our lands and goods to the uttermost of our ability, and that in a better manner, and more agreeable to the truth of our meaning, where the same ought of right to be yielded, than hath been seen and executed in many places amongst the richer sort for like contribution, by corruption, or great negligence of them, to whom the special care thereof was committed.

* Rastal's Stat. 29 Eliz. Cap. 8.

An Act for the Grant of two intire Subsidies, and four Fifteenths and Tenths, granted by the Temporalty.*

Most gracious sovereign, when we enter into due consideration of the most princely provident sort of government, which your most excellent majesty hath hitherto held, even since your first entry into the possession of this crown, in preserving this realm in a perpetual peace and quietness, free from all foreign invasions, notwithstanding the sundry attempts, as well by open great forces many times prepared, and bent against the realm, as by continual practices, conspiracies, and plots laid by your highness's enemies abroad, and by rebels at home, which manifestly tended, not only to the interruption of the happy peace and repose of us, your humble subjects, and this your highness's realm, and other your dominions, but also to the utter subversion thereof, and ruin of the same. In all which your majesty's most noble actions, we have seen a most notable natural disposition of your majesty, at no time to have attempted, by invasion of any your enemies countries, to have possessed the same; as your majesty, we know, might many times have done very readily, and also justly, in respect of the hostile attempts so often offered, both against your own royal person, and your dominions; which course we do certainly know your majesty hath followed, in respect that your continual purpose was to preserve us in a peace at home, by your provident manner of defence of your dominions and countries against open invaders: And many more like considerations and observations of your wise and happy government. We do also further consider, how the accomplishing of these your honourable and princely actions, the great and infinite charges your majesty hath sustained, and that especially the last year, in preparing and maintaining, so long time, so puissant an army by sea, besides the forces assembled by land, for the withstanding the two great and mighty armies prepared, the one in the Low Countries, and the other brought forth out of Spain, with intent by their mighty joint forces, far exceeding all others, in any memory of man, to have made a full bloody conquest of this realm, had not the same been prevented, through the singular, yea, miraculous goodness of Almighty God, and your highness's great preparations and forces in charge and puissance above all other former prepared in this realm, at any time in our memories, for the withstanding the same. We therefore, your majesty's most humble, loyal, and loving subjects, as well in regard of the humble duty we owe unto your most excellent majesty, under whose gracious and princely government, we have received so many and singular benefits, as well spiritual and temporal, as also the natural care we ought to have of our own particular preservation, having due consideration both of the puissance joined with extreme malice of your majesty's enemies, which also we have good cause to think to be increased, through the great defeat they received in their late enterprises, by them accounted invincible, cannot but present unto your excellent majesty, with all lowliness and humility, besides the

* 31 Elis. Cap. 15. Rastal.

service of our bodies, with all our worldly power, some contribution in way of subsidy, out of our lands and goods, as in part of an acknowledgment of our humble duties unto your highness, towards the bearing of some part of the great and infinite charge, your majesty hath already sustained, and is like hereafter to sustain, in the withstanding of such forcible and malicious attempts, as it is not to be doubted, but that your said enemies will do their uttermost to put in execution, with the forces and aids of all their confederates: And for that we do perceive, that the granting only of such an ordinary subsidy, to be levied as hath been commonly used in former times of smaller danger, is no wise sufficient and answerable to the unusual and great charges sustained, and to be sustained by your majesty, for these so great actions necessary to be taken in hand, to withstand such extraordinary forces, of so many mighty enemies as have been seen this last year, both by land and sea, and are by foresight in wisdom to be as greatly doubted, both this year to come, and in time following, we know not how long, unless the Almighty God shall be pleased to disappoint and make frustrate the attempts of your majesty's enemies, as at all times hitherto of his singular favour he hath done.

*An Act * for the Grant of three intire Subsidies, and six Fifteenths and Tenths, granted by the Temporalty.*

Most gracious and most excellent sovereign, it is deeply engraven in our remembrance, what puissant and mighty forces were, for some few years since, prepared and brought against this noble realm our native country, with a violent resolution to have made a full bloody conquest of this our nation, and to have reduced the same under a perpetual and miserable yoke of foreign potentates; which most perilous attempt of invasion and conquest, as it was then by the singular goodness of Almighty God, with your majesty's princely power and notable policy defeated, without any the least interruption of our inward peace, and publick security, so we have just cause to doubt, not only that those your majesty's capital and dangerous enemies continue still a settled and obstinate purpose to renew the same with greater strength and more available advantage than before, but also, that the time approacheth very near, when their such intended confederacy is like to be put in effect and execution; for entering into due consideration, both of such things as we may of ourselves reach to observe and discern, and principally of those high and great matters of state, which your majesty in a most gracious trust, and favourable confidence towards us, vouchsafed to open and impart unto us, touching the projects and plots of the same your enemies, as we do infinitely acknowledge your majesty's most prudent and watchful foresight; so we do evidently perceive that the enemies of your highness, and this state, do not only pursue a determinate course, as much as they may, to impoverish your crown and realm, by intercepting the traffick of your merchants, but are far proceeded in very great practices and malicious enterprises, for

* 35 Eliz. Cap. 13. Rastal.

the ruining and supplanting of your confederates in France, and Scotland, and for the getting into their possession, or at least to be at their devotion, the most commodious and fit places and pieces whence to offend and invade your majesty's dominions; so that looking into the depth of these apparent and imminent dangers, with loyal and zealous hearts to your majesty, and natural affection to our flourishing country, we rest persuaded, that such extraordinary remedy is needful to be provided, as may in some sort be proportionable to the peril. And further, we see, and with unfeigned thanks do acknowledge, that your majesty's magnanimity, and most rare incomparable benignity towards us, is such, that having to deal in these your long continuing wars with the greatest lords of treasure of the world, and making only a defensive war for our quiet and prosperous preservation, and being of your highness's own inclination a most moderate dispenser of treasure; your majesty hath nevertheless been pleased to expend and employ a great portion of your revenue and treasure, only to spare and ease the charge of us your most bounden and loving subjects, wherein we cannot sufficiently admire the excellency of your majesty's most princely nature; and, therewithal, cannot also but continually set before our eyes the inestimable blessings, which, by your majesty's most happy government, we enjoy; the incomparable benefit of God's true religion planted and publickly professed amongst us; your majesty's unmeasurable clemency in the execution of your laws; your wonderful providence in preserving us in this happy peace, free from any hostile invasion, notwithstanding the might and malice of your enemies; and many more notable and unspeakable benefits which have accompanied your majesty's most flourishing times, besides the great and perpetual honour which it hath pleased God to give your majesty abroad, in making you the principal support of all just and religious causes against usurpers: so that this island hath, in your majesty's days, been as a stay and sanctuary to distressed states and kingdoms, and as a bulwark against the tyrannies of mighty and usurping potentates. We therefore, calling to fresh memory these your majesty's most rare and extraordinary benefits, and weighing with ourselves the present important necessity, and foreseeing the flame of those great miseries, whereinto, from so great blessings, we might fall without good and timely provision; and particularly descending into consideration, both what an high proportion of charge your majesty doth presently sustain in your dominions and countries, far above any of your majesty's noble progenitors, besides the great succours in France and Flanders, which we do conceive to be most honourable, in regard of the ancient leagues, the justice and equity of them, and also how meet and convenient it is, that your majesty be further furnished with treasure for our defence; we have thought it our bounden duty, at this time, most willingly and readily to offer, not only this extraordinary subsidy, but also, like good and loyal subjects, do prostrate our lives and services to be employed at your princely commandment. And therefore, because these our doings shall remain in perpetual record, to the view of all posterities hereafter, we most humbly beseech your most excellent majesty, that with your gracious favour

we may testify and express, that our intention is, that this which we have now done upon so extraordinary and urgent a necessity, to so good and gracious a princess, be not drawn a precedent for the times to come. And therefore we do here, with the most dutiful humility we possibly may, present unto your most sacred majesty three intire subsidies, and six fifteenths and tenths, towards your highness's great charges for our defence.

*An Act * for the Grant of three intire Subsidies, and six Fifteenths and Tenths, granted by the Temporalty.*

Most excellent and most gracious sovereign, the sense and natural feeling of the singular and inestimable benefits, which we your majesty's loyal and loving subjects, by the rare and particular providence of God, do enjoy under your most happy and politick government, daily multiplied unto us, beyond all example of former ages, ought, in itself, not only to take from us all dulness, or improvident security, but to increase more and more a vigilant jealousy of the interruption or disturbance of our present state and condition, wherein we feel so effectually the spiritual benefit of God's true religion planted and possessed amongst us, the restitution of the imperial crown of this realm to the ancient jurisdictions and pre-eminences, and the happy and inward peace of so many years continued, and joined both with clemency and justice at home, as well in the moderate pressing, or rather, in the benign remitting of infinite penalties of your laws, as in tender and compassionate relieving and restraining of all common grievances and oppressions, lighting upon the people of this land, which is become, since your majesty's most happy days, both a port and haven of refuge for distressed states and kingdoms, and a rock and bulwark of opposition, against the tyrannies and ambitious attempts of mighty and usurping potentates. This, with many more unspeakable benefits, are such as we cannot but, with all duty and devotion, lift up our hearts to God and your majesty, in all thanksgiving and acknowledgment; and also prostrate and cast down our lives, substances, and services, and whatsoever we have, to be employed at your royal commandment. But when we enter into a serious and settled consideration of our present standing, compared with the extreme fall and ruin threatened unto us, by the implacable malice and violent attempts of our mighty enemies, preparing and enterprising to make a bloody conquest of this your majesty's noble realm, our native county, and utterly to extinguish our name and nation, or to reduce the same under a miserable captivity and yoke of foreign servitude: we do then find the law of nature and necessity no less strong and forcible, than the bond of thankfulness and duty, to make us think all too little, that we can yield and offer for our defence and preservation. And lastly, when we do behold the rare and wonderful felicity, wherewith it hath pleased Almighty God to bless, from time to time, your majesty's most prudent and provident councils, and the executions of them, in the

* 39 Eliz. Cap. 27. Rastal.

breaking, disappointing, and diverting of so many hostile attempts, which have been still intended and offered against this realm: and when we do fall into the particular examination, how infinitely your majesty's proper treasures have been exhausted, since we had any opportunity in this sort to yield your majesty any actual demonstration of our zeals and duties, not only by your majesty's maintenance of extraordinary armies in Ireland, to suppress that unnatural rebellion, fed by the King of Spain, and by continuance of assistance to the French king, and the Low Countries: but also, by setting forth, both royally and providently, at sundry times, your majesty's navy and army to the seas, even in the times, when all things were at the highest prices. By which your majesty's royal care and charge, all such miseries, as are inseparable from all foreign invasions, have been deferred and delivered from us your loving subjects, and, with no small terror and confusion, reverberated on their own necks, whilst we at home have enjoyed all peace and tranquillity: and when we make further observation by that light, which your most excellent majesty, in a most gracious trust and confidence, hath vouchsafed to give us, by letting us not only know, how far onward their most dangerous attempts against this kingdom had proceeded, but also hath imparted unto us, what, to the uttermost of all his power and means, is daily laboured and contrived with all the princes or states, whom he can infest against this kingdom, upon false suggestions, thereby the easier to contrive our only ruin and destruction. We do confess, most gracious sovereign, that all these natural and necessary considerations, being duly weighed, have deeply imprinted in our hearts, both our own imminent peril, your majesty's infinite care and love towards us, for whom nothing of your own hath been too dear, and made us know and feel, that no common or ordinary remedies can be proportionable to these extraordinary, growing, and swelling mischiefs; but that it is high time for us to resolve, that, with all expedition possible, this realm must be thoroughly provided of all things, fit for maintenance of war, both by sea and land, as well by increasing and repairing of your majesty's royal navy, which is truly termed the walls of this kingdom, and wherein daily, by new preparations, the enemy doth labour and strive, if he could, to exceed your majesty; as also to provide further, that your majesty's coffers may be, in some measure, better supplied against all sudden accidents, whereof, though time must discover the particular mischiefs, yet the circumspection and foresight must only secure us from the perils: to the effecting whereof, seeing so small likelihood doth appear of any help from foreign states or princes, but that the burthen of the war, besides the assisting of others, is like to be thrown still on your majesty: we do beseech your majesty (as a pledge of our internal zeals and duties, to be further manifested hereafter, by the hazard of our lives and fortunes at all times, for your majesty's service) to vouchsafe, at this present, the gracious acceptation of these subsidies and fifteenths, proceeding from chearful and willing hearts; and because these our doings shall remain in perpetual record, to the view of all posterities hereafter, we most humbly beseech your most excellent majesty, that, with your gracious favour, we may testify and express that

our intention is, that this which we have now done upon so extraordinary and urgent a necessity, to so good and gracious a princess, be not drawn a precedent for the times to come, unless it be upon a like urgent occasion.

*An Act * for the Grant of four intire Subsidies, and eight Fifteenths and Tenths, granted by the Temporalty.*

Most gracious and most excellent sovereign, where we your majesty's humble, faithful, and loving subjects, being here, by your authority, assembled in your high court of parliament, having entered into due consideration of the great and weighty causes, which ought at this time, more than any other time, to stir up the hearts of all, that are either well-affected in religion towards God, loyalty towards you their dear sovereign, or care of their own safety, and their posterities; to consult timely, and provide effectually, for all such means, as are, or may be necessary, to preserve both you and us, from those apparent dangers, whereinto this state may fall through lack of so much care and providence as agreeth with the rules of nature, and common reason; and therefore much more to be challenged at our hands, to whom your majesty hath vouchsafed to give so great light of your inward knowledge, and judicious foresight of your enemy's implacable malice, and their dangerous plots contrived against this flourishing kingdom, which is, and long hath been, the principal obstacle against that swelling ambition, which hath so blinded their understanding, as they do not only greedily seek, but vainly hope, to attain to their unjust pretensions, coloured with false and vain pretexts and insinuations, as far from truth, as light from darkness. Forasmuch as, in time of our advised and mature deliberation, we have sufficiently perceived, how great and how inestimable charges your majesty hath sustained many years in seeking, by way of prevention, to hinder all such foreign attempts, as otherwise, not provided for, might, long since, have proved perilous to the whole estate of the commonwealth: and whereas it is apparent to all the world, that, if your majesty had not exhausted the greatest portion of your private treasures, besides all other means, derived from our dutiful affections, as well in making timely provision of all things necessary for your army and navy royal, as in maintaining and using the same, at times convenient, that we should, long before this day, have been exposed to the danger of many sudden and dangerous attempts of our enemies, and failed in all those happy successes, which have accompanied your royal actions, taken in hand, for the defence of this estate. And seeing also that, at this present time, your highness hath been put to inestimable charges, in the necessary prosecution of an unnatural rebellion, within your highness's realm of Ireland, daily fed by foreign enemies, whose actions have not only tended to the subversion of God's true religion planted amongst us, and to the bereaving of that realm from your imperial crown of England, to which it hath been so many years joined and

* 43 Eliz. Cap. 18. Rastal.

annexed, but consequently, to the ruin and spoil of this most flourishing kingdom of England; for the better effecting whereof, the King of Spain hath now openly invaded the realm of Ireland, with an army already landed in the province of Munster, having not forborn to publish the resolute purpose to usurp to himself that crown even by plain conquest, in case of resistance, though coloured with a vain pretext of an illusory donation from the see of Rome, whose usurped authority we have abandoned, as becometh all good subjects to do, that mean no less in deed, than they profess in name.

Forasmuch as we do seriously consider, that your majesty, and we your faithful and obedient subjects, are but one body politick, and that your highness is the head, and we the members, and that no good or felicity, peril or adversity, can come to the one, but the other shall partake thereof: we have thought it a matter incident to the natural care and sense we ought to feel of our present and future condition, seeing our enemies are strengthened by combination with other states, and do receive from their confederates great contributions of treasure, for advancement of this, and such like enterprises, whilst we do see, on the other side, that your majesty's expences only tend to the advancement of the true glory of God, and defence of the liberty and felicity of the imperial crown of this realm, and of the kingdoms and dominions thereof, and are neither supported by any other prince or state, nor carried on in yourself with any vain ambition, or wasteful humour of consuming the treasure of this kingdom, to offer to your majesty the disposition of such means, as God hath given us, to be employed for the preservation of God's cause, for the maintenance of your own dignity, and all such rights and titles, as be annexed to your imperial crown, being fully resolved to leave both lands and goods, and whatsoever else, that is dearest unto us, yea, and this mortal life, rather than we should suffer your royal estate to be in any part diminished, or the imperial crown of this realm deprived of any honour, title, right, or interest thereunto belonging, or suffer any foreign power to grow on further, or to continue so long unremoved, as thereby to leave them any ground to presume of good successes, either in this action now begun, or in any future enterprise, which may tend to the dishonour or peril of any of your majesty's kingdoms.

In which consideration, and many others, needless to repeat, we have thought ourselves bound in thankfulness to God for you, and to your majesty for ourselves, who feel the happiness of your gracious clemency and justice at home, under your happy and politick government, daily multiplied unto us, beyond the example of all ages, to prepare, and make not only our persons ready to withstand, resist, and subdue the force and puissance of our enemies, be they never so potent, but also to present unto you four subsidies, and eight fifteenths and tenths, thereby to make up some such portion of treasure, as may, in some sort, supply the great and inestimable charges, which you, our most gracious and dread sovereign, have, and daily must sustain. All which, notwithstanding it be much less than may be sufficient for the present and urgent necessities, yet, being a plain demonstration of our due con-

sideration of all those necessary causes, and important reasons, which we have heard delivered by your royal direction, we have thought meet, not only to make it one of our first works, to consult of that matter, which, in other sessions of parliament, hath usually succeeded many other acts and consultations; but, so to enlarge and improve the measure of this oblation, which we shall offer to your royal person, as it might give your majesty an assured testimony of our internal zeals and duties, to be further manifested hereafter, by the hazard of our lives and fortunes, at all times, for your majesty's service, whereof we beseech you to vouchsafe, at this present, the gracious acceptation, as proceeding from those loving and faithful subjects of yours, who do desire to testify, both in the extraordinary form and substance of our present offer, that though there liveth, and ever shall, in the hearts of your most humble and obedient subjects, an extraordinary zeal to your majesty's person; yet, that we desire, and intend that this, which is done to you at this time, shall be no otherwise interpreted, than as a lively monument of those great duties and affections, which we do contentedly and comfortably strain for your majesty, and in a manner, far exceeding any former precedent, because no age either hath, or can produce the like precedent of so much happiness under any prince's reign, nor of so continual gracious care for our preservation, as your majesty hath shewed in all your actions, having never stuck to hazard, or rather neglect, for our preservation, any part of those worldly blessings, wherewith Almighty God hath so plentifully indued you, in this time of your most happy government.

The following, which might have been given in Vol. II. is here added to the preceding.

KING JAMES'S SPEECH TO HIS FIRST PARLIAMENT,

Monday, the Nineteenth of March, 1603.

BUT of one thing I would have the papists of this land to be admonished, that they presume not so much upon my lenity, because I would be loth to be thought a persecutor, as thereupon to think it lawful for them daily to increase their number and strength in this kingdom, whereby, if not in my time, at least in the time of my posterity, they might be in hope to erect their religion again. No, let them assure themselves, that, as I am a friend to their persons, if they be good subjects, so am I an avowed enemy, and do denounce mortal war to their errors; and that, as I would be sorry to be driven, by their ill behaviour, from the protection, and conservation of their bodies and lives, so will I never cease, as far as I can, to tread down their errors and wrong opinions, for I could not permit the increase and growing of their religion, without first betraying of myself, and mine own conscience. Secondly, this whole isle, as well the part I am come from, as the part I remain in, in betraying their liberties, and

reducing them to the former slavish yoke, which both had cast off before I came amongst them. And thirdly, the liberty of the crown in my posterity, which I should leave again under a new slavery, having found it left free to me by my predecessors; and therefore would I wish all good subjects, that are deceived with that corruption, first, if they find any beginning of instinction in themselves of knowledge, and love to the truth, to foster the same by all lawful means, and to beware of quenching the spirit that worketh within them; and, if they can find as yet no motion tending that way, to be studious to read and confer with learned men, and to use all such means as may further their resolution; assuring themselves, that, as long as they are disconformable in religion from us, they cannot be but half my subjects, be able to do but half service, and I to want the best half of them, which is their souls.

END OF VOL. VIII.

AN

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